

Article

ON MOPS AND MAIDS: MIGRANT ALBANIAN DOMESTIC AND CARE WORKERS AND THE DIVISION OF REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR IN GREECE

Sobre fregonas y empleadas domésticas: las trabajadoras domésticas y de cuidados albanesas migrantes y la división del trabajo reproductivo en Grecia

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Abstract: Reproductive labour has historically been and continues to be associated with female migrant labour. This study aims to unravel the multiple effects of domestic work and care on the living conditions and integration of Albanian domestic workers and carers in Greece. The study applies the research literature review tool, which involves an objective approach and evaluation of the body of qualitative/empirical research literature, in order to answer focused questions about the effects of domestic work on migrant women from Albania in Greece, using appropriate keywords in two databases. According to the findings, the low wages and precarious working conditions that characterize domestic work and care, allow for physical and moral exploitation, while at a social level there is marginalization and difficulty in accessing social security, healthcare, community organization and representation.

Keywords: Reproductive labour, Women, Albanian migration, Domestic work, Care work, Greece.

Resumen: Históricamente, el trabajo reproductivo ha estado y sigue estando asociado con el trabajo desarrollado por mujeres migrantes. Este estudio tiene como objetivo desentrañar los múltiples efectos del trabajo doméstico y los cuidados en las condiciones de vida y la integración de las trabajadoras domésticas y cuidadoras albanesas en Grecia. El estudio aplica la herramienta de revisión de la literatura de investigación, que implica un enfoque objetivo y una evaluación del conjunto de literatura de investigación cualitativa/empírica, para responder preguntas específicas sobre los efectos del trabajo doméstico en las mujeres inmigrantes de Albania en Grecia, utilizando palabras clave apropiadas en dos bases de datos. Según los hallazgos, los bajos salarios y las condiciones laborales precarias que caracterizan el trabajo doméstico y de cuidados, permiten la explotación física y moral, mientras que a nivel social existe marginación y dificultad para acceder a la seguridad social, la salud, la organización y representación comunitaria.

Palabras clave: Trabajo reproductivo, Mujeres, Migración albanesa, Trabajo doméstico, Trabajo de cuidados, Grecia.

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1. Introduction: Reproductive labour, gender and migration.

Reproductive labour is a particular branch of labour that for years has remained invisible and subordinate. In particular, reproductive work includes “activities such as purchasing household goods, preparing and serving food, laundering and repairing clothing, maintaining furnishings and appliances, socializing children, providing care and emotional support for adults, and maintaining kin and community ties” (Glenn, 1992, p. 1). Reproductive labour has historically been characterized as unpaid “family” work performed by women, with female family members taking on responsibilities such as maintaining the household, raising children, and generally ensuring the reproduction and upkeep of workers (Anderson, 2001). In modern times, unpaid “family” reproductive labour, influenced by demographic, social, economic, and other developments—such as the feminization of the workforce—has evolved into paid work.

Paid reproductive work, encompassing paid domestic work and caregiving, represents a dynamically expanding sector with characteristics strongly related primarily to gender, ethnicity, and class. When we examine reproductive labour in its broader context and historical evolution from unpaid to paid work, one constant feature across all its forms is its gendered nature, as it remains predominantly “women’s work.” Over time, as this labor becomes commodified, elements of ethnicity and social class are added, as the women who now predominantly undertake these jobs are migrant workers from lower social classes compared to their employers. This reflects what Glenn describes as ‘women shifting their burdens onto other women with less power (Glenn, 1992). It is worth noting that in the context of a globalized labour market, domestic work is a growing sector of employment, accounting for 2.3% of total employment worldwide (International Labour Organization, 2021). This employment sector is a female-dominated field and “the clearest case of role differentiation and gender segregation of work” (Sakellis & Spyropoulou, 2007, p. 73), as according to International Labour Organization data for the year 2021, it is estimated that of the 75.6 million domestic workers worldwide, 76.2% are women. What we now define as domestic work has for centuries been an unpaid occupation and even beneficial to women, with this pattern only gradually changing in recent decades, where the role of women as adherents to domestic occupations has been weakened with women shifting their work activities outside the home and household and making inroads into higher education and paid work.

In the early years before industrialization, the link between migration and reproduction labour took place with the migration of young women from the countryside to

industrial centres, where they were employed as domestic workers for the urban class households (Triandafyllidou, 2013), while in the modern era the model of the migrant domestic worker is internationally prevalent. As Williams points out, domestic work and care fills the ever-growing gaps in the “transnational political economy of care” (Williams, 2011). These gaps are a result of the broader socio-economic changes of recent decades, most notably the mass exodus of women from the home and their increased participation in the labour market (Anderson, 2007; Labadie-Jackson, 2008; Triandafyllidou, 2013). Also, a major motive for the increased demand for migrant domestic workers, is the privatisation of the child and elderly care sector (Marchetti, 2022). In other words, the reduction of the welfare state in the field of social care and support services has shifted the burden of care from public institutions to the private market, thus creating a demand for migrant domestic workers to meet the needs created (Da Roit & Weicht, 2013).

2. Migration to Greece.

The migration scene in Greece changed around the late 1980s, with the country experiencing a migration transition from a mainly sending country to a country of entry of migrant populations (Kotzamanis, 2008). The massive influx of migrants during this period was the result of the collapse of the regimes of the existing socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, as well as the crises at multiple levels (economic, social, political) that erupted in these countries and especially in Albania (Kotzamanis, 2008).

In order to understand the magnitude of the migratory inflows, it is worth mentioning that in 1991 it was estimated that there were about 167.000 foreigners residing in the Greek territory, while in 2001 this number had increased almost fivefold, with foreigners estimated at about 800.000 (Bagavos and Papadopoulou, 2002). As to the presence of women in these migratory flows, it is estimated that according to the 2001 census, 45% of the foreign population consisted of female migrants (Maratou-Alipranti et al., 2007). After almost three decades since the beginning of the Albanian migration to the country, according to the data of the Ministry of Migration and Asylum (December 2022), Albanian nationals constitute the 1st ethnic group with 285,842 valid residence permits, i.e., 60.5% of the total.

2.1. Migrant women from Albania as domestic workers in Greece.

Developments in the field of domestic work in Greece seem to follow the pattern of developments in current domestic work internationally. More clearly, as in the bigger picture, domestic work in Greece started to change towards the end of the 20th century into a labour “enclave” almost exclusively reserved for migrant women (Kassimati, 2003, p. 165). This

evolution was associated with the simultaneous participation of Greek women in the labour market, and indeed in the case of Greece, a decisive factor is considered to be the gradual questioning of the role of other family members such as grandmothers, as caretakers of young children (Vasilikou, 2009). We can see, therefore, that in the majority of countries, including Greece, women's participation in paid work did not alter the traditional gender roles within the reproductive labour (Marchetti, 2022), nor was there any kind of contestation of gender hierarchies in Greek society as Greek women assigned their "burden" and "responsibilities" to foreign domestic workers (Kambouri, 2007, p. 51).

Domestic work in Greece has been associated with Albanian migration and this is because Albanian female migrants are numerically superior to other female migrant groups and predominate in the domestic work sector (Maratou-Alipranti et al., 2007). The overwhelming employment of Albanian migrant women in the domestic work sector is largely due to "racial boundaries regarding the type of work that Albanian women can do in Greece" (Psimmenos, 2007, p. 17). Albanian migrant women provided the Greek labour market with a surplus of cheap workers (Kassimati, 2007) and this, combined with wider developments in domestic work in Greece, resulted in an increase in demand for paid domestic workers.

3. Methodology.

This study takes the form of a literature review, emphasizing the secondary analysis of both qualitative and quantitative research. The literature review was carried out according to the principles of systematic literature review using the PRISMA method. According to Grant and Booth, systematic reviews are one of the 14 types of literature reviews and indeed they are widespread as they are not content with a descriptive and selective review, but instead involve a systematic search, evaluation and synthesis of the data (Grant & Booth, 2009). The aim of such reviews is to minimise bias, which is achieved initially by pooling all studies around a topic and at the same time by adopting a rigorous methodological framework with predefined a priori eligibility criteria, so that ultimately the review is not left to the researcher's personal choice and availability, but follows a clear methodological protocol (Uman, 2011; Moher et al. 2015).

3.1. Migrant women from Albania as domestic workers in Greece.

This review was conducted to answer the following specific research questions about the impact of domestic work and care on albanian female domestic workers in Greece: "How do the characteristics of domestic work affect women migrants from Albania in Greece on

a personal and social level?”, “How are these effects reflected in their primary and secondary ties (family, society)?” “What are the implications for their community organisation and representation?” How are these effects reflected in their access to social protection and health care? Initially, a search was carried out using the PICO methodology, through keywords in English and Greek, creating a flow chart and a table with surveys. In particular the studies were sought using appropriate “search terms” or “keywords” (Galanis, 2017, p. 45) in combination with Boolean Operators (OR/AND). The studies were searched in two electronic databases Google Scholar and Scopus as well as in printed publications. The choice of these databases was based on the fact that Google Scholar is a freely available search engine for a wide range of academic sources as well as grey literature, while Scopus is the largest interdisciplinary database (JMLA, 2016).

Table 1.*Keywords with Boolean Operators*

“immigrant*” or “migrant*” and “woman” or “women” or “female*” and “from albania” or “albanian*” and “domestic work” or “domestic worker*” or “cleaner*” or “carer*” or “servant*” and “in greece” and “interview*” or “questionnaire*”

Table 2.*Search strategy and keywords in Google Scholar database*

	Keywords	Search number	Number of studies found
Population	“immigrant*” OR “migrant*” AND “woman” OR “women” OR “female*” AND “from Albania” OR “Albanian*”	#1	666
Intervention	AND “domestic work” OR “domestic worker*” or “cleaner*” OR “carer*” OR “servant*”	#2	128
Comparison	AND “in Greece”	#3	2.470.000
Outcome	AND “interview*” OR “questionnaire*”	#4	4.140.000
	#1 AND #2 AND #3 AND #4	#5	994
	#5 Filters: Publication date from 1990/01/01 to 2020/12/31; English	#6	770

Table 3.*Search strategy and keywords in Scopus database*

	Keywords	Search number	Number of studies found
Population	“immigrant*” OR “migrant*” AND “woman” OR “women” OR “female*” AND “from Albania” OR “Albanian*”	#1	1.101
Intervention	AND “domestic work*” OR “domestic worker*” OR “cleaner*” OR “carer*” OR “servant*”	#2	1.062.839
Comparison	AND “in Greece”	#3	174.217
Outcome	AND “interview*” or “questionnaire*”	#4	3.687.303
	#1 AND #2 AND #3 AND #4	#5	61
	#5 Filters: Publication date from 1990/01/01 to 2020/12/31; English	#6	55

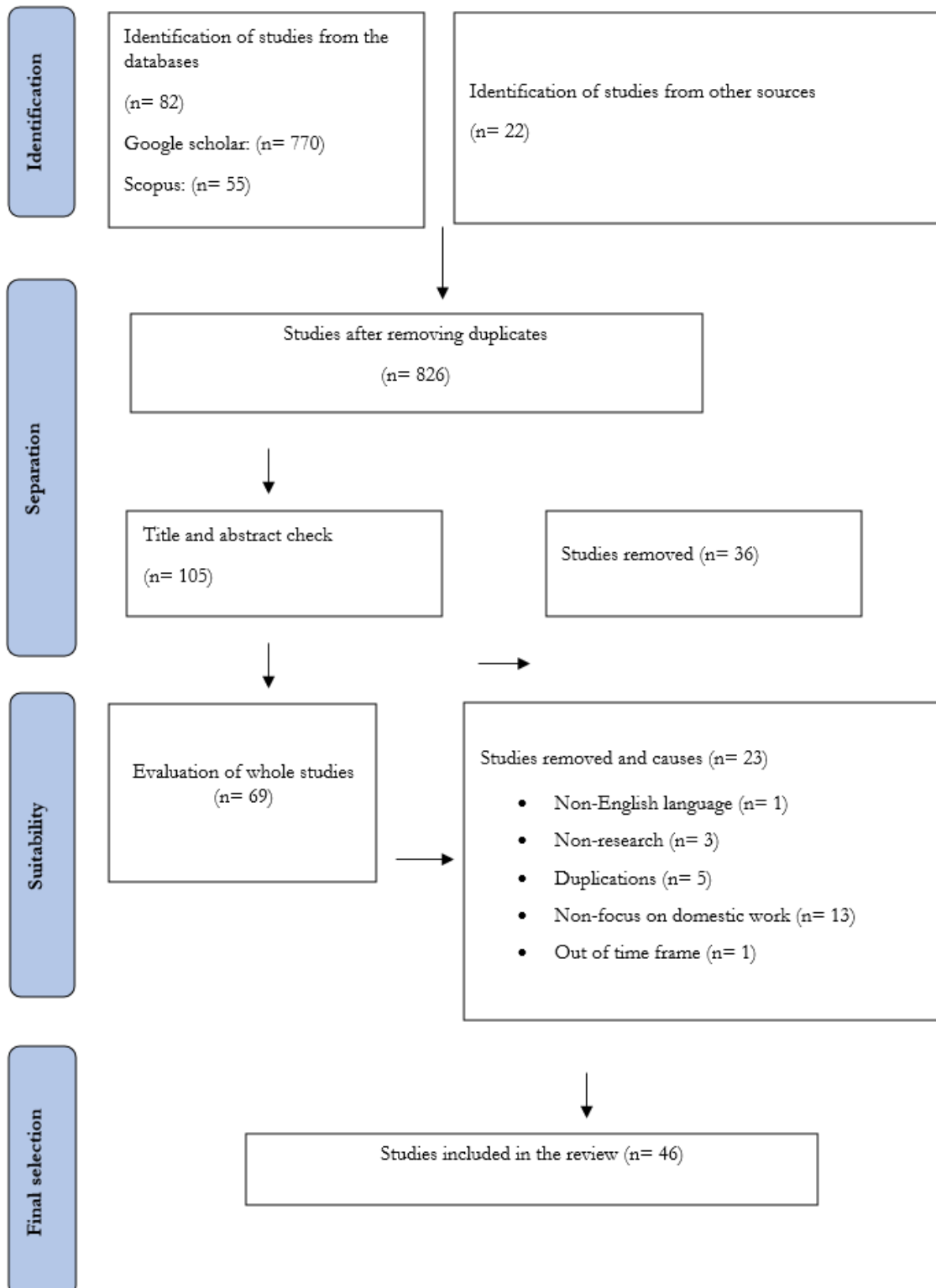
3.2. Inclusion and Exclusion criteria.

This review includes both quantitative and qualitative research studies concerning domestic workers in Greece from Albania and research studies published in Greek and English with a publication horizon from 1990 to 2020 and whose full text was available. The review focuses on studies published from 1990 onwards, marking the onset of mass migration of Albanians to Greece and the beginning of academic interest in this phenomenon. To ensure an independent analysis of domestic work and its impacts, the review includes research conducted up to 2020, thereby excluding the period affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. This approach avoids the confounding effects of the pandemic, which significantly influenced global labour dynamics and working conditions. Studies which had no research content as well as studies based on replication of previous research data, i.e., duplicates, were excluded. Finally, no restrictions were placed on the overall sample of each study, which in many cases included a variety of ethnic groups of migrants in Greece - including migrants from Albania - while studies that focused on the migrant population from Albania existed, but the sample included both women and men. The evaluation of the methodological quality of the studies in the review was carried out using the MMAT scale

(Hong, et al., 2018) and the CASP Qualitative Studies scale (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme, 2018).

3.3. Final selection of studies.

The search initially yielded 825 studies from the online databases Google Scholar and Scopus, while an additional 22 published print studies were identified. A total of 847 studies were identified through the search strategy, from which 21 duplicates were removed, leaving 826 studies. Subsequently, for each of the studies identified during the search, the title was first checked, thus removing 721 studies as unsuitable / unrelated. For the remaining 105 studies, after the abstract checking stage was completed, 69 studies remained, the full text of which was assessed and those that did not meet the eligibility criteria mentioned above were removed. In the end, the review yielded 46 studies. The stages as well as the results of the search are depicted in the flow chart (Figure 1).

Figure 1.*Flow chart*

4. Results.

4.1. Country.

Of the 46 research studies included in the review, all were conducted in Greece (n=46). However, three of them (Anderson, 1999; Anthias, et al. 2013; Vouyioukas & Liapi, 2013) involve research conducted in both Greece and other countries.

4.2. Study design.

Regarding the methodology followed, most studies are qualitative research (Psimmenos & Lazaridis, 2000; Lymberaki & Maroukis, 2005; Thanopoulou, 2007; Kambouri, 2007; Stratigaki & Vaiou, 2007; Mousourou, 2007; Bacharopoulou et al., 2007; Anthias, et al., 2013; Vouyioukas & Liapi, 2013). Some involve qualitative research with in-depth and semi-structured interviews (Lazaridis & Romaniszyn, 1998; Anderson, 1999; Lazaridis, 2000; Tastsoglou & Hadjicostandi, 2003; Hatziprokopiou, 2003; Charalampopoulou, 2004). Three studies represent qualitative research with unstructured interviews (Styliou, 2004; Kassimati and Mousourou, 2007; Kassimati, 2007). The study of Syrigou-Rigou (2000) is a life history. Two studies include both quantitative and qualitative method (Lambrianidis & Lymberaki, 2001; Vaiou, 2002). The studies of Vasilikou (2007, 2009) are biographical method. The study of Maratou-Alipranti et al. (2007) involves structured interviews with questionnaire completion. The studies of Sakellis & Spyropoulou (2007), Kambouri & Lafazani (2008) are qualitative research with structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews. In her qualitative research, Kambouri (2008) used focus groups. Anthropological and micro-sociological with in-depth investigations through fieldwork and participatory observation is used from Papataxiarchis, Athanasopoulou & Topali (2008). The method of qualitative research, specifically interviews, is also followed in the works of Athanasopoulou 2008a, 2008b; Lykogianni, 2008; Liapi, 2008; Psimmenos & Skamnakis, 2008; Balli, 2009; Kassimati, 2009. Nine of the studies represent qualitative research with semi-structured interviews (Hantzaroula, 2008; Damianovic, 2011; Psimmenos, 2007, 2011; Fouskas, 2012, 2013; Olsson, 2014; Riki Van Boeschoten, 2015; Duci & Noti, 2016; Xypolytas, Vassilikou & Fouskas, 2017; Maroukis, 2018). Qualitative research, structured interviews is followed by Maroukis (2009, 2010). Qualitative research, in-depth interviews followed by Lazarescu & Kouzas (2017) and Skamnakis & Malekaki (2017).

4.3. Participants.

Of the 46 surveys analysed, 39 include female migrants from Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Philippines, while only 7 focus exclusively on female migrants from Albania.

Additionally, 5 studies incorporate male migrants in their samples, and another 5 examine employers who hire migrant workers. Notably, 9 studies focus exclusively on female migrant domestic workers. In particular Lazaridis and Romaniszyn (1998) interviewed 22 Polish (10 women and 12 men) and 38 Albanians (20 women and 18 men). In Syrigou-Rigou's (2000) study, the research presents a narrative account of the experiences of a single participant, an Albanian woman. Vaiou (2002) is based on in-depth interviews (a) with migrants' communities in Athens, (b) the Network of Support to Refugees and Migrants and (c) with Albanian women working as domestic helpers in Athens. The Tastsoglou and Hadjicostandi (2003) research conducted from 1999-2000 involved 15 migrant women. The empirical research of Hatziprokopiou (2003) includes 30 in-depth interviews with Albanian migrants in the Greek city, Thessaloniki. The study of Charalampopoulou (2004) is based on in-depth and semi-structured interviews of 8 Albanian women aged 20-55 years old who have been living in Greece for up to 10 years. The study of Styliou (2004) is based on findings from 10 unstructured interviews that she conducted in the Greek city Volos:5 with Greek employers and 5 with Albanian housecleaners. The research of Lymberaki and Maroukis (2005) includes 500 structured interviews conducted in Athens between September and November 2003 with Albanian immigrants.

Vasilikou's (2007, 2009) research include interviews conducted with immigrant women from Eastern Europe and the Balkans living and working in Greece. Kassimati's (2007) research is based on 11 interviews with Greek female employers - for reasons of homogeneity - chosen to be by occupation either self-employed or employed in the public or private sector, but all graduates of higher education institutions. In her research Thanopoulou (2007) collected information on the family history of 25 Albanian men and women who have migrated to Greece. The study of Kambouri (2007) is based on series of focus group discussions with Albanian women working in the largely unregulated domestic sector in Athens. The research material of Stratigaki and Vaiou (2007) is drawn from two research projects on "Gender and Migration", one conducted at the Panteion University between March-September 2005 (31 interviews with Albanian women domestic helpers, 10 with women (local) kindergarten staff, 6 focus groups with migrant women and local employers), and one at the National Technical University of Athens conducted in 2006 (20 interviews with Albanian women domestic helpers and 8 Greek women employers of domestic helpers and carers). The data in Mousourou's (2007) analysis comes from 4 surveys of female domestic workers from Albania and Ukraine in Greece. The research of Maratou-

Alipranti et al. (2007) is a field survey with questionnaires completed by 612 female migrant women from the Balkan, East Europe and the Philippines aged 17-77 across the country.

The research of Bacharopoulou et al. (2007) is based on “Pythagoras: project and includes data from a survey with migrant domestic helpers and/or care-givers from Bulgaria and Albania who live in Athens, and with their women employers and also interviews with privileged informants (migrant communities, support networks and bodies, schools in these neighbourhoods, old residents, real estate agents). The article of Sakellis and Spyropoulou (2007) is based on findings of the project “PYTHAGORAS I - Gender and Migrant Populations: aspects of social integration and social policy” in total the survey included 190 Albanian and 110 Ukrainian female immigrants. The data of Kambouri and Lafazani (2008) come from the research "Intertwined daily lives and pig-social changes in the city. Immigrants and locals in the neighbourhoods of Athens", completed in August 2007 by the National Technical University of Athens.

The paper of Kambouri (2008) is based on a series of focus group discussions with Albanian women working in the domestic sector in Athens in 2006 within the context of the research project Pythagoras. More specifically, they were realized as part of the research conducted under the ‘Gender, Migration and Everyday Life’ project, which consisted of eight sessions: two with Greek employers, five with Albanian domestic workers and one with Ukrainian domestic workers. The study of Papataxiarchis et al. (2008) includes research with 3 domestic workers from Greece, Albania and the Philippines respectively. Athanasopoulou's (2008a) research is based on fieldwork with interviews from April 2004 to December 2005 with 20 Albanian female paid domestic workers and 25 Greek female employers. Athanasopoulou's (2008b) research was conducted within the framework of the "Pythagoras Support for Research Groups of the University of the Aegean" project. Lykogianni's (2008) study is based on empirical material collected in the context of a research project carried out at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning of the NTUA. Liapi's (2008) research is based on research conducted in Athens during the period 2006-2008 and included 12 migrant women employed in paid domestic work, 4 migrant women who integrate into other sectors and finally, 4 migrant women who have developed an alternative professional profile and path, mainly through their active participation in migrant collectives and groups.

The study of Hantzaroula, (2008) is part of a broader project “Pythagoras” Research Action: Gendered Aspects of Migration in Southeast Europe: Integration, Labour and transnational Communication. Hantzaroula uses 25 interviews with Albanian women

(domestic and cleaning workers) and men in the age group 18-25 and 30-45. The research of Balli (2009) is based on 64 in-depth (face-to face and telephone) interviews with Albanian migrants who live and work in Greece. The research of Psimmenos and Skamnakis (2008) includes in-depth interviews with migrant domestic workers from Albania and Ukraine as well as with employees of social services (Social Security, Hospitals, Kindergartens). In particular, 52 interviews with female migrant workers (31 from Albania, 11 from Ukraine and 11 pilot interviews) and 20 interviews with civil servants were conducted. Kassimati's (2009) data come from the research projects (a) IAPASIS (Informal Administration Practices and Shifting Immigrant Strategies) with migrants (men and women) from Albania and Poland (sample of 52 women from Poland) and from (b) Pythagoras I Gender and Migration, with 190 female migrants from Albania and 110 from Ukraine.

Maroukis' (2009, 2010) research is based on structured interviews with live-out domestic workers, 63 domestic workers of a sample of 178 women. Damianovic's (2011) research was based on interviews with 6 female migrants from Albania, conducted between January and May 2011. The analysis of Psimmenos (2007, 2010) is based on findings from the project Pythagoras I (2004-2007) titled "Gender and Migrant Populations: aspects of Social Inclusion and Social Policy". The research team conducted 10 pilot and 50 in-depth interviews. The research of Fouskas (2012, 2013) was conducted with an anonymous questionnaire included mainly multiple answer questions and Likert scales. Twenty-seven (N=27) questionnaires were distributed and completed (representative/non-statistical sample) by an equal number of representative-members of the MIC from several municipalities in Greece. The chapters of Anthias et al. 2013 and Vouyioukas and Liapi (2013) draws on the empirical data collected within the FeMiPOL project: bibliographical narrative interviews with 196 migrant women who entered European countries in the last 2 decades and 66 expert interviews with policy makers, social service officers and NGO activists.

The research of Olsson (2014) is based on qualitative interviews with 11 undocumented Albanian migrant women and 3 Albanian migrant women that are leaders of Albanian associations in Greece. The study of Riki Van Boeschoten (2015) is based on 60 life stories of migrants from Albania and Bulgaria that were collected between 2004 and 2007 in the Greek town of Volos. Duci and Noti (2016) collected and analysed secondary data and used content analysis of policy documents related to migration and welfare with a focus on pensions and female labour. The research of Xypolytas, Vassilikou and Fouskas (2017) is a follow-up study to the 2005–2008 Pythagoras Research Project (Kassimati and Moussourou

2007; Psimmenos and Skamnakis 2008) undertaken by the Center of Social Morphology and Social Policy, Panteion University, Athens. The research of Lazarescu and Kouzas (2017) relies mainly on qualitative data gathered through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 50 migrant domestic workers. The research of Skamnakis and Malekaki (2017) is based on empirical carried out in 2013 and consisted of 44 in-depth interviews. The research of Maroukis (2018) is based on empirical research conducted between May 2013 and September 2014 including life stories of 19 care workers who have worked as exclusive nurses in 7 hospitals.

4.4. Review of Research.

The 46 studies included in the review offer a diverse range of perspectives on the experiences of migrant domestic workers in Greece. These studies provide a comprehensive understanding of the migration experience of domestic workers, with a strong focus on gender, marginalization, and the intersection of migration and social structures. While many of the studies share common themes, such as the exploitation of female migrant workers and the importance of migration policies, they differ in their methodological approaches and specific areas of focus. Later studies, particularly those conducted in the context of the economic crisis, further deepen our understanding of how broader societal and economic changes impact migrant workers, complicating their integration and welfare.

Specifically regarding the conducting environment the study of Lazaridis and Romaniszyn (1998) addresses the migration of undocumented workers from the former post-communist countries (Albania and Poland) to Greece via ethnographic data that were collected during fieldwork carried out by the authors in Greece in 1993, 1994 and 1995 mainly in Athens but also in Peloponnese, Crete and Corfu. In her book *"Discussing with Linda"* Syrigou-Rigou (2000) studies and narrates the story of Linda, a female migrant from Albania who lives and works as a domestic worker in Greece. Psimmenos and Lazaridis (2000) proceeded from the early 1990s to field research with Albanian immigrants living in Greece, presenting their social, economic and political exclusion. Lazaridis (2000) in her study focuses on the experiences of female migrant domestic workers from Albania and the Philippines in Greece, emphasizing the way in which both the migration process itself and the mechanisms of marginalization and exclusion affect these two migrant groups differently.

Styliou (2004) addresses the relationship and the social projections inherent in it between the Albanian domestic workers/cleaners in Greece and the Greek women/housewives that employ them. The study of Lymberaki and Maroukis (2005) examines whether the dynamics between migrants and the local population facilitate the

security of the external border. Vasilikou (2007) focuses on migrant domestic workers in the Athens metropolitan area and their difficult daily lives. Vasilikou (2009) studies the phenomenon of the transnational family i.e. the geographical dispersion of migrant families through the testimonies and experiences of female domestic workers from the Balkans and Eastern Europe in Greece. Based on data from the "Pythagoras I" research on gender and migration, Kasimatis' (2007) research focuses on employment conditions and the role of ethnicity in relations with employers of migrant female domestic workers from Albania and Ukraine in Greece. Thanopoulou (2007) emphasizes the division of domestic work in migrant families living in Athens by examining the evolution of intergenerational and gender relations. Kambouri (2007) studies the relationship between gender and migration in the domestic space and it is based on a series of focus group discussions with Albanian domestic workers.

Stratigaki and Vaiou (2007) search formal and informal practices related to access to nurseries and schools, as well as migrant mothers' reactions to xenophobic attitudes and behaviour by teachers and other children addressing that migrant working mothers seem to be determined to fight for their children's access to nurseries and school. Mousourou (2007) drawing on research carried out under the "Pythagoras" project presents a more systematic approach to the role of women (migrants and non-migrants) in the integration of migrants. The study by Maratou-Alipranti et al. (2007) is an attempt to understand the specificities of female migration in the field of employment and living conditions. The research of Bacharopoulou et al. (2007) addresses the issue of the changes in central Athenian neighbourhoods that resulted from large-scale settlement of migrants during the 90's, from the perspective of gender. Sakellis and Spyropoulou (2007) attempt to place the work of migrant women in the context of the hierarchical and exploitative relations that prevail in the Greek labour market. Kabouri and Lafazani (2008) focus on gendered practices of inter-ethnicity, in order to highlight the multiple subjectivities and the connections between the local and the global that arise from the migration process.

Kambouri (2008) discusses the question of gender and migration as an open field of contestation within which transitory and incomplete identities are performed. Papataxiarchis et al. (2008) study the economic and cultural constitution of paid domestic work in Greece, focusing on Greek, Filipina and Albanian domestic workers and their relationship with their Greek employers. Athanasopoulou (2008a) studies the formation and reinforcement of the work identity of Albanian domestic workers in Athens. Athanasopoulou (2008b) focuses on Albanian domestic workers and their transition from paid domestic work in Greek

households to unpaid domestic work in their own households, emphasising the “women's roles” that follow them. Lykogianni (2008) attempts to shed light on some of the “invisible” aspects of the urban experience of migrant domestic workers from the perspective of gender and ethnicity. Liapi's (2008) research focuses on the impact of public policies, and in particular migration policy, on the position of migrant women and the formulation of policy proposals that support their social integration and promote social cohesion. Psimmenos and Skamnakis (2008) examine the social processes that determine or significantly shape migrant domestic workers' relationship with social goods and protection services.

The study of Hantzaroula (2008) focuses on the working experience of Albanian domestic workers and attempts to analyse the role of gender, class and race hierarchies in the production of their subjectivity. Balli (2009) examines Albanian migrants' experiences as they build their lives in one of the countries of the West, namely Greece. Kassimati (2009) in her study deals with the social integration of female migrant domestic workers from Albania, Ukraine and Poland who have settled in Greece. In his research Maroukis (2009, 2010) attempts to highlight that the marginalization of domestic work works against women workers and the labour market. Damianovic (2011) focuses on tracing the biographical ruptures experienced by Albanian migrant women living and working as domestic workers in Greece. The studies of Psimmenos (2007, 2010) examine the relationship between work and welfare marginalization of migrant women domestic workers. In his study Fouskas (2012, 2013) examines the participation and representation of immigrants in local public life in Greece. The chapter of Anthias et al. (2013) considers migrant women's experiences regarding welfare and labour market policies in Europe. The chapter of Vouyioukas and Liapi (2013) investigates the role played by qualifications and language competencies as a resource for "integration", both in the context of co-oriented migration policies and of labour market integration policies.

In her study Olsson (2014) focuses on the everyday life experiences of undocumented Albanian female migrants in Greece. Riki Van Boeschoten (2015) examines the dynamics of gender relations in the context of the migration process through the life stories of adult migrants (both male and female) from Albania and Bulgaria in Greece. Duci and Noti (2006) explore the challenges faced by the Albanian female migrants in Greece and the returned female migrants in Albania in relation to their pension benefits. Xypolytas, Vassilikou and Fouskas (2017) examine the consequences of the economic crisis in Greece on the families and community organizations of migrant domestic workers. The study of Lazarescu and Kouzas (2017) examines the effects of the current recession in Greece on the

careers of migrant domestic workers by tracing the changes in the way they understand their occupational and socioeconomic situation during crisis. Skamnakis and Malekaki (2017) argue that migrant women domestic workers now face greater difficulties in accessing the social protection of the state than they did before the recession. Maroukis (2018) explores the trajectory of a particular group of migrant care workers who moved on from the insecurity of the informal labour market of domestic work to work as exclusive bank nurses in hospitals.

The key elements of each study, as presented in this chapter, along with the main findings and results, are presented in the table below (Table 4).

Table 4.*Summary of review findings*

	Authors	Year	Aim	Country	Method	Results
1.	Lazaridis and Romaniszyn	1998	Investigate irregular migration of workers from Albania and Poland.	Greece	Qualitative research, in-depth and semi-structured interviews	An “undocumented lower class” is being formed and migration from Albania and Poland to Greece is primarily a phenomenon caused by the economy, resulting from both individual rational and social choices.
2.	Anderson	1999	Examination of living and working conditions of migrant domestic workers in five EU cities - Barcelona, Athens, Berlin, Paris and Bologna.	Greece and other countries	Qualitative research, in-depth and semi-structured interviews	Each city had its own distinctiveness, for example, Albanians in Greece, although of a lighter complexion than many, had a bad reputation. With these particulars in mind, employers expressed their own preferences.
3.	Syrigou-Rigou	2000	Life story of a migrant from Albania.	Greece	Life history	The quest for a better life leads migrant women to other countries, where they often experience a cold reception.
4.	Psimmenos and Lazaridis	2000	Focus on labour and social exclusion processes. Exploring the multidimensional nature of the exclusion suffered by Albanian migrants in Greece, their contact and integration.	Greece	Qualitative research	Domestic services are the largest employment sector of labour migration in Greece. It is an occupation found mainly in large urban centres (primarily Athens and Thessaloniki) where demand is high due to increasing levels of female employment, changes in family structure and lack of adequate childcare provision. The work consists of cleaning, cooking, babysitting and care of the elderly.
5.	Lazaridis	2000	To explore the experiences of women from the Philippines and Albania who are employed and residing in Greece and how the migration process and the processes of exclusion/marginalization affect them differently.	Greece	Qualitative research, in-depth and semi-structured interviews	In the case of Greece, there is a hierarchy of work among domestic workers, with those from the Philippines earning higher wages for fewer hours work than those from Albania. Both groups rely heavily on support networks, which facilitate their introduction into the host country’s workforce. Wages depend on the legal status of these women, whether they have their work permits, their ethnic background and the stereotypes associated with them.

6.	Lambrianidis and Lymberaki	2001	Spatial study focusing on the Albanian community in Thessaloniki.	Greece	Quantitative and qualitative method	The research shows that the jobs in which migrants are mainly employed do not require any specific qualifications, and the vast majority consider themselves to be paid less than natives.
7.	Vaiou	2002	Investigate the routes from Albania to Athens, as well as their strategies for finding work, housing, using spaces in their daily lives and the role of the support networks they form, as well as the obstacles they face in developing their life strategies.	Greece	Quantitative and qualitative method	For many migrant women, finding work as a domestic, after an initial period of suspicion and reluctance from local women, proved rather easy, but below their skills, level of education and training. Initially they received lower wages than other migrants for cleaning, and sometimes cooking and caring for an elderly person, however they receive no payment when their employers are away during holidays and usually have to pay the required social security contributions to obtain or renew their residence/work permits themselves.
8.	Tastsoglou and Hadjicostandi	2003	Focus on the different experiences of migrant women in the Greek labour market.	Greece	Qualitative research, in-depth and semi-structured interviews	Over-exploitation: Although interviewees rarely experienced interpersonal problems with their employers, they were nevertheless financially exploited. The level of discrimination that women contend with, not only in their place of employment but also in wider society, has a significant impact on their ability to work, their economic and personal security, health and well-being.
9.	Hatziprokopiou	2003	Examination of the economic and social integration of Albanian migrants in Thessaloniki.	Greece	Qualitative research, in-depth and semi-structured interviews	Exclusion and integration of migrants in the host country are seen as dynamic processes, which may be contradictory but work in parallel.
10.	Charalampopoulou	2004	Identification of subjective processes, practices and problems related to migration and work.	Greece	Qualitative research, in-depth and semi-structured interviews	Low pay, volatility of working hours and pay as well as insecurity characterise domestic work.
11.	Styliou	2004	Investigating the relationship between migrant domestic workers from Albania and their Greek female employers.	Greece	Qualitative research, unstructured interviews	The interpersonal environment of domestic work affects employer-worker relations and creates exploitative conditions.

12.	Lymberaki and Maroukis	2005	Presenting a broad picture of inclusion and exclusion and socio-economic experiences.	Greece	Qualitative research	Women work mainly in domestic work. Migration adds value to the economies and host societies if positive attitudes towards migrants become the norm both in public opinion and in political perceptions.
13.	Vasilikou	2007, 2009	Study of migrant domestic workers (Albania, Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Bulgaria, Poland) in the metropolitan area of Athens and their difficult everyday life.	Greece	Biographical method	Despite their “overt appearance”, their daily life and their path are partly familiar. Their situation is related to the events of migration, gender issues and the non-social recognition of their profession. They are regularly found in conditions of extreme vulnerability: living individually, cut off from family members, in a family environment foreign to them, and among strangers not always positive towards them, irregular or semi-regular in terms of their legal status and with the responsibility to support family members in their countries of origin.
14.	Kassimati and Mousourou	2007	Examination of migrant domestic workers (Albania and Ukraine) and their status using sociological dipoles. The position of domestic workers as a negotiation between (a) access and isolation, (b) emancipation and dependency, (c) modernization and preservation of traditions, (d) inclusion and marginalization.	Greece	Qualitative research, unstructured interviews	Albanian women appear less isolated and more ready to gain access by learning the language or even changing their name to sound Greek. They adapt easily to the conditions of access to different services, such as searching and using a “medium”. Albanian migrant women often appear willing to adopt innovations but also wish to keep their children close to tradition.
15.	Kassimati	2007	Focus on the views of employers of Albanian and Ukrainian migrant domestic workers employed in caring for the elderly or helping with domestic tasks.	Greece	Qualitative research, unstructured interviews	The evaluation of the presence of migrant women in Greece is positive. All employers acknowledge that they have served Greek society by providing their services. They have contributed to economic growth because they are a source of cheap labour and have filled positions that are not attractive to the Greek workforce.
16.	Thanopoulou	2007	Understanding the phenomenon of migration through the approach of intra-	Greece	Qualitative research	The study stresses that the process of integration of migrant populations into Greek society, which implies new conditions of socialization for these populations, also

			family relations and gender, and where first and second-generation Albanian migrants live in Athens.			affects gender relations, not only within the same generation, but also between two generations and that the intergenerational dimension in the gender relations of migrant populations focuses on the one hand on gender recruitment and on the other hand on gender practices within and between generations.
17.	Kambouri	2007	Exploring the everyday life of migrant women from Albania and Ukraine and the approach of migrant women as active political subjects.	Greece	Qualitative research	It highlights the dominant practices regarding gender relations, which push migrant women into two gender norms: the treatment of female migrants as “complementary” to male migrants and female migrants as “victims” of illegal trafficking networks. Absent from both of these patterns are migrant women who work informally or legally in other sectors of the Greek economy, such as childcare, elderly care or cleaning, even though they constitute a significant part of the total migrant population living in Greece. For the author, the approach to everyday life highlights the diversity and complexity of migrant women as subjects who do not conform to the identities of “complement” or “victim” that are stereotypically attributed to them in official political discourse.
18.	Stratigaki and Vaiou	2007	It examines formal and informal practices regarding access to nurseries and schools, as well as migrant women’s reactions to xenophobic attitudes and behaviours of teachers and other children.	Greece	Qualitative research	Their strong commitment to achieving the best possible care for children both reflects traditional gender roles (it is the task of women, not men, to find care facilities) and helps to strengthen their role in the household vis-à-vis their husbands.
19.	Mousourou	2007	Exploring the integration of migrant women and their role in the integration process.	Greece	Qualitative research	The role of women in the integration of their families may be more important than generally appreciated. Despite traditional attitudes and more or less strict control by men, female relatives and community members in their home country, women are heavily influenced by two key factors:

						their economic independence (and the freedom it entails) and the degree of inclusion of their children.
20.	Maratou-Alipranti et al.	2007	Investigating the settlement model of economic migrant women, documenting the social position of migrant women in society and in the labour market of the country, investigating their living conditions, identifying the problems and deadlocks they face when they decide to migrate on their own and settle in Greece.	Greece	Structured interviews with questionnaire completion.	They work in unskilled jobs receiving low pay in positions that Greek women do not choose. The majority are employed in providing child and elderly care and assistance (domestic, utilities, paramedical) replacing the Greek woman in the role of housewife in domestic work. The majority work uninsured, with low pay and long hours. Albanian female workers are employed in cleaning/housekeeping/babysitting (63.6%) compared to workers of other nationalities.
21.	Bacharopoulou et al.	2007	Investigating, from a gender perspective, the changes in Athenian neighbourhoods as a result of the settlement of migrants in the 1990s.	Greece	Qualitative research	For Albanian female workers, the domestic space of Greek women became their workplace and domestic work became the only available work option.
22.	Sakellis and Spyropoulou	2007	Investigation of the specific conditions of domestic work and migrant women's views on the Greek labour market.	Greece	Qualitative research, structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews	Domestic work is characterised by elements of the secondary labour sector combined with elements of informal "undeclared work".
23.	Kambouri and Lafazani	2008	Examining the aspects between gender, migration and ethnicity by following the paths of domestic workers in Athens.	Greece	Qualitative research, structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews	Everyday life following migration to Athens is explained by conditions of gender emancipation and empowerment (economic independence, no desire to have a family, mild cohabitation), which are interconnected with the possibility of self-care and the projection of femininity.
24.	Kambouri	2008	Investigating the "masculinity" that arises through the performance of typical "feminine tasks".	Greece	Qualitative research, focus groups	While they are in a doubly disadvantaged position in the mind-body relationship (firstly, because as migrant women they are associated with manual, unskilled work and secondly, because as women they are restricted to the confines of private, domestic activities), they gradually reach roles that redefine the family space where the boundaries

						between men/women, private/public and migrant/native lie.
25.	Papataxiarchis, Athanasopoulou and Topali	2008	Emphasis is placed on the micro view of work practice as a field of relations that is culturally constituted by the strategies of the workers themselves and their employers.	Greece	Anthropological and micro-sociological with in-depth investigations through fieldwork and participatory observation	The Albanian migrants compose gradual action plans of domestic work that highlight both the physical fatigue of domestic workers and its transformation through the increase of toil and the accumulation of economic resources into economic profit. These action plans redefine, in capitalist economic types, notions of work as the highest social value: they prevent “housework” from diffusing and ultimately getting lost in the undifferentiated structure of gendered “congenial” affective tasks.
26.	Athanasopoulou	2008a	Investigating the effects of domestic work on the formation and strengthening of their work identity.	Greece	Qualitative research, interviews	Domestic workers from Albania are gradually empowered and moving away from model relations with employers.
27.	Athanasopoulou	2008b	Examining how paid domestic workers perceive their role in the migration process and construct a plan for the continuity of their work.	Greece	Qualitative research, interviews	Wages for paid domestic work are a necessary condition - and in often the means - for their livelihood. The commitments arising from their “female role” either accompany, or interact with, or weaken in the face of the commitments arising from their “migrant role”.
28.	Lykogianni	2008	Examination of everyday life and the significance of the different social practices of migrant women and the constitution of urban space.	Greece	Qualitative research, interviews	Female domestic workers regularly play the central role in the migration plan and gain more independence and control over financial matters in Greece than their partners and than if they were in their home country. This plays a central role in balancing the identity of male-female relations.
29.	Liapi	2008	Examining the extent to which policies and migration policies affect the situation of women from third countries and formulating proposals for social inclusion policies.	Greece	Qualitative research, interviews	Making use of the capital (social/cultural/educational) that they have transferred, they seek to redefine the dominant identity of the migrant woman, characterized by stereotypes, and to open new channels of acceptance of diversity and fruitful coexistence.
30.	Psimmenos and Skamnakis	2008	Sociological investigation and interpretation of the processes	Greece	Qualitative research, interviews	Domestic work traps migrant women in the informal economy and reproduces forms of welfare marginalisation.

			of access and use of social services by domestic workers (PYTHAGORAS I).			
31.	Hantzaroula	2008	Examination of Albanian domestic workers and analysis of the role of gender, class and race hierarchies.	Greece, Volos	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	Self-esteem and self-recognition are inextricably linked to citizens' rights.
32.	Balli	2009	Exploring the experiences of Albanian migrants living and working in Greece.	Greece	Qualitative research, interviews	Migrant women employed in the domestic work sector are characterised by a more extensive state of disadvantage compared to the male migrant population.
33.	Kassimati	2009	Investigation of the social integration parameters of migrant domestic workers from Albania, Ukraine and Poland in Greece.	Greece	Qualitative research, interviews	Their country of origin influences their degree of social integration and how they are treated by Greeks.
34.	Maroukis	2009, 2010	Highlighting the marginalisation through domestic work.	Greece	Qualitative research, structured interviews	As a workplace, informal domestic work would be importantly attuned to the central types of production and employment in modern societies.
35.	Damianovic	2011	Tracing the biographical ruptures of migrant domestic workers from Albania.	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	The biggest success for domestic workers is the transition from indoor to outdoor domestic work.
36.	Psimmenos	2007, 2011	Investigating the barriers of migrant domestic workers of Albanian and Ukrainian nationality in their access to social protection (PYTHAGORAS I).	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	After a period of at least ten years in Greece and despite their legal entry or periodic legalisation in the country, their stable employment and their initial attempts to register with state welfare institutions, domestic workers are gradually being removed from formal social security systems.
37.	Fouskas	2012, 2013	Investigation of the impact of the employment of Albanian migrants on their participation in the "Labour Association of Albanian Migrants in Greece" and in Greek trade unions.	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	Most of the interviewees are not members of Albanian migrant workers' associations because: Some are familiar with the procedures and can claim their labour rights on their own or do not want to be in conflict with their employers. They have relied on family networks and did not have a person from their wider family or friends who were registered members. There was doubt and lack of

						confidence in both the purpose, function and effectiveness of associations and the persons involved in an official position.
38.	Anthias et al.	2013	Examining the social integration of migrant women in relation to the structures and policies concerning European labour markets and welfare states.	Greece and other countries	Qualitative research	Research shows that migrant women experience the impact of labour market deregulation in ways that reinforce their already disadvantaged position. Moreover, the insecurity and instability they face significantly affect their long-term integration strategies.
39.	Vouyioukas and Liapi	2013	Examining how educational capital and language skills are a source of integration into society, while indicating the strategies that migrant women use to cope with the de-skilling process they experience.	Greece and other countries	Qualitative research	The analysis highlights the importance of acquiring new language or vocational skills to overcome institutional barriers, the lack of re-skilling policies and exclusion mechanisms and procedures.
40.	Olsson	2014	Investigation of the living and working conditions of irregular migrant women from Albania.	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	Domestic workers experience precarious working conditions.
41.	Riki Van Boeschoten	2015	Approaching the degree of empowerment of migrant women alongside the empowerment of men.	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	Work (<i>puna</i>) is an important part of the life of Albanian women. Regardless of the degree of satisfaction with their job, working in Greece guarantees a certain degree of autonomy that they do not have at home. Especially for women from a rural background, working in another woman's home, despite the "female" nature of the work, is an empowering experience. Domestic work is becoming a paid job in Greece with fixed hours and a fixed wage.
42.	Duci and Noti	2016	Investigate the challenges faced by female migrants from Albania in Greece and migrants returning to Albania in relation to their pension benefits.	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	2/3 of Albanian women are employed as domestic workers (70%). The nature of the domestic worker is also determined by her position in relation to the law. Her foreign-national, legal-non-legal status plays an important role in her social disposition, her self-image, her vulnerability, her position in relation to the authorities and employers, her sociability, in networks she can join, etc.

43.	Xypolytas, Vassilikou and Fouskas	2017	Examination of the effects of the economic crisis in Greece on family relationships and community organization of migrant domestic workers.	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	Domestic workers have faced an increased sense of insecurity during the recession and try to stay in the households that employ them. Even before the crisis, migrant community associations proved largely inadequate in providing protection for those in isolated, low-level/low-wage jobs.
44.	Lazarescu and Kouzas	2017	Examining the impact of the current recession in Greece on the careers of migrant domestic workers, tracing the changes in the way they perceive their professional and socio-economic situation in the context of the crisis.	Greece	Qualitative research, in-depth interviews	Regarding the objective circumstances that influence their decision to stay in domestic work, we suggest that there have been negative changes in their employment. These changes have led to a reassessment of the key incentives that motivated them to stay in the service sector prior to the recession, including permanent employment, job stability, job fit, task specialization, and wage increases. Particularly important changes include a tendency to shift from domestic work, to working for many employers; and a negative shift both in terms of the tasks they are asked to perform and the control they have over their work.
45.	Skamnakis and Malekaki	2017	The impact of the recession on migrant domestic workers' social values and their perceptions of the welfare state.	Greece	Qualitative research, in-depth interviews	The recession increasingly removes migrant domestic workers from the welfare state and makes social security an added burden.
46.	Maroukis	2018	Investigating Albanian care workers who moved from the insecurity of the informal labour market to domestic work to dedicated nurses in hospitals.	Greece	Qualitative research, semi-structured interviews	The study showed that private nurses who were registered on a hospital's exclusive nurse list, managed to escape the instability and insecurity of internal domestic work, secure their legal residence status and even obtain pension and healthcare rights in Greece.

5. Discussion: Unravelling the impact of domestic and care work on migrant women from Albania in Greece.

According to the review, female migrants from Albania employed in the field of paid reproductive work operate within a framework characterized by insecurity, low status, emotional labor, and the disruption of their primary and secondary bonds. What emerged from the review is the fact that the effects of domestic work and care work are varied and multifaceted. From the range of identified effects, we proceeded to categorize them thematically in order to address specific research questions that we had initially posed.

5.1. Personal level and primary bonds.

Before documentation of the effects of reproductive labour on Albanian migrant women begins, it is worth mentioning that almost all the effects are related to specific characteristics of domestic work and care. In particular, the fact that domestic work and care are classified as a low prestige occupation and therefore relatively low paid, women are pushed into overworking, which may include working in several different homes, overtime and even working on weekends and holidays in order to increase earnings. Indeed, Albanian domestic workers are paid less than other migrant women (Lazaridis, 2000). All these conditions affect, according to a wealth of empirical evidence, the daily lives of third-country women, family relationships - lack of personal and quality time - and are associated with fatigue and health problems (Syrigou-Rigou, 2000; Stratigaki and Vaiou, 2007; Mousourou, 2007; Kambouri and Lafazani, 2008; Kassimati and Mousourou, 2008; Papataxiarchis et al., 2008). Indeed, as Sakellis and Spyropoulou point out, domestic workers are often confronted with a “feeling of exhaustion, endless routine and stress in trying to successfully meet their work, financial and family obligations” (Sakellis and Spyropoulou, 2007, p. 88).

According to the research data, it follows that Albanian domestic workers perceive their employment in the domestic sector as devaluing. This is related to the fact that most of the workers either have vocational training or even a university degree or they used to work in clerical posts in Albania, which they lost due to the economic-social changes after the fall of the communist regime. Therefore, the fact that they have now agreed to perform unskilled labour, such as domestic work, which is not in line with their educational and work profile, is perceived by them as a downgrading (Damianovic, 2011; Lambrianidis and Lymberaki, 2001; Vaiou, 2002). This phenomenon is often found in contemporary domestic work theory and is even identified in literature under the term “brain waste”, which describes the

employment of migrant women in inferior positions that are not related to their qualifications (Kofman et al. 2000, p. 61).

In terms of employment-related effects, central to domestic work and care are the interpersonal relationships that develop between female workers and their employers. Undoubtedly, the fact that domestic work is performed within the domestic space gives the relationship between worker and employer a strong interpersonal connotation, which is not found to a similar extent in other occupations. A review of the research shows that this interpersonal contact ultimately works to the detriment of migrant women, because the remuneration, the subject matter and the terms of employment are agreed on at a personal level and can be changed at any given moment depending on the employer's intentions and the trust he or she feels towards the migrant women (Charalampopoulou, 2004). Therefore, the volatility and instability of working hours and wages are constantly experienced by domestic workers as a result of their personal relationships with their employers (Sakellis and Spyropoulou, 2007; Tastsoglou and Hadjicostandi, 2003). At the same time, interpersonal relationships make women workers easily exploitable and manipulable, creating perceptions of obligation towards their employers (Psimmenos and Skamnakis, 2008; Lazaridis and Romaniszyn, 1998; Anderson, 1999), while they also seem to create higher expectations on the part of employers (Styliou, 2004).

5.2. Social level and secondary bonds.

At the social level, domestic workers from Albania experience what is often found in literature under the term "triple invisibility" and describes the position of migrant females as women, foreigners and with socio-class origins of low social status (Maratou-Alipranti et al., 2007; Athanasopoulou, 2008a; Vasilikou, 2007, 2009; Kambouri, 2008; Thanopoulou, 2007; Hantzaroula, 2008). This "triple invisibility" from the social fabric is also experienced by domestic workers as a consequence of their employment. As Olsson's research shows, Albanian domestic workers face phenomena such as isolation and social marginalization, either due to their working conditions (domestic space, long hours, etc.) or due to the very nature of their work (Olsson, 2014).

Continuing, at the social level, Albanian domestic workers often face racist and discriminatory attitudes, mostly related to the work they perform (Olsson, 2014; Sakellis and Spyropoulou, 2007; Kassimati, 2009). As Browne and Mirsa explain, the fact that domestic work has historically been associated with the employment of ethnic minority women, has contributed to the perpetuation of discriminatory attitudes against them by employers and the social environment (Browne and Mirsa, 2003). Racism and discrimination do not only

extend beyond the boundaries of ethnicity but in many cases take on a social connotation, with racism taking on a class dimension. In particular, Olsson's research data shows that domestic workers from Albania are, due to their gender, ethnicity and employment, placed in the lower strata of the labor market, resulting in a growing status gap between them and their employers (Olsson, 2014).

5.3. Community organization in associations and labour rights claim.

In terms of participation in migrant community associations, socioeconomic precariousness has deepened Albanian domestic workers feelings of isolation and has distanced them from other migrant women, has reproduced individualism and reinforced individualistic attitudes towards others in Greek society. It has also further encouraged dependence on employers and/or on representatives of migrant communities, leaving them exposed to exploitation, further compromises to employers' demands and the formation of a patron-client relationship between migrant workers, employers, representatives of migrant community associations and lawyers (Fouskas, 2012). Due to a global demand for domestic work and unskilled manual labour that isolates the migrant worker, along with the diminishing need for collectively and the absence of occupational options, there are extremely limited instances of workplace resistance and rights claims by migrant female workers in host societies. Migrant women are more likely to be disciplined by the demands of their employers or completely abandon claims for their labour rights (Fouskas, 2012).

5.4. Access to healthcare and social protection.

As can be seen in almost all the studies included in the review, the most significant impact of domestic work on Albanian female migrants concerns their interaction with the welfare state and the extent of their access to social benefits (Fouskas et al., 2019a, Fouskas et al., 2019b, Fouskas et al., 2022). This effect confirms the theory on the marginal position in which migrant domestic workers in Greece tend to find themselves in terms of social protection due to their gender, legal status and the nature of their work (Fouskas, 2012; Xypolytas and Lazarescu, 2013; Anthias et al., 2013). According to empirical evidence, the majority of Albanian domestic workers work without social security benefits (Fouskas, 2012; Skamnakis and Malekaki, 2017; Charalampopoulou, 2004; Bacharopoulou et al, 2007; Balli, 2009; Psimmenos, 2007, 2011; Maroukis, 2018).

The reasons that prevent them from accessing health care and social protection can be divided into three levels. First, in many cases there is no intention on the part of the migrant women themselves to find insured work, as in their initial years in the country they

desired higher earnings and “more cash in hand” without focusing on social benefits (Skamnakis and Malekaki, 2017, p. 122). Additionally, migration policies and bureaucratic restrictions - such as linking social security to residence/work permits rather than individual incentives such as retirement - further distanced them from the welfare state (Psimmenos and Skamnakis, 2008; Psimmenos, 2011); and finally, at the employer level, the indifference on the part of the employers to provide social security benefits for domestic workers, and even in many cases the refusal to hire domestic workers who sought insurance contributions, sealed uninsured domestic work in the country (Charalampopoulou, 2004).

These conditions trap female workers in an environment of informal work, without health care, social protection, and retirement prospects. In order to fill this gap, domestic workers resort to self-insurance or insurance through their spouse. In particular, Albanian domestic workers have attempted to buy their own insurance in order to enjoy social benefits. However, this possibility became a burden in the last decade as a result of the recession, with social security contributions being felt as a financial drain and avoided as much as possible (Skamnakis and Malekaki, 2017; Xypolytas et al. 2017). Regarding insurance through the husband, it is worth mentioning that especially for Albanian migrant women, social insurance through family reunification is not only due to their employment under an informal domestic work regime but has deeper roots and is linked to the means and process of their entry to Greece through the strategy of family reunification (Vullnetari, 2009). Although insurance through a family member seems to bridge the gap created by domestic work, it negatively affects women's empowerment and independence and ultimately renders them dependent on their husbands.

6. Conclusions.

Reproductive labour is not just another occupation. On the contrary, domestic work and care bring together certain characteristics that affect domestic workers in a particular way. It is notable that even nowadays, the occupation of the domestic sphere remains worldwide largely a “female affair”, with migrant women being hired either to “substitute” or to complement the gender roles of other women (Labadie-Jackson, 2008; Lymberaki & Maroukis, 2005; Fouskas, 2021). This model is also found in Greece with migrant women, mainly from Albania, almost monopolizing the domestic work and care sector. The link between female migration and domestic work goes back in time and is based on the fact that domestic work is a kind of unskilled labour, in many cases performed under “harsh, anarchic, stigmatized and poor working conditions”, which almost exclusively only female migrants are equipped to endure (Farris, 2015, p. 12).

The presence of female migrants from Albania is considered vital as, in addition to being a cheap and flexible labour force, they also contribute to economic and social development at a national level, performing jobs considered unattractive by Greek women and meeting needs in the field of domestic care and cleaning (Kassimati, 2007:118; Psimmenos & Lazaridis, 2000). In fact, these needs are expected to increase due to demographic developments and the shrinking of the welfare state both internationally and in the case of Greece which is under study. However, the issue that arises and is highlighted in this paper is that, to a large extent, migrant domestic workers from Albania are treated as invisible entities at the labour and social level. Their invisibility in the economic, labour and social fabric is linked to the type of work they perform, as in many cases childcare and elderly care as well as cleaning chores are still considered an extension of “female tasks” in the domestic sphere rather than formal paid employment, while the conditions in the informal economy and the low wages, make their income supplementary compared to that of men (Psimmenos & Skamnakis, 2008, p. 89), and at the same time reproduce stereotypical identities, which they themselves, through their decision and choice to migrate and join the labour force, have endeavoured to overcome (Liapi, 2008; Duci & Noti, 2016).

The female migrant labour force coming from Albania and employed in the domestic work sector in Greece, experiences significant and multilevel effects stemming from the type of employment. These effects are reflected in all aspects of their life in the country (personal, social and work). In conclusion, the fact that domestic work is not adequately protected by formal institutions has contributed to the “welfare marginalisation” of Albanian domestic workers and their removal from social services, reinforcing the position often found in literature describing domestic work as a modern form of “slavery” (Psimmenos & Skamnakis, 2008, p. 27, 87).

Briefly, this paper attempts to highlight and reflect on the relationship created by the triangle: migrant, domestic and care work, and integration in the host country. What should concern us after the conclusion of this review is not so much the individual effects of domestic and caregiving work, but the fact that almost all of the literature identifies primarily negative effects on personal, social, professional, and integrative levels. In an attempt to identify some positive effects, it is worth mentioning that the demand for, and the identification of Albanian women with, domestic work provided them the opportunity to work, empower themselves financially, socially, and racially, and in many cases, to become independent. Additionally, direct contact with Greek employers has significantly contributed to social and cultural interaction and integration (Van Boeschoten, 2015).

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Annex

Table 5. Methodological quality assessment of mixed methods research.

	Study	Methods	Are there clear research questions?			Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?			Is there an adequate rationale for using a mixed methods design to address the research question?			Are the different components of the study effectively integrated to answer the research question?			Are the outputs of the integration of qualitative and quantitative components adequately interpreted?			Are divergences and inconsistencies between quantitative and qualitative results adequately addressed?			Do the different components of the study adhere to the quality criteria of each tradition of the methods involved?			
			Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	
1.	6	Lambrianidis and Lymberaki, 2001	Quantitative & qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
2.	7	Vaiou, 2002	Quantitative & qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		

Source: Hong, Q. N., Fàbregues, S., Bartlett, G., Boardman, F., Cargo, M., Dagenais, P., ... & Pluye, P. (2018). The Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool (MMAT) version 2018 for information professionals and researchers. *Education for information*, 34(4), 285-291. <https://tinyurl.com/yc3st78b>

Table 6. Methodological quality assessment of qualitative methods research.

	Study	Methods	Are there clear research questions?			Do the collected data allow to address the research questions?			Is the qualitative approach appropriate to answer the research question?			Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question?			Are the findings adequately derived from the data?			Is the interpretation of results sufficiently substantiated by data?			Is there coherence between qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation?			
			Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	Yes	No	Can't tell	
1.	1	Lazaridis and Romaniszyn, 1998	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
1.	2	Anderson, 1999	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
2.	3	Syrgiou-Rigou, 2000	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
3.	4	Psimmenos and Lazaridis, 2000	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
4.	5	Lazaridis, 2000	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
5.	8	Tastsoglou & Hadjicostandi, 2003	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
6.	9	Hatziprokopiou, 2003	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
7.	10	Charalampopoulou, 2004	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
8.	11	Styliou, 2004	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
9.	12	Lymberaki & Maroukis, 2005	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
10.	13	Vasilikou, 2007, 2009	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
11.	14	Kassimati & Mousourou, 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		

12.	15	Kassimati, 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
13.	16	Thanopoulou, 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
14.	17	Kambouri, 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
15.	18	Stratigaki & Vaiou, 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
16.	19	Mousourou, 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
17.	20	Maratou-Alipranti et al., 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
18.	21	Bacharopoulou et al., 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
19.	22	Sakellis & Spyropoulou, 2007	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
20.	23	Kambouri & Lafazani, 2008	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
21.	24	Kambouri, 2008	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
22.	25	Papataxiarchis, Athanasopoulou & Topali, 2008	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
23.	26	Athanasopoulou, 2008a	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
24.	27	Athanasopoulou, 2008b	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
25.	28	Lykogianni, 2008	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
26.	29	Liapi, 2008	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
27.	30	Psimmenos & Skamnakis, 2008	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
28.	31	Hantzaroula, 2008	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
29.	32	Balli, 2009	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
30.	33	Kassimati, 2009	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
31.	34	Maroukis, 2009, 2010	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
32.	35	Damianovic, 2011	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
33.	36	Psimmenos, 2007, 2011	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
34.	37	Fouskas, 2012, 2013	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
35.	38	Anthias et al., 2013	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
36.	39	Vouyioukas & Liapi, 2013	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
37.	40	Olsson, 2014	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
38.	41	Riki Van Boeschoten, 2015	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
39.	42	Duci & Noti, 2016	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
40.	43	Xypolytas, Vassilikou & Fouskas, 2017	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
41.	44	Lazarescu & Kouzas, 2017	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
42.	45	Skamnakis & Malekaki, 2017	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		
43.	46	Maroukis, 2018	Qualitative	X			X			X			X			X			X			X		

Source: Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (2018). CASP Qualitative Checklist. <https://tinyurl.com/e5k4hr8f>