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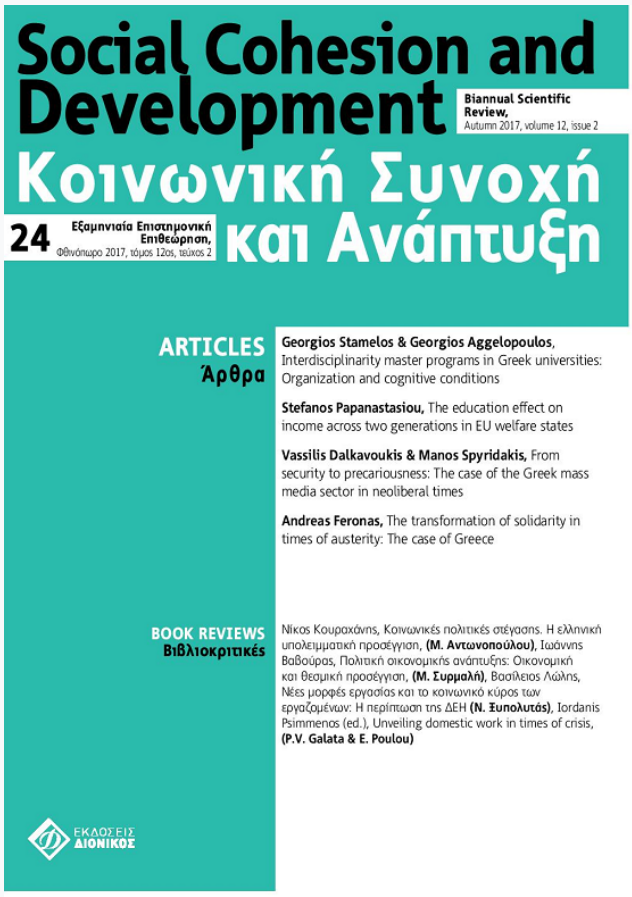

Βασίλειος Λώλης Νέες μορφές εργασίας και το κοινωνικό κύρος των εργαζομένων: Η περίπτωση της ΔΕΗ, Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση, Αθήνα 2015

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να κάνει με τις ευέλικτες εργασιακές σχέσεις και τη συχνή χρήση υπεργολαβιών για την εκτέλεση συγκεκριμένων εργασιών στη βιομηχανική παραγωγή. Αυτή η πλέον συνήθης πρακτική έχει σαν αποτέλεσμα εργάτες που στο παρελθόν εκτελούσαν τις ίδιες εργασίες, να αναλαμβάνουν πλέον την επιστασία σε συνεργεία τα οποία απασχολούν ως επί το πλείστον μετανάστες. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο οι εργάτες, στο πλαίσιο μιας νέας ιεραρχικής δομής, μετατρέπονται προσωρινά σε εργοδότες ταυτιζόμενοι έτσι με την επιχείρηση και τις επιδιώξεις της.

Συνοψίζοντας, η μελέτη του Βασίλη Λώλη είναι μια πρωτότυπη έρευνα που αναδεικνύει τη κοινωνιολογική σημασία του κοινωνικού κύρους των εργαζομένων αξιοποιώντας το παράδειγμα ενός οργανισμού που εντάσσεται στο πλαίσιο των διεθνών αλλαγών οργάνωσης της οικονομίας και της εργασίας. Ο εννοιολογικός διαχωρισμός ανάμεσα σε ενδοεργασιακούς και εξωεργασιακούς παράγοντες άντλησης κοινωνικού κύρους είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικός για τη βιομηχανική κοινωνιολογία, ενώ η μεθοδολογική του επιλογή να συνδυάσει τη ποσοτική και ποιοτική έρευνα, αν και είναι ιδιαιτέρως απαιτητική, καταφέρνει με ξεκάθαρο τρόπο να φωτίσει τις γενικές και ειδικότερες πτυχές του φαινομένου. Πρόκειται για μια μελέτη που εστιάζει στις αλλαγές που επιφέρουν οι νέες μορφές εργασίας στο κοινωνικό κύρος μέσα από την ανάλυση διαφορετικών επαγγελμάτων εντός ενός οργανισμού, αλλά και την εξέταση των συνεχειών και ασυνεχειών που χαρακτηρίζουν την ερμηνεία της εργασίας στο πλαίσιο των ριζικών αλλαγών που έχουν επέλθει σε αυτή

Νίκος Ξυπολυτάς
Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο

Iordanis Psimmenos (ed.),
Unveiling domestic work in times of crisis,
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Unveiling Domestic Work in Times of Crisis is the first research that examines migrant domestic workers' mobility patterns in Greece in a comparative way before and during the crisis. Through the interdisciplinary and coherent analysis of objective and subjective factors, the study provides the longitudinal understanding of the social processes of change on migrants social stratification and mobility. Research findings conclude that in times of crisis migrant domestic workers with emotional attachment with their employers not only became accustomed to their jobs and the conditions related to them, but they also developed new values and personal ambitions that made changing careers undesirable and almost impossible.

The social entrapment of migrant workers appears as a paradox in times of crisis. It lies at two levels: on one hand, the majority of migrant population lives in countries facing the consequences of the social hardship and, on the other hand, it is occupied in low-level jobs with zero or few opportunities for labor market mobility. This situation may intensify the degree of workers' dependency on their employers for job security. The main sociological problem is that, while in times of crisis one would expect migratory process or a mobility trend towards other professions to occur, studies show that as long as the crisis is consolidated, this workforce is getting more

trapped into these professions with more unfavorable employment conditions.

Unveiling Domestic Work in Times of Crisis is an in-depth study on job ties, social attachments and barriers that perpetuate women migrant domestic workers' entrapment at a time of economic stagnation. It is an innovative and exemplary research on social stratification and mobility, as it analyses the ways in which social change leads to variations in the degree of workers' dependency on their employers for job security. Putting "servitude" to the core of the analysis, this study reveals how domestic work shapes these women's perceptions and prospects of mobility in Greece.

The study of Professor Psimmenos *Unveiling Domestic Work in times of crisis* is the first study which examines migrant domestic workers' mobility patterns in Greece in a comparative way reviewing the same group of workers before and during the crisis. Inspired by the work of Du Bois (1920), this research aims at highlighting the economic and social impact of crisis upon this particular occupational group. Two main issues explain the choice of domestic work: *firstly*, that the occupation is an index tool of the social processes of change and occupational roles; and *secondly*, that the definition of occupation as a key tool is central for understanding change within or between different social and occupational groups.

The research used a comparative method to investigate the impact of the crisis on the lives of domestic workers between two time periods, "prosperity" (2005-2008) and recession (2009-2016). The research team focused on two goals: (a) to explore changing labor market environments for domestic workers; and (b) to analyze the impact of these changes on their work expectations, family - peer group relationships and social welfare practices and strategies. To address these issues, 50 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with migrant workers from Albania, Ukraine and Romania. In order to achieve greater analytic depth into the social process of change, interviews were chosen from previous (2005-2008) surveys, combined with snowball sampling technique for interconnecting interviewees, searching for additional data from social networks, personal documents and visits to workers' homes.

In particular, Bada and Hantzaroula in their article explore the social development and regularization of domestic service in Greece since the early nineteenth century due to the rise of the urban middle class. It is among the first historical study on domestic work in Greece with archives data. The historical study reveals how the social mechanisms used to control domestic workers in private households and migration flows provided the main channels for the regularization of domestic work, which has resulted in domestic workers' entrapment treating them as a separate category from other migrant workers.

Following this, Psimmenos article highlights the changes in domestic work organization between the Gastarbeiter (Guestworker) system in the 1970s and the present system of migrant work and employment conditions since the 1980s, which show the reverse procedure and deregulation of domestic work. Specifically, it explains how in times of crisis new forms of paternalism and control have turned the model of the organization of migrant labor into workers' dependency from individual employers and private households. This has led migrants to become trapped in the informal labor sector, while discrimination in the profession is consolidated and institutionalized.

Afterwards, Lazarescu and Kouzas analyze existing approaches to intra-occupational mobility amongst low-income and low-status domestic workers. They explore the factors that determine women's career prospects and expectations during the time of hardship. In particular, recession has had a reverse impact on the meanings attached to work by changing their values and minimizing their expectations with direct impact on the perception of themselves and the mobility prospects. New criteria of mobility and new social status divisions are observed among domestic workers that

perpetuate their social dependence on their jobs and further encourage their deferential behavior.

On the other hand, Xypolytas, Vassilikou, and Fouskas focus on how the crisis affects domestic workers' transnational family ties and modes of organization, their emotional ties to their employers, and their capacities and motives for joining community associations. The study reveals the changes in the mentality of women domestic workers and the factors influencing the development of familial ties with employers. Due to socioeconomic uncertainty, divisions among workers, their own families, and their families of employment are growing and past emotional attachments are being renegotiated. As a result, the casual and individualized nature of employment is fragmenting collective identities outside the workplace. This process is intensified in times of change.

Finally, Skamnakis and Malekaki analyse welfare practices of domestic workers and offer a critique that questions not only the relationship between domestic work and welfare access but also the role of the job itself in formulating informal care regimes. It is found that barriers to welfare are created not only by the social protection system itself, but also by the culture built around informal work, which reinforces attitudes and practices that legitimize unofficial and indirect forms of social protection. The survey highlights the fact that during crisis domestic workers face greater difficulties in gaining access to social protection than before crisis. This is due to the double exclusion process stemming from the deficient social state and the discriminatory practices of their marginalization from welfare, but also from their views on how expensive and inefficient social protection is offered to them. Therefore, in times of crisis, migrant domestic workers are marginalized even more by social services.

More specifically, the study according to the above provides that on their career path migrant domestic workers with emotional attachment with their employers not only became accustomed to their jobs and the conditions related to them, but they also developed new values and personal ambitions that made changing careers undesirable, if not almost impossible. The study finds that the more domestic workers internalized their subordination and loss of control over their personal lives, the less likely they were to change work and leave domestic service, identifying their existence and social position with their work as servants at the expense of their freedom and relationship to networks.

Throughout, the study has provided with two main theoretical and methodological issues as innovative aspects of the analysis for the understanding of the effects of crisis upon migrant domestic workers:

(a) *at the theoretical level,* the importance of social status as well as moral and personal dependency that are much more important than income, and

(b) *at the methodological level,* the longitudinal understanding of the social processes of change on migrants social stratification and mobility.

In conclusion, *Unveiling Domestic Work in Times of Crisis* constitutes a valuable historical and sociological research on social stratification and mobility and a useful social policy tool. Through the comparative, interdisciplinary and coherent analysis of objective and subjective factors, this research allows a deeper understanding of the impact of the crisis on people's lives, their professional aspirations and images of society in the particular historical and social context.

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