

# Notes

## 2 Social Mobility: Issues, Trends, and Critique

1. These are not the only ways of exploring social mobility. Loury et al. (2005) delineate two further approaches both of which come from the field of ethnic minorities studies. The first one “sees social mobility in terms of ‘recognition’ and social citizenship—that is, in the degree to which individuals are affirmed by others as being equal partners in the community” (Loury et al., 2005, p. 2). This approach pays emphasis, on the one hand, to the gap between labor market success and, on the other, social equality. Hence, while the former might be achieved by a specific minority group, the latter might not follow suit. This approach then sees social mobility “less in terms of classes moving in a labor market hierarchy, and more in terms of racially and ethnically defined groups operating within a hierarchical system of social statuses” (Loury et al., 2005, p. 2). The second approach is termed as the “political” school of social mobility study (Loury et al., 2005). Here the focus is on “the capacity of groups to organize for collective action and to significantly influence the institutions that affect them” (Loury et al., 2005, p. 2). Individuals from minority groups are viewed as outsiders to social institutions that are significant in enhancing social mobility and as having inferior status and bargaining power to mobilize resources for their social advancement. “Mobility in this understanding is the process by which groups attain sufficient internal coherence to legitimately threaten existing social institutions with the loss of power, and thus to obtain a fair (or more than fair) slice of the collective pie” (Loury et al., 2005, p. 3). In other words, this school of thought conceives social mobility as the set of processes within which racial and ethnic minorities are embroiled in order to improve their social position. The main exponents of this approach are Glazer and Moynihan (1963) and Rex and Moore (1967).
2. The shortcomings of the occupation-based approach are discussed separately in section 2.4 in connection with Glass’s and Goldthorpe’s works, which both used occupations for the derivation of social classes in their analyses.
3. LSE stands for the London School of Economics, the institution that hosted Glass and his team who worked on the social mobility study discussed here.
4. The originality of these studies also lies with the fact that the researchers who produced them used income groups as the unit of their analysis rather than social classes that were predominantly used hitherto.

5. Although the existence of a capitalist or ruling class is a *sine qua non* for every capitalist society, the existence of an aristocracy or upper class is not. Britain is an interesting country, which hosts both a formidable capitalist class and a traditional aristocracy. The latter, aristocracy, is a medieval relic that has survived the transition into the capitalist mode of production and enjoys significant symbolic and material privileges.
6. I am using the term “orthodox” here to refer to those who adopted the assertions made by Marx in the *Preface* (1859) to the *Critique of the Political Economy* about historical materialism, as a new “theory” of history. Although Marx never elaborated on the ideas laid out in the *Preface*, these ideas were later adopted by the members of the Second and Third Internationals and were “frozen into dogma, immune from the often facile but sometimes trenchant criticisms levelled against it, and impervious to theoretical elaboration or even clarification” (Levine and Wright, 1980, p. 47).
7. It is worth quoting here the main passage from which this “orthodox” position stems. Although space limitations do not allow me to delve into depth, I wish to stress that it is the interpretation of this passage that has led to a lot of debate and tension within Marxist circles, both academic and activist/political ones, in relation to the conception of historical development: “In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one cannot judge such a period of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society. Mankind thus inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it is able to solve, since closer examination will always show that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation. In broad outline, the Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production may be designated as epochs marking progress in the economic development of society. The bourgeois mode of production is the last antagonistic form of the social process of production – antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism but of an antagonism that emanates from the individuals’ social conditions of existence – but the productive forces developing within bourgeois society create also the material conditions for a solution of this antagonism. The prehistory of human society accordingly closes with this social formation” (Marx, 1977).
8. Especially, Cohen’s (1978) book, *Karl Marx’s Theory of History: A Defence*, exerted a major influence in the rearticulation of Marx’s original idea of socio-economic development. This was expressed in Cohen’s (1978) “Primacy Thesis,” which upholds “that the nature of a set of production relations is explained by

the level of development of the productive forces embraced by it” (1978, p. 134). As Levine and Wright (1980) argued, “The overall argument can be decomposed into five relatively independent theses: A given level of development of productive forces is compatible with only a limited range of relations of production (Thesis 1). Since the forces of production tend to develop over time (Thesis 2), these forces eventually reach a level at which they are no longer compatible with existing relations of production (Thesis 3). When this occurs, the relations are said to “fetter” the productive forces. Because rational human beings will not in the long run tolerate the fettering of productive forces, they will transform these relations of production (Thesis 4), and substitute new relations that are optimal for the further development of productive forces (Thesis 5)” (pp. 51–52). This interpretation of Marx’s original thesis, however, has since been abandoned as it has led to a plethora of problems and theoretical conundrums. For a detailed discussion of some major problems within Marxist thinking, see Mészáros (1995), especially pp. 917–936.

### **3 The Political Economy, Social Stratification, and Class Formation in Postwar Greece**

1. EAM stands for *Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo* (National Liberation Front) and it was the main political and social force of organized resistance against the occupation of the Axis forces during the Second World War. ELAS stands for *Ellinikós Laïkós Apeleftherotikós Stratós* (Greek People’s Liberation Army or ELAS). Although initially autonomous, ELAS soon became EAM’s military branch.
2. PASOK stands for *Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima* (Panhellenic Socialist Movement).
3. North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
4. The European Economic Community (EEC) was superseded by the EU, in 1996. Hereafter, for the sake of consistency, I shall be using the term EU in order to refer to both entities.
5. KKE stands for *Kouministiko Komma Ellados* (Communist Party of Greece).
6. For a discussion of the role of the Greek state in administering and facilitating financial capital, see Ellis (1964) and Psilos (1968). For a discussion of the close ties between the Greek state and the shipping sector, the other significant source of capital during the same period, see Serafetinides (1979).
7. Mouzelis (1978) maintains that the indigenous Greek capital operated in the more profitable and less-risky nonmanufacturing sectors, mainly on borrowed money. In turn, a big share of the profits of the Greek capitalists was shifted into foreign banks or into shipping, making therefore unavoidable the reliance of the Greek economy on foreign capital, which started taking place in the early 1960s and it “had serious impact on the structure of the economy” (p. 37).
8. For difficulties in the estimation of this type of immigrants, see Papadimitriou (2005); Petronoti and Triandafyllidou (2003).
9. Although it is very difficult to offer an accurate estimate of the size of tax evasion and black market economy, expert guesstimates posit the former, that

is, tax evasion, in the area of 10–13 billion Euros, that is 5–6 percent of the overall Greek GDP (as it stood in 2008). The black market activity is estimated to be between 25 and 28 percent of the GDP, that is, 54 and 61 billion Euros. In case these indicators, namely tax evasion and black market activity, are accurate, then Greece occupies the top position among its OECD counterparts. Finally, it has been further estimated that the “secret income,” that is to say income that is evaded from the tax authorities, is around 10–15 percent for those in the top decile of the income structure and around 24 percent for the top 1 percent (Matsaganis, in Kostarelou, 2011). In other words, the highest an individual’s income is, the greatest the amount of money evaded from taxation. For more on the black market economy, see Vavouras and Manolas (2005).

10. Data refer to 2003, a year that Greece was intensively preparing for the 2004 Olympic Games. As a result, a large number of immigrants were on short-term contracts in sectors with increased demand, such as in constructions (indicatively, 29.3 percent of those immigrants in the secondary sector were employed in constructions).
11. NSSG stands for National Statistical Services of Greece. The acronym is direct translation of *Elliniki Statistiki Ypiresia Ellados* (ESYE) and is preferred here to ESYE for issues of consistency with the international literature, where it appears as NSSG.
12. In 2003, 66.1 percent of them lived in Attica—the area surrounding Athens—and 8.4 percent in Central Macedonia, the prefecture of the second biggest urban center, Salonika.
13. According to Christodoulakis and Kalyvitis (2001), the repatriated co-ethnics and foreign immigrants who were added to the labor force by 2000 were estimated to be more than 500,000 people.
14. Data refer to January 2012. It is likely that the rate of youth unemployment in Spain has increased faster than in Greece, which might have led to a concomitant change in the relevant rate of youth unemployment. Nevertheless, this does not suffice to change the overall picture, with Greece as one of the “champions” of youth unemployment in the EU. It is expected that the effects of the severe austerity measures and the strict terms of the bail-out packages that Greece signed from 2010 onward will exacerbate this situation and implode the social, financial, and economic position of the country in the forthcoming years.
15. In spite of the high rates of female part-time employment in Greece, overall part-time employment has been traditionally low. For example, 20.3 percent of women and 6.5 percent of men in the EU-27 were in part-time employment, while countries with a more aggressive neoliberal model and a more deregulated labor market, such the United Kingdom, displayed much higher rates of part-time employment: 38.8 percent for women and 8.9 percent for men (OECD, 2010).
16. This means that for every 100 women in the labor market, approximately 14 are employed part time and the rest (i.e., 86) are employed full time. In terms of men, approximately 4 in every 100 are part-time employed, with the remaining 96 in full-time work (OECD, 2010).

17. The rate of females in the 25- to 64-year-old group in the labor market in the EU-27 was slightly higher than that for Greece, that is, 64.4 percent, with a much narrower gender gap, that is, 15.7 percent (OECD, 2008).
18. Indicative of the structural determinants of the gender gap is that Greece has one of the lowest rates in terms of women in managerial positions among all OECD countries: In 2007, the concomitant rate stood at 27.9 percent for Greek females compared to 32.1 percent in the OECD countries (ELSF, 2007).
19. For the advanced capitalist economies, the exit from agriculture occurred at a much earlier stage than in Greece. In England, for example, 80 percent of the population was employed in agriculture in 1500, compared to only 20 percent in 1850 (and approximately 40 percent in industry) (Overton, 1996). Other European countries, such as France, Germany, and Italy, reached a low level of agricultural employment after the Second World War (Crafts, 1985).
20. “Pluriactivity” here is used to connote “the willingness of the individual or the family as a unit, to engage in more than one activity across sectors in order to integrate relatively low income level” (Bull and Corner, 1993, p. 10).
21. This is the period after Greece gained independence from the Ottoman Empire, which starts with the fight for liberation, in 1821, and the establishment of the independent Greek Kingdom in 1830.
22. The existence or not of an agricultural class as a distinctive one with its own characteristics, particularities, and relations with the other social classes is an issue of special consideration. While some authors (Vergopoulos, 1975) accept it as a different class, others (Mouzelis, 1976) are more skeptical about the value of this concept, given the difficulty it posits in demonstrating how it is implicated in the capitalist mode of production and what its relationships with the other classes are.
23. During this period, the dominant mode of production was agriculture, which was very heterogeneous and multilayered (comprised of various structures). This transition period from the protocapitalist mode of production to the capitalist one was followed by the massive influx of the defining mechanisms of the global market (Tsoukalas, 1977).
24. In the same year, namely 1920, 17.6 percent of the population lived in cities with more than 20,000 people and 12.6 percent in large cities with more than 100,000 people (Mouzelis, 2005).
25. This included more than one million refugees from Asia Minor who were expelled to Greece in 1921 (Voutira, 1997).
26. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the service-employed part of the population was estimated to be more than 60 percent of the nonagricultural population. Moreover, in 1928, 35 percent of the overall urban population were indigenous, that is born in an urban center, 32 percent refugees, and about 33 percent immigrants from another part of Greece (Tsoukalas, 1977, p. 205).
27. To this end, it has also to be acknowledged that emigration from the urban population abroad, chiefly to the United States and Australia, allowed the refugees and those who emigrated from the villages to the cities to fill in the positions that were left vacant.

28. “Groups” is preferred here instead of social classes, because the dominant mode of production in these rural areas, at least until the war, was still pre-capitalist with some proto-capitalist features.
29. These “outcasts” consisted of entire ethnic groups, such as people of Romani origin (“Yiftoi” in Greek), or people with marginal position in the local division of labor.
30. In other words, occupational changes, such as the creation of new jobs, absorbed this movement. This means that, while the absolute number of socially mobile individuals may have been high, inequalities in the social structure might also have remained unchallenged.

#### **4 Education, Social Mobility, and the Question of Meritocracy**

1. Primary education was free from 1836.
2. In 2007, the share of private funding as a proportion of overall educational expenditure was 36.5 percent compared to 52.2 percent that was expended by the state. The remaining 11.2 percent was contributed by EU funds (KANEP/GSEE, 2012).
3. Greek universities, apart from the Open Greek University, do not charge tuition fees for undergraduate courses. Fees for postgraduate studies have increasingly been applied by many Greek universities, but they vary across institutions and subject of study.
4. The Centre for the Development of Education Policy (Kentro Anaptiksis Ekpaideytikis Politikis) of the General Confederation of Greek Workers (Yeniki Sinomospondia Ergaton Elladas) appears hereafter with the initials that relate to its acronym in Greek, that is, KANEP/GSEE, in order to allow for consistency with relevant publications in the Anglophone literature.
5. Since 2000, university entry rates saw a steep increase: from 30 percent of the corresponding age-group in 2000 to 43 percent in 2007 (OECD, 2010). Nevertheless, the graduation rates have traditionally been at very low levels: at 14.5 percent in 2000, Greece had the fourth lowest graduation rate among 24 OECD countries and in 2007, the worst rate, 17.7 percent, among 22 OECD countries (OECD, 2010).
6. Household consumption rose sharply from the 1990s onward. NSSG (2010) data indicate that between 1993/1994 and 1998/1999, it rose by 22 percent and by 12.1 percent during the 1998/1999 to 2004/2005 period. According to Cheliotis and Xenakis (2010, p. 366), “[t]his was facilitated by the deregulation of both consumer and housing credit, which in turn produced a steep rise in household indebtedness.”
7. Notably, according to an OECD (2006) study, in Greece, there were more physicians per capita than in any other OECD country (OECD, 2006). Katsanevas (2003) drew similar conclusions in relation to dentists and lawyers.
8. Graduate unemployment has to be examined at the backdrop of youth unemployment. In the EU-27, youth unemployment stood at 21.4 percent, which is over twice as high as the total unemployment rate in 2011. In Greece, in 2011, the youth unemployment rate was 44.4 percent, more than double the EU-27 average (Eurostat, 2011).

9. This lies at the heart of the “post-industrialization” thesis, whose major tenet was that as long as the blue-collar workers outnumber white-collar ones, a society can be characterized as “industrial”; if, however, the white-collar labor force overtakes arithmetically the blue-collar labor force, then this signifies the emergence of the “post-industrial” society.
10. Since the American society was perceived by Bell (1973) as the vanguard of social and economic changes in the world, other countries, he speculated, would soon follow suit.
11. Goldthorpe (2003b).
12. To be precise, the type of social mobility that was evident was “short distance movement” (Westergaard and Resler, 1975), that is, within white- or blue-collar occupations rather than across these groups.
13. It should be borne in mind that educational qualifications operate differently for men and women. For the latter, there seems to be a stronger effect of educational qualifications on class destinations.

## 5 Contextualizing the Case Study

1. The name of the locale and of all the respondents were replaced with pseudonyms for issues pertaining to protection of the anonymity of the participants and the confidentiality of issues discussed with them.
2. Apart from the poor landless people in areas that had recently joined Greece, there were approximately 1.2 million refugees (Voutira, 1997), who fled from Minor Asia to Greece after 1921. Although the Decree was also concerned with their settlement, this did not affect Protopi because the main bulk of these refugees settled in East and North Eastern Greece.
3. For an analysis of differentiations within peasant societies, see Chayanov (in Thorner et al., 1986).
4. No officially recorded date exists for the establishment of Protopi. According to anecdotal sources, it dates back to the early thirteenth century. Its first inhabitants, according to the same sources, were non-Roma with the Roma appearing toward the end of the same century.
5. This raises issues pertinent to fertility and morbidity rates of the Roma and the general population. As the investigation of this aspect is still ongoing, tentative findings suggest that Roma families have tended to be larger than the non-Roma for the best part of the twentieth century.
6. It is estimated that the non-Roma group consists of approximately 80 percent of the overall population in Protopi, the Roma approximately 10 percent and the newly arrived immigrants from Albania also 10 percent.
7. These groups moved into Protopi after the early 1990s. Consequently, the estimation of their intra- and intergenerational social mobility could not be achieved given that they were not native to Protopi’s social structure, labor market, and social relations for the main part of their educational and occupational lives.
8. This does not negate the possibility that much of the power of interpretation still lies with the researcher. In other words, the researcher is not turned into an “objective operator” of the research she or he conducts. She or he still carries a lot of the burden of responsibility as far as knowledge construction

is concerned. The difference, though, is that in critical ethnography, the researcher is aware of this process and actively tries to limit his or her power and interpretative bias.

9. This study extends beyond the interest of conventional ethnography, which typically entails focusing exclusively on everyday-life situations in order to understand and describe a culture from the “native” point of view. While, on the one hand, I was interested in unpacking social inequalities and injustices embedded in Protopi, on the other hand, I was also concerned with maintaining a commitment toward positive social change. As Wainwright (1997, p. 5) contended, “the objective is still to access the subjective beliefs of the people being studied, but rather than accepting such beliefs at face value they are examined critically in the context of a broader historical and structural analysis.”
10. Although these criteria (ethnicity, gender, age, class, educational level) possibly also guide much conventional ethnographic research, the main originality of this study is the way they were deployed. Thus, these criteria did not comprise a list of variables to be taken into account. Instead, for each of these aspects (ethnicity, gender, and so on), I sought to include people whose voice was less “heard,” who belonged to the most-oppressed and least-powerful groups. I managed, to the best of my ability and to the optimum the circumstances allowed, to achieve this through a number of ways. For example, I spent a lot of time familiarizing myself with the research locale. I also acquired as extensive knowledge as possible of the historical, social, political, economic, and educational context of Protopi so that my knowledge was up to date and my sampling criteria aligned with the principles of the transformative approach.
11. The need to identify these three age-groups is justified by their diverse experiences in respect of the labor market (chapter 7) educational participation (chapter 8), marital selection, and social differentiation (chapter 9). It was anticipated that their stories would be different as they belonged to three adjacent generations who experienced different struggles, choices, opportunities, and pursued different strategies to advance their careers, and personal and family well-being.

## 6 Quantitative Aspects of Social Mobility

1. It mainly, though not exclusively, refers to tobacco growth, the most widely cultivated and commercially exploited product by farmers in Protopi.
2. For a similar approach, see Lambiri-Dimaki (1983).
3. CASMIN stands for Comparative Analysis of Social Mobility in Industrial Nations.
4. NS-SEC stands for National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification.
5. Admittedly, this is a very different approach to the most widely used schemes, such as the seven-class CASMIN scheme, in which the agricultural class is absent. While this is consistent with the shrinking of British agriculture—in 2006, approximately 1.8 percent of the UK workforce was employed in agriculture (Defra, 2006)—such an approach would be historically, socially, and culturally inaccurate in relation to Protopi.



6. Although more systematic data collection needs to prove this point, it could be argued that in current days, the size of the Roma and non-Roma families is not as disparate as it used to be.
7. EGP stands for the Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero, who created the relevant (i.e., EGP) class scheme.
8. The family as the production unit might resemble the “domestic” or “cottage industry” in Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Timmins, 2005) or the development of the family industry (Marx and Engels [1888], 1977; Thompson, 1963).
9. Commodity production in Protopi emerged mainly after the Second World War, when the farmers started trading the products of agriculture and their labor power gained in exchange value.
10. This externality of the ruling class to the class structure of Protopi is neither an anomaly nor a feature limited to Protopi. As I discussed in relation to nineteenth-century Greece, the Greek diaspora was the leading and for a long time the main capitalist class, which was, though, in social and geographic terms, remote to Greece.
11. If anything, Marx (1969, p. 444) observed that “Capital may there try its utmost. It cannot prevent the labour market from being continuously emptied by the continuous conversion of wages labourers into independent, self-sustaining peasants. The position of a wages labourer is for a very large part of the American people but a probational state, which they are sure to leave within a longer or shorter term.”
12. In the remainder of this chapter, my unit of analysis is the individual and, when applicable, partners living together. It is individual and “couple” mobility that this chapter is concerned with and not mobility of entire (occupational) groups.
13. A rate of 100 percent would indicate perfect mobility, meaning that all social positions are open to everyone. In other words, no class, and especially the top one(s), is self-recruiting.
14. In order to obtain the results that are discussed in section 6.8, the following calculations were conducted:
  - Total mobility rate = vertical + horizontal mobility = 49.3 + 12.8 = 62.1% (1)
  - Total immobility rate = sum on diagonal/total = 473/1,248 = 37.9% (2)
  - Vertical mobility = upward + downward = 43.2 + 6.1 = 49.3% (3)
  - Upward mobility = cells below the diagonal – horizontal mobility cells/total = 539/1,248 = 43.2% (4)
  - Downward mobility = cells above the diagonal – horizontal mobility cells/total = 76/1,248 = 6.1% (5)
  - Horizontal mobility = total mobility – vertical mobility = 12.8% (6)
15. Long-range mobility is the movement between the two ends of Table 6.1 (any movement that crosses both intermittent lines). That is movement out of Class 3 or 4 into Class 1 pertains to long-range, upward mobility. The reverse, namely movement from Class 1 into 3 or 4, indicates long-range, downward mobility. Movements above or below one of the two virtual lines (i.e., out of Class 2 into Class 1 and vice versa, or out of Class 3 or 4 into Class 2 and vice versa) represent short-range mobility.
16. Exchange mobility = total – structural mobility = 62.1 – 45.2 = 16.9% (7)

17. A degree of caution is necessary in the interpretation of these findings. According to Heath (1981), structural and circulation mobility are artifacts due to the asymmetry in the mobility tables. In other words, structural mobility can never be appropriately depicted in a typical mobility table (such as Table 6.2) because some observed movement is due to differences in class distributions between two adjacent generations.
18. If the odds ratio was 1, then individuals from both classes would have the same likelihood of entering Class I. In other words, it would be as easy for peasants' children to enter the middle class as it would be for the offspring of the middle class itself. The bigger the odds are than 1, the higher is the amount of inequality in the relative mobility chances and between respective classes.

## **7 Occupational Trajectories and Experiences of Mobility**

1. The “family mobility strategy” was also followed in chapter 6 in order to account for the occupational trajectories of women, which are typically ignored in mainstream mobility studies. The appropriateness of examining together the social mobility of partners is also dictated by factors entrenched in the socioeconomic history of Protopi. For example, even when women stayed at home, their contribution to the family economy was multiple as it is demonstrated in the remainder of the chapter.
2. As I mentioned in chapter 5, the three generations were as follows: younger generation, 25–44 years old; middle generation, 45–64 years old; and older generation, 65 years and older.
3. This is depicted in the accounts of the participants in the older generation, especially those whose occupational experiences drew on the immediate post-war years, which is the time when this transition from subsistence agriculture to commodity capitalism was more pronounced.
4. In the following lines, where “Q” appears at the beginning of an extract, it refers to the question posed by the interviewer. When an extract is taken from a two-to-one interview (e.g., with a couple), first the name(s) and then the initials of the respondents are used in order to connote the person who spoke each time.
5. “Yiftoi” in the context of Protopi is typically a derogatory exonym used by the non-Roma to designate the Roma.
6. The insinuation that the Roma people were less likely to be landowners came from informal discussions with Euripides that preceded the more “formal” interview.
7. While this aspect was depicted only to a small extent in the quantitative material (see section 6.7), the richness and versatility of the qualitative material allow for this important aspect to be explored in more depth in this chapter.
8. It will be noticed that the age of some of the respondents does not correspond to the age-group discussed in each section. For example, Phokion belongs to the middle age-group, but his account is included in the discussion about the older generation. Wherever this occurs, it is due to the themes recounted by the respondents, such as Phokion, which relate not strictly to their own generation, but to other ones.

9. “Local” refers here to the wider area surrounding Protopi. This includes all nearby villages and towns as well as the main city, which was the administrative and economic center in the wider area.
10. Evidence on the ethnic composition of the clients of Roma professionals in the early postwar years is inconclusive. However, in the last 10–15 years, Roma builders have been frequently commissioned jobs by non-Roma and with similar pay rates to the non-Roma builders.
11. As I am writing these lines, this precariousness has taken the characteristics of a crisis not only in the labor market but also in the relations of production. The latter are being radically transformed not only in Greece, but globally (Harman, 2009; Harvey, 2010).
12. Interestingly, Circe’s husband, Sophocles, 55 years, often interjected to offer his views on issues relevant to Circe’s working experiences and filled in her account when he judged that his contribution could enhance the clarity of Circe’s narration.
13. It can be suggested that two main factors might have impinged on this difficulty to access young Roma women. First, as a male researcher, it was generally more difficult for me to gain access to females. Second, young Roma women move out of Protopi in much larger volumes than in the past.
14. A caveat here is necessary: in the material presented in [chapter 6](#), accounts from male and/or non-Roma participants were more extensive than for women and/or Roma. Although this reflects the sample of the ethnographic research (see [chapter 4](#)), the main reason for such an approach lies with the fact that most of the new jobs that were created after the 1950s were “male-centered”; hence, it was invariably men who made the most of the new opportunities. The non-Roma imbalance has to be seen as a reflection of the domination of the more powerful group, the non-Roma, in the labor market and its disproportionate share in the capitalization of the new occupational opportunities that emerged in the postwar years. This unevenness will be redressed in chapters 8 and 9.

## **8 Educational Experiences and Pathways to Social Mobility**

1. For a similar argument, see [chapter 6](#), especially the class-scheme construction.
2. These gains were not restricted to white-collar workforce. A number of studies that appeared at that time also shed light on the relative affluence of blue-collar workers. For example, Burawoy’s (1982) book *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process under Monopoly Capitalism* and Goldthorpe et al.’s (1968a, 1968b, 1969) series of studies titled *The Affluent Worker* showed some of the intricacies of the reorganized labor processes on the working and social lives of manual workers in traditional blue-collar sectors, such as car manufacturing. Crucially, though, the relative improvement in material standing of these workers did not translate into concomitant social mobility advancement, that is to their embourgeoisement. Consistent with the argument I am propounding here, the affluence of these workers was the result of a postwar focus on increased production and consumption. Policy initiatives, such as the New Deal in the United States, aimed at exactly this: the empowerment of the worker as a consumer, for it was believed that

by receiving increased wages, workers would have more expendable income and thus sustain the capitalist need for expansion. The remedy, in other words, for avoiding another disastrous economic crisis, such as the one that preceded the Second World War, was the creation of a consumption-driven economy, which required the reorganization of production.

### **9 Alternative Pathways to Social Mobility: The Role of Migration, Marriage, and Political Patronage**

1. Referring to the 1952–1966 period.
2. Assortative mating connotes the matching of traits between spouses. Positive assortative mating refers to pairing practices between partners who possess the same degree or type of a specific characteristic. For example, in my study, I use positive assortative to refer to the pairing of partners with the same socioeconomic background. If there are socioeconomic differences between the spouses, for example, if one partner comes from a family of landowners and the other from a family of landworkers, this would be negative assortative mating.
3. Groups of people who used to live on the mountains, typically involved in livestock farming. In Protopi, there are a number of families with a Vlachic origin who, according to anecdotal evidence, range between 20 and 30 families.
4. For many locals in the majority group, “black” is a reference to the darker skin color of the Roma people, as this has been perceived as a major marker of differentiation between Roma and non-Roma.
5. A member of staff in a bank, who was specialized in agricultural issues.
6. Loosely translated, it means a “gift,” usually related to securing a position, such as in the civil service. More broadly, rousfeti implies achieving a goal thanks to political mediation.

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