

Prof. Dr. Franz Schultheis
Seminar für Soziologie SfS-HSG

Mirrors: polyphonic narrations on a social world in crisis

Beitrag zum Forschungskolloquium am
Institut für Soziologie der Universität Jena

12.01.2016

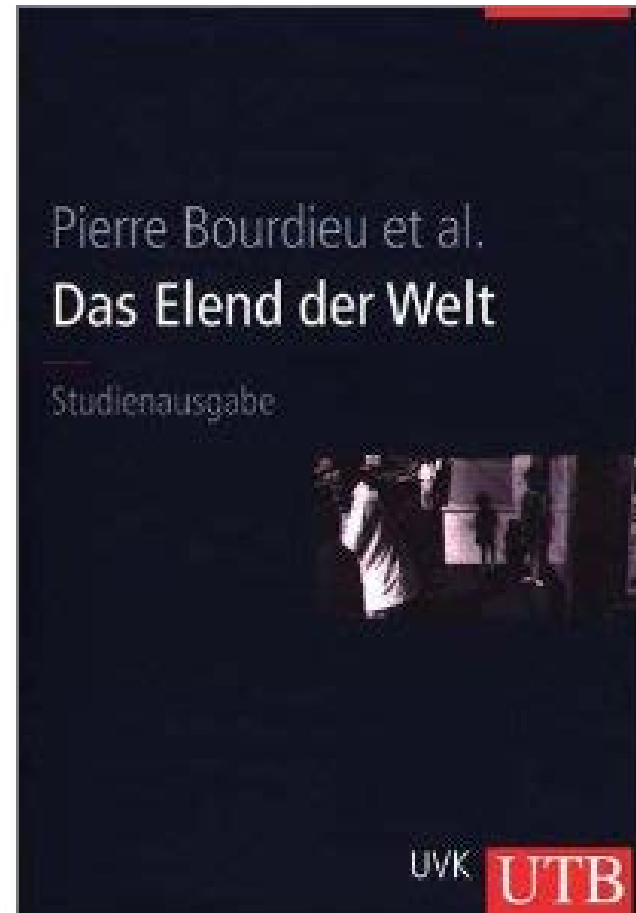
MIRRORS

Polyphonic narrations on a social
world in crisis



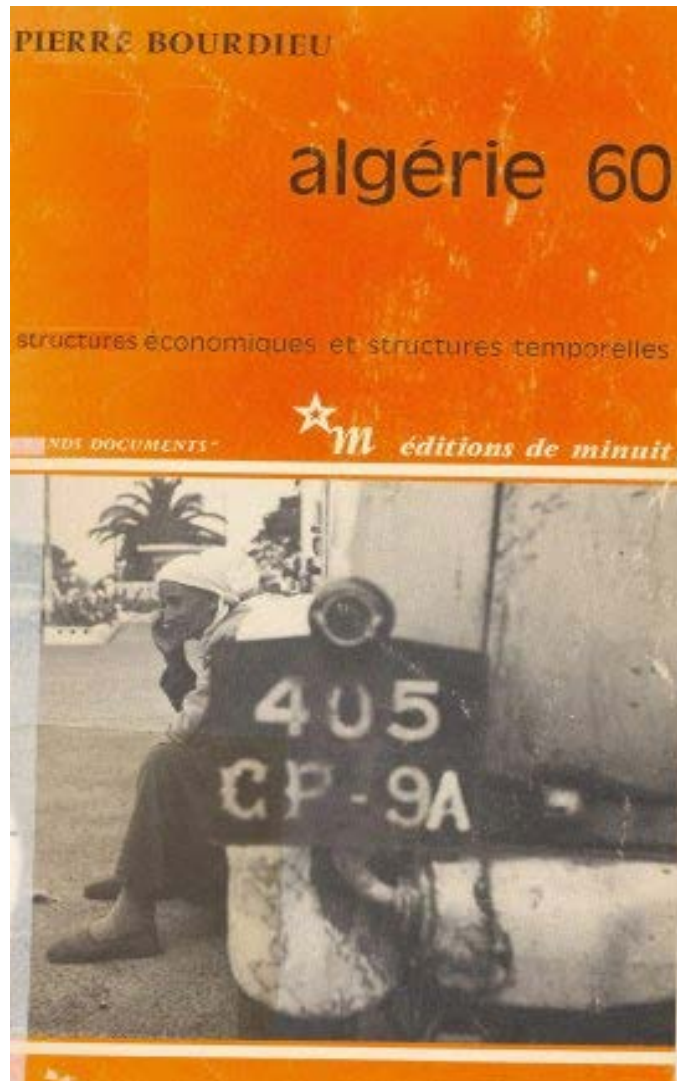
Nikos Panayotopoulos
Franz Schultheis
Venia Dimitrakopoulou

Anknüpfungen



FS: Können Sie uns erläutern, wie sich Das Elend der Welt im Kontext Ihrer bisherigen Arbeiten verorten läßt?

Bourdieu: Es gibt eine ganze Reihe von Leuten, die gerne von einer methodologischen Kehrtwende meinerseits sprechen, während ich selbst im Gegensatz dazu eine sehr klare Kontinuität im Hinblick auf meine vorausgehenden Arbeiten sehe. Schon in meinen allerersten ethnologischen Studien, ich denke etwa an das Buch *Travail et travailleurs en Algérie* aus dem Jahre 1963, meinem frühesten und vielleicht zugleich aktuellsten Buch, waren für mich qualitative Interviews als Form der Feldforschung eine Selbstverständlichkeit. Neben standardisierten Befragungen von rund 2.000 Personen führte ich damals bereits eine beachtliche Zahl an Tiefeninterviews durch.



Gesellschaftsdiagnose von Unten: Forschung im Kollektiv

Hier klicken **Blick ins Buch!**

Franz Schultheis, Kristina Schulz (Hg.)



Gesellschaft mit begrenzter Haftung

Zumutungen und Leiden im deutschen Alltag



Forschungen zur Arbeitswelt am Seminar für Soziologie

Franz Schultheis, Berthold Vogel,
Michael Gemperle (Hg.)

Ein halbes Leben

Biografische Zeugnisse
aus einer Arbeitswelt im Umbruch



Jörg Flecker, Franz Schultheis,
Berthold Vogel (Hg.)

Im Dienste öffentlicher Güter

Metamorphosen der Arbeit
aus der Sicht der Beschäftigten

FOREN



edition
sigma



Franz Schultheis,
Berthold Vogel,
Kristina Mau (Hg.)

Im öffentlichen Dienst

Kontrastive Stimmen
aus einer Arbeitswelt
im Wandel

[transcript] Gesellschaft der Unterschiede

Warum Forschung in Griechenland?

1. 1997-2000: E.U.-Projekt „La précarité des jeunes en Europe“ D-GR-B-F
2. 2000: Charte 2000 Athen
3. 2012: TINOS-Seminar zur Reproduktionskrise im Mittelmeerraum
4. 2012: Projekt Crisis in Greece I: Rund 60 Tiefeninterviews zur Frage des Lebens und Überlebens in der Krise (Finanzierung durch Latsis Foundation)

These

Griechenland bietet sich als ein soziologisches Laboratorium zur Erforschung der Auswirkungen von Krise in den Lebensbedingungen und -weisen, den Habitus der Betroffenen und deren Umstellungs- und Überlebensstrategien in besonderer Weise an.

Krisenwissenschaft

Hier gehen wir von einem bewusst breiten Verständnis von „Krise“ aus, welches sich nicht allein auf deren materielle bzw. ökonomische Dimensionen beschränkt, sondern mittels des für uns zentralen Konzeptes „Prekarisierung“ auf die vielfältigen Formen „sozialer Verunsicherung“ (Castel 2003, Castel/Dörre 2009) – von Aspekten kollektiver Identität, Status, sozialer Integration, politisch-weltanschaulicher Orientierungen, alltagsweltlichen Plausibilitätsstrukturen, körperlicher und mentaler Befindlichkeit bis hin zu Lebensentwürfen und Zukunftserwartungen – kurz: auf den „Gesamthabitus“ (Weber 1980) der Menschen abzielt.

Projekt: „Krisenwissenschaft“ in einem
soziologischen Laboratorium:
eine Radiographie der griechischen
Gegenwartsgesellschaft
Nikos Panayoutopolos und Franz Schultheis

Galerie von rund 60 soziologischen Porträts von
Alltagsmenschen unterschiedlichster Herkunft und
Statuspositionen auf der Basis ihrer Zeugnisse
durchgeführt von Doktoranden und den beiden
Projektleitern

Forschungsprojekt OEKAME: Ökonomie – Arbeit – Medizin

Arbeitssoziologische Perspektiven

„Das Forschungsprojekt OEKAME: Ökonomie-Arbeitswelt-Medizin ist aus den Rheinfelder Tagen Psychosomatik und Arbeit 2013 hervorgegangen.

Die Kooperation der Universität St. Gallen (Leitung Prof. Dr. Franz Schultheis; Patricia Holder, Elli von Planta) und der Klinik Schützen Rheinfelden (MSc Sandrine Burnand, Dr. med. Hanspeter Flury) hat das Ziel, die Erfahrungen von Patientinnen und Patienten in der Arbeitswelt aus Sicht von praktisch tätigen Ärztinnen und Ärzten, Psychiaterinnen und Psychiatern sowie Psychologinnen und Psychologen zu erforschen und die Resultate in die gesellschaftspolitischen und sozialwissenschaftlichen Debatten um die zukünftige Gestaltung der Arbeitswelt einfließen zu lassen. Dafür wurde 2014 eine breit abgestützte Untersuchung gestartet, zu der rund 600 Antworten eingetroffen und analysiert sind.“

Auf den folgenden Seiten:

**Erste Ergebnisse aus
der griechischen
Paralleluntersuchung**

Ergebnisse der griechischen Surveys (N=520) (1)

Eigene Betroffenheit vom Wandel der Arbeit	sehr stark	242
	ziemlich	200
Häufigkeit des Themas Arbeit im Patientengespräch	sehr oft	203
	oft	228
	nie	3
Zunahme dieser Thematisierungen von Arbeit beim Patientengespräch	sehr gross	168
	gross	247
Lohnreduktion und Knappheit des Einkommens als Gründe	sehr oft	190
	oft	196

Ergebnisse der griechischen Surveys (N=520) (2)

Unsicherheit der Anstellung	sehr oft	297
	oft	154
Direkte Angst von Arbeitslosigkeit	sehr oft	288
	oft	163
Häufigkeit Krankschreibungen	konstant	176
	Abnahme	215

Thema: Reproduktionskrise

Qu: Does the crisis change the relationships between children and their parents.

MARKOS: I think it's worse, first of all, because dependency is always bad. And you can't get creative and things like that, the things that, you know, when you first look at this situation... But there's also another kind of crisis that hits the young people. Because I think Greek working ages like from 18 to 65 are separated by this line, the line of crisis, the line of 2010, maybe. So maybe they have the less salary but they still have their house... they have their children, their family, they're married. From an age and downwards you get nothing of this. I mean you can't plan your life. You just wait. [...] No. But if you ask about the family relationships or something... For me, the big problems were before the crisis; the structure of the Greek family. On one hand, it replaced the lack of social state, of course... It was a very good thing. On the other hand, this...

Thema: Lähmung, 30 Jahre,

Qu: Why don't you try to do something else and find something?

Katarina: Now you can't find anything, that is the insecurity that exists: if in five years' time we'll be starving or not. It's...., obvious that professionally..., it's not that I'm afraid to leave there and get a job as a waitress somewhere, let's say. You know I wouldn't be scared to do that if necessary to make ends meet. But that's not the point. The point is that I don't believe there are such jobs around.

(Lehramtsstudium)

Projekt 2: Crisis in Greece

Da es sich bei Gesellschaftskrisen um grundlegend prozesshafte Phänomene mit unterschiedlichen konjunkturellen Ausprägungen in einer „longue durée“ der biographischen Erfahrung und des „social learning“ im Umgang mit Krise handelt, greifen wir hier auf die Gelegenheit zurück, mittels des bereits in den Jahren 2011/2012 durchgeführten Sets an Interviews mit rund 80 Griechinnen und Griechen einen longitudinalen Zugang zu Prozessen und Dynamiken der subjektiven Krisenerfahrung und -verarbeitung zu konzipieren. Die damaligen Probanden sind ebenso wie die beteiligten griechischen SoziologInnen bereit, sich in mehreren Wellen nochmals an dieser Forschung zu beteiligen. Geplant ist, sie im Abstand von je zwölf Monaten noch drei Mal mit einem qualitativen Forschungsansatz ausführlich zu befragen und allfällige sozioökonomische Veränderungen im Stil eines Mini-Haushaltspanels zu erfassen.

Forschungsinteresse

Geleistet werden soll ein Beitrag zu einer Soziologie gesellschaftlicher Krisen mittels der Langfristanalyse alltagsweltlicher Arrangements und alltagspraktischen Bewältigungsstrategien unter anomischen Rahmenbedingungen. Durch die Mehrfachbefragung von Individuen im Zeitverlauf wird verstehend nachvollziehbar, welche Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungsmuster, Bewältigungsstrategien und biographischen Entwürfe Individuen in Zeiten massiver Umbrüche und Desorientierungen unter den Bedingungen einer Ökonomie der Prekarität an den Tag legen und welche Quellen und Formen an Ressourcen auf der Suche nach „Normalität“ mobilisiert werden.

Marie Jahoda,
Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Hans Zeisel
Die Arbeitslosen
von Marienthal.

Ein soziographischer Versuch

edition suhrkamp
SV

DOCUMENTS

PAUL LAZARSFELD
MARIE JAHODA - HANS ZEISEL

**LES CHOMEURS
DE MARIENTHAL**

Traduit de l'allemand par Françoise Laroche

PRÉFACE DE PIERRE BOURDIEU



LES ÉDITIONS DE MINUIT

Projekt II: Ethnographische Soziologie der Krise in Form einer Gemeindemonographie

Dreijährige Dauerbeobachtung einer
Gemeinde auf dem Peleponnes
(u.a. regelmässige Tiefeninterviews mit
ethnographischen Informanten (Priester,
Arzt, Lehrer, Bürgermeister, Café-Haus-
Wirt; teilnehmende Beobachtung an
ausgewählten Orten des Dorflebens wie
Marktplatz und Café)

Hans Haacke:
„Der geschenkte Gaul“
London 2015

Plakat
der
Präsentation
von
„Mirrors“
Athen,
25.1.2016

The Gift Horse, H. Haacke



Auszüge aus den Interviews

Aliki Panagi, An uncertain future

Yes, I imagine it's different. You have been unemployed in the past...but not under the same circumstances...

Yes, I've been unemployed. No, there's no comparison. There were, I mean, ... you had options. There were different options to choose from. I mean, choices in work, between various interviews, you chose the job that you wanted to do. You weren't obliged to "go there to make a bit of money". But now, whatever comes your way...you have to make the most of it. And it's not easy for us, because, having a child, you think about his future. And, say, when both parents are unemployed.... if one is working, somehow you can get by, but when both parents are unemployed, it is more uncertain what you are going to do and how long you are going to do it for.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

“I can’t stand it anymore. Every morning, I have the same feeling, I’m in the same mood of not wanting to open the pharmacy. Every day, more people come asking for medicines they can’t pay for... Do you know how I feel? It’s as if I hold their lives in my hands, as if their lives depend on me. And what can I do... I can’t keep giving away medicines, I’ve got big debts myself. It’s my fault: I’m the one taking the brunt of the ministry’s “grand designs”... I function as a breakwater. Do you know what a bad effect it’s having on my health? When I leave at mid-day, I’m in a state of depression... Every day more people, every day worse than the previous one... I sit and think about the hopes I had when I was a student and I say to myself: “Where am I now and what am I doing?”

Woman, 43 years old, owner of a pharmacy.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

[...] It's difficult, things are difficult. The welfare state is in serious retreat and I see this from the inside. Patients on national insurance come in, knowing beforehand what they need and what they can receive from the system – and who now cannot receive those things – they come in and put pressure on us saying: "Doctor, I want my medicine, the medicine that I took and that I've been taking for years". And now we have to change that medicine and give him something cheaper...

Um, because medicines have come out

They're in circulation, they always have been, original medicines and medicines which are generic. [...] Some of those are very good, but some not so good. The ones that aren't so good are cheaper, of course they're cheaper. And the system now obliges us, by law, to prescribe the cheaper medicines which circulate regardless of their efficacy. No one pays attention to how effective they are.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

And it's difficult because he comes back and complains, saying: "Doctor, I took that but it didn't do me any good, because my blood pressure hasn't gone down, my blood sugar levels haven't been regulated and my swelling hasn't gone down". And then what can we say? This is the first crisis of conscience. Should we say, "Pay and get the good medicine?" And what if the patient hasn't got the money?

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

They now say, from June or July that too will start and that the common social security fund will cover each patient – regardless of what medicine is needed – for 30 Euros a month. [...] There are patients, particularly the elderly, who have heart conditions, blood pressure, prostate problems (in the case of men) and many other types of problem, they have thousands of problems and have to take a combination of medicines. How can 30 Euros possibly cover the ten medicines taken by one individual, all of which are needed? And we're referring to the *absolutely essential* now. So once again, the doctor is placed in a difficult position.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

So the system is changing scientifically established data...

...Completely, completely, in favour of economic criteria.

And how do you feel.... I mean, as a scientist, when the system imposes that on you?

I am in a dilemma. Because I have to think as a scientist, as a doctor. Because my role is to help people and not to save money, I'm not an economist. So what am I to do? I've got a crisis of conscience. What am I to do? I say, for example, to a patient: "You know your insurance fund does not cover the cost of my advising a mammograph; that aside, however, you have to have one. In which case, all depends now on whether she can do it at her own expense or not. Scans have been removed from the list, no breast or thyroid scans. We are now trying to get them put back on the list of examinations.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

And particularly with people who you know are in difficulties...

Yes, with people in difficulties, because they come and I tell them that, “You have to take this” and they ask: “How much does it cost, Doctor?” And if you tell them, of course, “I don’t know” - how can I know the prices of all the medicines - the patient says, “If it’s expensive I won’t buy it and I’ll come back for you to see me again and prescribe some other cheaper medicine.”

That’s terrible, to have to... to quibble over the medicine ...

Yes, because it means quibbling over the patient’s health. Perhaps the result is just that: that you put your health, or rather you don’t put it , you are made to put it ... the state, the authorities put health second to profit, second to economic gain; it comes second to money, you are left no option.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

All through the winter, I forgot to tell you, we worked without heating. Because EOPYY did not have the money to pay for heating oil; they had probably not paid the supplier, I don't know for how many years. So they announced: "We're not giving out any more oil", and that was final. And we went through the whole winter without heating. And it was bad enough for us, the people working there, stuck in there for five and a half hours, but for the patients...How can you ask someone to undress so as to listen to his chest when he's cold, when he's got pneumonia or bronchitis?

I had a fan heater of my own which I had bought. Well, it helped a bit with the damp if nothing else [...] Small children were going to see the pediatrician dressed in layer after layer of clothing, and the doctor just lifted up their jumpers and put the stethoscope underneath, because the children were numb with cold. It's very difficult.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Ioanna Mikroyannaki

A Two-fold Punishment

There seems to be no end, yes, very difficult. I could go on for hours... And as for preventative monitoring, the system no longer pays any attention, it has gone into decline, that's another facet of the situation ... for cancer sufferers, importantly, whose medicines are extremely expensive. They have to take a lot and they are absolutely essential, and the chemo-therapies or radiation-therapies they have to do, et cetera. Now they can't, as they did in the past, go to private clinics, which used to absorb a certain number to help the system get by, and the patients were able to find a place more easily to start their radiation-therapy. Now everyone has to go to the state hospitals, but the waiting times have now reached four or five months. And there are urgent cases.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

I mean...what was your salary originally?

In September 2011, it was 1,400 euros. Up to December, it was reduced to 1,000. From January, in accordance with the single salary scale, it dropped to 880 euros, which however I was never paid because, even though I know my salary is 880 and up to now every month since January I have been paid 650. They are withholding my back-pay. I live on 680 euros. And most of my colleagues make about the same, right?

...Those who might have more years experience, let's say?

Er, yes, now if they've got more experience, or children, they will receive an additional sum. But I don't think any woman in our department earns as much as 900. The doctor, who has a great many years' experience, perhaps, but I'm not at all sure. Anyway, for me, my money, my salary, in... since September - how many months ago is that? – has reached exactly half of what it was.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

It is for pre-school ages right up to the final class of secondary school. And the youngest children, you see... go more often to the toilets, they make them dirty, they plaster them with... The truth is that it is very unhygienic. A lot of colleagues have... these past three years, have had urinary infections and we don't think it's coincidental because they all get the same infection. It's probably something that they pick up in the department, anyway it's not that important (*laughter*). We pay around 60 euros a month for cleaning products, toilet paper, things to maintain the premises...

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

[...] The biggest shock that we had, however, on September 1, was not that we had to become cleaning ladies, but that there had been no...changes made, no improvements toour facilities. The most tragic thing was that when we arrived at work, they told us: “KEDDY is closing down, they’ve done away with it”. And that, too, was probably a case of misinformation because misinformation was having a heyday at the time. Of course, I’m not sure that it has been discounted as a possibility. They say that, according to the Constitution, when a public department is closed down, the people working in that department automatically lose their posts, in other words, they are made redundant, they lose their jobs. Up to December, the situation was tragic because every day we were told something different: “They’re shutting us down. They’re not shutting us down”, “They’re making us redundant.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

I get a lot of information about the child's home background. Always – it may have something to do with the social level in our area – the families were always poor and unemployed, but over the past two years, it has got worse, much, much, much worse (*with emphasis*). I mean, there might be a home with five adult members, two parents that is, and older children, of whom only one of those five adults has a job; there is a huge amount of unemployment. I have seen families which depend on food provided by the Church or the council. We have families which give us their communication details, let's say the telephone number that we call to give them the official report on their child when it is ready, for them to come and collect it...it often happens that the family has left their home because they could not pay the rent, their telephone has been cut off because they could not pay the bill, and so we lose track of them...I had a pupil this year who left the country with his family while I was in the process of assessing him.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

The parents hear our proposals and the impression I usually get from their reaction is one of.... mixed sadness and amusement, as if they are saying: “You must be joking! How are we going to do all those things? How can we pay for all that?” And I realize that that’s how things are. When I compile the official findings in the report and write the educational proposals, I often feel in a terrible dilemma because I know what we must propose for the child to receive the help it needs, but I also know that it is completely pointless. There is no way that the parents can afford all those measures. And therapies... a large part of the therapies which until recently were paid for by the insurance funds... are now no longer covered.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

– the most difficult problem, for us at least, is that they are closing down...departments that deal with psychiatric cases, with children who have psychiatric problems, which are increasing dramatically year by year.

I have had children come to me, in the morning, at nine o'clock, for assessment, and they say: "Please, Miss, can we finish quickly so we can at least go home and eat". I say: "Why, haven't you had any breakfast?" The child says: "Miss, when my parents have money, they buy me a Kooloori (a crispy, bread 'hoop' covered in sesame seeds). But if they haven't, they don't buy one. Today they didn't buy me one. At least I want to go home early to have my lunch" (*pause*). Even children who come to us from orphanages, when we ask them discreetly, indirectly, so we know what's going on in those places...now they are only given milk, they aren't even given a slice of bread.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

At the age of 31 feel that...fortunately I have my parents and they contribute to my expenses. I am no longer financially independent and that drives me crazy, it makes me so angry. Because it's always been my dream to invest in myself and to succeed through my own capabilities, to be financially independent, to stand on my own two feet, to live the way I please and to determine my life myself. The plans I made for my life, the prospects that were there and my life - up to now with the crisis - was analogous with the work I had done in the past, with the effort I had made. And suddenly I see all that has been dissipated.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

The truth is that we make an effort not to let it affect our work because, especially in our job, we must not let our personal life get in the way, but anger does show. There are moments when our anger shows. We all lose our tempers on occasions and say: “for 600 euros I can’t put my life and soul into this job and burn myself out.” But that, fortunately, is only momentary. And I say “Thank goodness” that we work with children. We’re not dealing with...state documents. But there is a lot of anger and stress, and naturally it all comes out, but when it does, it’s “between ourselves”. There has not been a single day this year when I have got home from work feeling good about my day...because of the anger I feel, at the way the state has abandoned us, the anger I feel about having devoted my life and soul. I am being psychologically worn down in there, there is a lot of pain in that job anyway, and all this in addition, why?

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

Formerly, it happened more regularly, you mean, for all the children or for...did you still used to weigh up the situation?

Yes, to some extent, but this year we followed up on even fewer children. Every year, I had the luxury of going to around five schools – not a great number – for no other reason than to make the teachers more sensitive to those children with severe learning difficulties...this year I haven't managed to go to a single school out of the ones that were on my list. I confined myself to following up only two very, very serious cases, of a different nature. [...] Anger, anger and fury! Anger and fury!

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

Do you see any hope on the horizon?

No, no. I have the feeling that things will get worse. There is no way they can improve. Even that...it's always on my mind. Even those 880 euros that I am entitled to as a salary on the single salary scale, I have the feeling - I'm certain that I will never receive them. On the contrary, I'll be going below that sum. We'll be paid an even lower salary. It won't be enough for us to live on. It's already not enough for me to meet my obligations. I pay 700 euros a month in rent, electricity, water, telephone and petrol. My salary doesn't cover everything, my parents help me with the rest. It's just as well that they have enough money from their pensions.

Auszüge aus den Interviews

Eva Papoti

A life which is ... «being dissipated»

But the worst is the possibility of being made redundant. Of course, I personally have the feeling that, because things are going from bad to worse, redundancy might actually free me. At least I would know that I don't have anything, that I shouldn't expect anything from anyone and I could make a new start in a different sector. If I had a field, I would become a farmer but unfortunately I don't have one. Anyway, even in my present situation, it is very difficult to say: "That's it! I'm going to give up this miserable salary from the State and leave". At this time, where would you go? Here I have so many friends working as employees in the private sector and who don't get paid. They are working and they don't get paid.