

## Preparation / Allocation / Habituation: The Holistic Approach to Migrant Exclusion

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## Προετοιμασία / Τοποθέτηση / Εσωτερίκευση: Η Ολιστική Προσέγγιση του Αποκλεισμού των Μεταναστών

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### ABSTRACT

The article establishes a theoretical approach to migrant exclusion based on recent research and focuses on the importance of the experience and organization of work. The holistic approach recognizes three important stages in the process of exclusion: i) the preparation of future migrants in the country of origin through the integration and cultural acclimatization to casual and low-status work, ii) the allocation of migrant workers in low-status jobs in the host countries and iii) the habituation of migrant workers to the characteristics and demands of their work which leads to the reproduction of their social position.

**KEY WORDS:** Migration, Exclusion, Holistic Approach, Work.

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το άρθρο παρουσιάζει με βάση την πρόσφατη εγχώρια ερευνητική δραστηριότητα μια θεωρητική προσέγγιση του αποκλεισμού των μεταναστών δίνοντας ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στην εμπειρία και οργάνωση της εργασίας. Η ολιστική διάσταση της προσέγγισης έγκειται στην αναγνώριση τριών κεντρικών σταδίων στη διαδικασία αποκλεισμού που αφορούν: α) την προετοιμασία των μελλοντικών μεταναστών στις χώρες προέλευσης μέσα από την ένταξή τους στην άτυπη και χαμηλού κύρους εργασία, β) την τοποθέτηση του μεταναστευτικού εργατικού δυναμικού σε επαγγέλματα χαμηλού κύρους στις χώρες υποδοχής και γ) την εσωτερίκευση των χαρακτηριστικών και απαιτήσεων της εργασίας των μεταναστών που οδηγεί στην αναπαραγωγή της κοινωνικής τους θέσης.

**ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ:** Μετανάστευση, Αποκλεισμός, Ολιστική Προσέγγιση, Εργασία.

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## 1. Introduction

This paper represents an effort to elaborate theoretically on the issue of migrant exclusion by emphasizing on the recent research conducted in Greece. Especially in the last decade, the Greek sociological inquiry has offered a great deal of information concerning social relations of migrants in both the country of origin and the host country. The goal of this analysis is to gather

these important scientific findings under the theoretical umbrella of a holistic approach that connects but also contextualizes the individual contributions. At the same time, it creates a theoretical perspective that can prove rather useful in the context of new scientific and social challenges that are associated with the recent migration and refugee flows.

It is important to start this analysis with an important assumption: the exclusion of migrants is an issue of paramount importance for understanding the living conditions, the constraints and the choices that migrants are forced into making in the host countries. There is a number of themes that appear in popular and academic discourse that are directly linked to migrant exclusion. From housing, education and access to welfare all the way to concerns about security, class and gender inequality or religion and culture, there appears to be a vast number of topics that are in many ways linked but at the same time tend to lead to a great deal of confusion. However, looking at the above through the lens of a Marxoweberian perspective one can see the connection of the aforementioned topics to the experience of work and its ability to undermine fundamental social rights. In essence, the topics mentioned are directly related to "...the exclusion from sources of livelihood and means to cope with labour. The exclusion from various freedoms, rights and status in society as well as the exclusion from life chances" (Psimmenos 2013: 46).

It is indeed without a doubt that the issue of migrant exclusion covers so many different facets that its specialization is necessary in order to accurately approach the phenomenon. So, it is hardly surprising that the research experience suggests the mechanisms of exclusion are different depending on the historical period, the position of migrants within the particular society and which specific aspect of life research chooses to focus on. Nonetheless, the notion of exclusion is based on certain important social processes that have been identified already from the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. These place strong emphasis on the issue of work and they concern the following: a) the impoverishment of the labour force, b) its allocation in specific labour markets and c) its control that generates specific values and beliefs (Tilly and Tilly 1998, Tilly 1999, Peck 2000, Therborn 2006).

Based on the above categorization, the recent research experience in Greece has brought forward three important stages or processes, the understanding of which is essential for examining migrant exclusion.

1. The preparation of the migrant labour force. This is the process where attitudes, values and incentives are generated in the country of origin. These are related to the experience of the economic and social crises that preceded migration and integrates future migrants into the social space of casual and low-status work.
2. The allocation of the migrant labour force. This stage is related to the organization and function of labour markets in the host country and the placement of migrants in low-status jobs.
3. The habituation of the migrant labour force. In this case, with the aid of the analytical tools of industrial sociology, the emphasis is not only on addressing the exploitative conditions involved, but most importantly, on the internalization of the characteristics and demands of migrant labour that leads to the prolonged stay of migrants in their jobs and the reproduction of their social position.

The next section will focus on the analysis of these three stages of exclusion on a both theoretical and empirical level. The goal is to approach migrant exclusion as a long process of marginalization that not only represents an economic relation of migrants to the host country, but it mainly generates values and beliefs that normalize exclusion and lead to its crystallization (Myrdal 2007).

## 2. Preparation

The preparation stage concerns the country of origin and more specifically, the period during which people experience multiple forms of marginalization that eventually lead to their decision to migrate. There are two distinct ways that the country of origin has been dealt with theoretically. The first is the understanding of these economic and social relations in terms of push factors. The second involves the acknowledgment of the cultural aspects of marginalization in the country of origin as a preparation stage for the fulfillment of specific socioeconomic roles in the host country.

Focusing on the first interpretation, there is a long tradition in macro perspectives on migration that looks at the problematic living and working conditions in the country of origin as mere factors that push people to the choice of migration as a means to seek better employment and living chances (Harris and Todaro 1970, Todaro 1976). At this point the influence of neoclassical economic thought is rather evident, as peoples' choices are explained in the context of the individual management of scarcity. The most characteristic work of this approach is the Laws of Migration by Ravenstein (1885), which are excellently summarized in a later analysis by Grigg (1994).

The critique towards this rationalization of migration is quite varying and it comes from different theoretical perspectives. But if we were to summarize, we would say that many of the so called "laws", although they appear as rather self-explanatory, have not been supported empirically (Boyd 1989, Castles and Miller 1993, Portes and Rumbaut 1996, Psimmenos 1999) and they often ignore the historical relationships between the country of origin and the host country, particularly so in the case of colonialism (Mandel 1972, Wallerstein 1987, Portes and Rumbaut 1996, Waters 1995).

Nonetheless, arguably the greatest weakness of this approach lies in its innate tendency to look at individuals as mere agents of economic action. It creates an anthropological type (*homo oeconomicus*) that is based solely on economists' abstract assumptions concerning the motives to human action. It fervidly refuses to take into account the social relations in which these actions are contextualized and most importantly, the actual experiences of the subjects themselves (Sen 1977, 1982). In the case of migration research and the analysis of the country of origin, this becomes rather obvious since this entire space, and the experience of migrants within it, is seen almost exclusively as an unfavourable economic environment. However, the impoverishment and the crises in the countries of origin are so much more than a mere economic phenomenon. They are of great social and cultural significance, the acknowledgment of which is necessary for a holistic understanding of migration and the process of exclusion (Xypolytas 2017).

It is the seriousness of these shortcomings that highlights the importance of the second theoretical and methodological approach to the country of origin. The recent research experience on migration in Greece (Psimmenos 2013, Xypolytas 2013, Lazarescu 2015) suggests that between the beginning of the crises in the countries of origin and the actual migration journey, there is a considerable period of time that much too often researchers overlook. It is during this period that people experience the consequences of these crises though radical changes in the workings of essential social institutions, such as economy and family. These changes are not simple push factors, but they represent crucial ruptures in the biography of people, who in order to deal with the effects of crises are forced into making choices that might have been inconceivable in the past (Xypolytas et al. 2017, Xypolytas 2017). These "forced choices" are made much prior to migration and they prepare future migrants for their social relations to the host country.

For example, in the case of migrant domestic workers from Ukraine, the research suggested that between the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the resulting economic crisis, and the actual migration journey to Greece, intervened was a long period of 6 or 7 years (Xypolytas 2013). During this time, many women who enjoyed careers in high-status occupations, were forced to search for work in industries that were completely unrelated to their occupational experiences. This was mainly low-status work such as selling goods either in the open markets of neighboring Poland during the weekends, or in the black market of Ukraine. Similarly, it is important to note that these experiences are in no way specific to the case of this particular country, as similar findings are shown in research concerning Romania (Lazarescu 2015), Poland (Maroufov 2010), Georgia (Maroufov 2015) or Bulgaria (Cillo and Perocco 2008).

This process does not represent simply unfortunate developments which in the long run are not sufficient for the economic reproduction of the household. This would be the reasoning behind the first approach that looks at the impoverishment processes in the country of origin as mere push factors. Instead, this is a time period of the utmost importance due to the gradual undermining of future migrants' labour identity and their cultural acclimatization to the characteristics and demands of low-status work. In other words, this process represents the preparation stage of future migrants to the organization of work, which they will eventually come in contact with in the host countries. Without considering the profound cultural changes that take place in the preparation stage, the over-representation of even highly skilled migrants in low-status jobs in the host countries essentially becomes a sociologically incomprehensible development (Chtouris and Psimmenos 1999, Xypolytas 2008).

Similarly, crucially important for understanding the events that take place in the host country are the effects of crises on the institution of the family that take place in the country of origin prior to migration. The effects of crises on familial bonds is one of the most recurrent themes in the relevant literature (Komarovskiy 1940, Elder 1999, Xypolytas et al. 2017). Divorces, alcoholism or domestic violence are rather unfortunate developments that were always present in this context (Bridger and Pine 1998, Tolstokorova 2010, Gerber 2012, Rajkai 2014). Looking, for example, at the case of migrants from eastern Europe in the 90s, the collapse of the economy, the loss of peoples' careers and occupational identity led to a series of social problems that directly affected the relationships within the family (Wilson 2000, Satzewich 2002, Parelli-Harris 2008, Solari 2010).

The undermining of the family is indeed in itself an issue that has to be addressed, but in this particular context it has two important consequences. First, it strongly affects the decision to migrate, as familial bonds – especially marital – are loosened. Second, it increases workers' vulnerability to exploitation and exclusion in the host country (Morokvasic 1984, Romaniszyn 2000, Vassilikou 2009). The absence of a familial network of support exposes migrants even further to the dangers of exclusion but more importantly, it makes migrant workers susceptible to deferential relationships that characterize much of migrant labour, especially in domestic work and farming (Xypolytas 2016). In these types of work, employers and their families often represent a source of replacement for the lost familial ties as well as the sole form of social protection in the context of increased economic and social insecurity (Psimmenos 2017).

Given the importance of these developments that take place in this period prior to migration, the inability of much sociological research to place emphasis on the country of origin becomes both paradoxical and problematic. It is paradoxical since it creates a narrative according to which the developments in the country of origin do not play an important role in the exclusion of

migrants. However, this narrative is the sociological equivalent of suggesting that migrants are somehow born again the minute they cross the borders, since their previous socialization does not seem to concern our scientific reasoning. It goes without saying that socialization processes are the most important basis for sociologically understanding the relation of human action to social structures (Bourdieu 1984, 2006) and not keeping that in mind can crucially undermine the validity and the overall value of our scientific findings.

On the other hand, ignoring the country of origin becomes problematic if we keep in mind that the first, and arguably the most classical sociological study of migration, Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, published in 1918, clearly established the theoretical and methodological necessity of approaching the country of origin. For the writers it was impossible to fully understand the complexities of Polish migration to the United States without taking into consideration the drastic changes in the structure of the Polish countryside (Thomas and Znaniecki 1984). These were not approached as simple push factors for migrating, but the changes in the structure and organization of family and community in Poland were seen as essential explanatory tools for understanding the social relationships that were established by Polish migrants in America (Psimmenos and Kassimati 2006, Xypolytas 2013). Unfortunately, however, over the years the importance of such classical studies was viewed almost solely in terms of honorary significance for the history of the discipline and not so often appreciated for their profound scientific value.

Completing this short analysis on the understanding of the country of origin as a period of preparation, one could argue that this stage is the most important regarding migrant exclusion. It is the first stage of a long process where future migrants come in contact with changes that affect their relations to both family and community (Psimmenos 2013) and also formulate new labour and social identities, which are based on the notion of survival (Zhurzhenko 2001). However, the importance of the preparation stage lies, more than anything, in its ability to heavily influence the other two stages of exclusion; namely, Allocation and Habituation.

### 3. Allocation

**T**he allocation of migrants on specific labour markets in host country is the second stage in this process of exclusion. This stage effectively undermines the neoclassical narrative concerning the supply and demand of labour. The term "labour markets", as opposed to one singular market, is particularly important in this regard since, as Tilly suggests, a person does not seek work in all available industries or employers and an employer does not seek workers from all the available people out there (1998). As opposed to human capital theories, the international literature suggests that, even taking into account the class structure of society, disadvantage in labour markets is strongly related to race, ethnicity and gender and not to education or skill (Peck 2000, Dedoussopoulos 2014).

Looking at the issue of allocation on a macro-level, there are two important issues that have to be addressed. First, the indigenous labour force is, in many ways, "freed" from many types of low-status labour and employment (Pearson 1986). Hence, there exists a clear distinction of status between the labour activities of indigenous workers and migrants. The latter are allocated in undesirable and low-status jobs, such as domestic work or prostitution, and the former perceive their relation to work within the remaining social space (Potts 1990, Psimmenos 2000). This is directly

related to Weber's understanding of social closure, according to which "a relationship will...be called 'closed' against outsiders so far as, according to its subjective meaning and its binding rules, participation of certain persons is excluded, limited, or subjected to conditions" (Weber 1978: 43).

Second, the allocation and prolonged stay of migrants in low-status jobs generates specific values in the host country about the appropriateness of migrants filling these places. These values lead to arbitrary, yet persistent, stereotypes about the ability of specific nationalities, or even races, to execute specific types of work (DuBois 1995, Psimmenos and Skamnakis 2008). Furthermore, this creates a demand for new forms of work or tasks that simply would not exist without the allocation of migrants in low-status jobs (Anderson and Phizacklea 1997, Anderson 2000, Psimmenos 2013). In these new labour markets, gender, nationality and race become necessary prerequisites for engaging in specific types of work.

On the other hand, looking at migrants and labour markets on a micro level suggests that there are a number of different factors that influence the allocation process. As it was analyzed in the previous section, the preparation stage plays an important role in the allocation of migrant workers in casual and low-status jobs. In their efforts to deal with the crises in the countries of origin, future migrants have already been in contact with these types of work and this has seriously affected their work orientations (Lazarescu 2015, Xypolytas 2017). The actual migration to the host country is perceived in the context of finding work in order to cover immediate economic needs. It is in no way understood as a social space where one can utilize their previously held skills or engage in the process of learning new ones.

In connection to this, research on migration should always appreciate and account for the possible debts that migrants owe in the process of their actual journey (Xypolytas 2017). The movement itself from one country to another is rather expensive and most migrants cannot cover this amount unless they borrow a considerable amount of money. According to migration research, in most cases, these loans are not taken from officially recognized credit institutions, such as banks (Rapoport and Doquier 2005). Instead, the economic crises in the countries of origin have undermined the ability of people to use the official banking system, which either refuses to issue loans or it does so with an interest rate that makes it particularly unappealing to people (Kugler et al. 2013).

This results in a rather widespread informal system of credit which is based on loans from various non-recognized sources – spanning from family members to loan sharks – that can have increased monthly or even weekly interest rates (Xypolytas 2013). The need to repay these loans forces migrants to immediately seek employment in the host country without spending anytime to familiarize themselves with the characteristics of the labour markets. Even if – and purely for the sake of argumentation – we considered labour markets as a unified open space of matching employer needs with workers' skills, in accordance to the neoclassical narrative, the migrants' ability to enter and compete in this space would be drastically undermined under these conditions.

Apart from the importance of the country of origin for understanding the allocation stage, an important factor that influences the labour market placement of migrant workers is the role of migration institutions (Borjas 1994, Bertocchi and Strozzi 2008). These are organizations, private companies, immigrant associations or NGOs which are directly and indirectly related to the job seeking efforts of migrants and play an important role in the access to specific labour markets. More specifically, in the case of allocation of migrants to certain low-status jobs, the contribution of job-search firms (Chtouris et al. 2012) and immigrant associations (Fouskas 2012) is particularly important.

Given the aforementioned urgency to find work and repay debts, job-search firms, whose practices are often legally obscure (Bagavos and Papadopoulou 2006, Chtouris et al. 2012), might appear as the only possible option. Especially for those who are newly arrived and do not have a network of family or compatriots in the host country, the option of the job-search firm might be the only one available. Migrants generally have a rather bad opinion about these firms, due to the arbitrary and often exploitative nature of their terms and overall function, but in times of need even those that live for many years in the host country might be forced to use their services (Xypolytas 2013). These firms then, allocate migrants to jobs according to their biological and social characteristics, such as race, gender or ethnicity.

Similarly, there are important issues with immigrant associations that need to be addressed regarding the allocation stage. There are many reported cases where these rather important collectivities end up functioning as informal job-search firms (Fouskas 2012). Even if exploitation might in most cases be avoided, this development has a different but quite crucial consequence. Being unable to find access to other kinds of work, migrant associations steer job-searchers to types of work which are stereotypically linked to their specific race or ethnicity. A typical example of this is the Filipino migrant association helping women to find employment in live-in domestic work (Fouskas 2015). The role of these institutions is not in any way driven by malice or contempt to migrant workers, however they do end up playing an important role in the identification of migrants with specific low-status jobs.

Related to this aspect of racial and ethnic division of labour is the general role of migrant networks in the allocation of workers to jobs that can lead to their exclusion. The importance of networks for analyzing migration, especially regarding job search and support, is a recurrent theme in the literature (Fisher 1982, Boyd 1989 Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). What needs to be addressed, however, is that migrant networks, unwillingly, often contribute to the identification of certain ethnic and racial groups with specific types of work. As it was mentioned before, migrants are confronted with the inability to find employment outside a specifically prescribed social and occupational space. This forces people to use networks, which in turn strengthen the stereotypical association of migrants to specific types of work.

Summing up the issue of the allocation of migrants to casual and low-status work, it should be noted that both on a macro and a micro level, this stage is of paramount importance for the process of exclusion. It deals with entering a social and occupational space which is characterized by insecurity and stigmatization. It is a crucial part of the exclusion process and a necessary precondition for the stage of habituation.

## 4. Habituation

**T**he third stage that completes the process of migrant exclusion is the one of habituation. This refers to the way low-status work generates a cultural system of dispositions and tendencies that organize the ways in which workers perceive the social world around them and react to it (Lizardo 2004). This is indeed a central stage of the entire process, with obvious consequences on social stratification, since it undermines migrants' social mobility and crystalizes their exclusion in values, beliefs and actions (Myrdal 2007). In order to address this stage, it is imperative to seek the contribution of industrial sociology, and especially those analyses that emphasize on the subjective aspects of labour such as the perceptions of work and the generation of specific labour identities.

The central assumption of this approach is that work is so much more than mere economic action. As opposed to the postulations of neoclassical and orthodox Marxist analyses, paid labour is not just an activity that at the end of the day simply generates income or surplus value. The term “paid labour”, after all, is comprised out of two words and these theoretical approaches try to explain, and arguably not in the best manner possible, only the first. The second term, which is labour, remains unclarified from such approaches that undermine the sociological analysis of the consequences of work and most importantly of the motives and constraints that workers face on a daily basis.

The subjective aspects of labour is arguably the most important theme in industrial sociology from the 1950s onwards, and there is an overabundance of studies that looked at this in the context of industrial production (Roy 1953, Blauner 1964, Burawoy 1979, Edwards 1979), agrarian (Horobin 1957, Newby 1977, Cornfield and Keene 1990) and service work (Hughes 1951, Mills 1953, Hochschild 2003). The common thread to all these studies is the understanding that work, apart from its problems in terms of conditions or relations to employers, generates values and beliefs that affect workers’ social identity and leads to the internalization of the characteristics and demands of their labour (Baldamus 1961).

This ability to identify the objective conditions and subjective aspects of work is obtained by utilizing an important theoretical tool of industrial sociology, which is the emphasis on the labour process. Following the groundbreaking work of Harry Braverman (1974), this Marxist approach tries to answer three crucial questions. Firstly, what are the mechanisms and the subjective and objective circumstances under which surplus value is generated from labour power? Secondly, what are the consequences for capitalists and workers concerning their representation or health and safety? Thirdly, in what ways does work generate a sense of social and labour identity? (Psimmenos in Watson 2005).

In trying to answer these questions, research utilizing labour process theory is able to address not only the objective and subjective aspects of labour but also the reasons behind the prolonged stay of workers in their job. This is what is often called *reproduction of work* and refers to the reasons behind workers’ continued presence in an environment that is otherwise undesirable (Erickson 2010, Xypolytas 2013). In analyzing migrant exclusion, this cultural aspect of work is essential for our understanding of the stage of habituation, which refers to the prolonged stay of migrant workers in low-status jobs for reasons that are not related to economic coercion but are instead connected with the personal identification of workers with the demands and characteristics of their work.

Given the above, the reproduction of migrant low-status work is of great significance for two reasons. First, the lengthy stay of migrant workers in jobs that are not positively valued by host societies solidifies migrants’ social status, as they are overrepresented in specific labour markets that are organized on the basis of race, ethnicity and gender (Psimmenos 1995). This refers to the entrapment of migrants in certain occupational activities and the strengthening of stereotypes that arbitrarily link biological and social characteristics of people to specific types of work (Gregson and Lowe 1994, Du Bois 1995, Peck 2000, Xypolytas 2013).

The second reason for placing emphasis on the cultural aspects of the reproduction of work concerns the relationships that develop between workers and employers in the context of low-status jobs. The literature suggests that across different types of work in which migrants are employed, the main characteristics are those of patronage and deference (Xypolytas 2016). Farm labour (Petou 2008, 2012), personal services (Psimmenos 1995) and mostly domestic work

(Petronoti and Zarkia 1998, Chantzaroula 2012, Xypolytas and Lazarescu 2013) are types of labour that are characterized by deferential relationships that bind workers to their employers<sup>2</sup>. Apart from this, patronage is particularly important for another reason. In the context of economic and social insecurity, which is exacerbated by economic recessions, patronal employment is often experienced by migrants as the sole source of social protection (Psimmenos and Skamnakis 2008, Psimmenos 2017, Xypolytas et al. 2017). This obviously increases the level of dependency on employers and reinforces the entrapment of migrants in low-status work.

Following the tenets of labour process theory, the way migrant workers internalize the characteristics and demands of their work is clearly related to the particularities of each specific job. In the case of migrant live-in domestic workers, for example, the internalization process is connected with perceiving labour in familial terms. More specifically, workers, while executing their tasks were fulfilling familial roles centered around the notion of care towards the household and its members. These pseudo-familial relationships become the basis of consent to employer practices, structure deferential relations and lead to the internalization of the characteristics of work and the entrapment of migrant women within this social and occupational context (Xypolytas 2013, 2016).

In the case of migrants working in cleaning crews, however, the internalization happens though the development of perceptions of advancement within the organization (Lazarescu 2015). Looking again more closely at the way work is organized, the passing from different posts becomes an essential part of the generation of specific attitudes. Starting from tasks with the lowest status, such as cleaning the entrance of the building, where a worker can be observed by people passing by, or cleaning stairs, which is physically particularly demanding, workers can move or aspire to move to less visible or more relaxed posts, such as cleaning offices, driving the van or even inspect other workers. The informal hierarchy in a work setting such as this, is particularly important when it comes to workers' perceptions. The climbing of a hierarchical ladder in low-status work, as arbitrary as it might seem, creates a sense of advancement in jobs that might appear dead-end but they are not perceived as such from those who are actually employed in them (Cressey 1932).

The further empirical scrutiny of the habituation stage can take place with case studies of specific occupations and types of work, since the internalization process is empirically bound to the labour process. In other words, looking at the subjective aspects of work means engaging in a study of tasks, the way these are perceived by workers and the relation of the latter to their employers. Particular importance should be paid to the relative satisfactions of work, that is to the dimensions of labour, which apart from its problematic conditions, generate a sense of content to the workers and contribute decisively to their prolonged stay in their job (Baldamus 1961, Erickson 2010).

## 5. Concluding remarks

Concluding this rather short description of the holistic approach to migrant exclusion, it is important to once again state the need for specialization in future analysis. Using specific case studies, emphasis should be placed on every stage of this long and unfortunate process. The formation of a theoretical approach to exclusion does not necessarily mean that the latter can only be analyzed through macro-sociological models, which, after all, have a tendency to overlook entire

social groups or mechanisms in order to strengthen their explanatory value (Mills 1963, 1976). The three-stage framework of migrant exclusion, however, apart from its Marxoweberian influences, is an explanatory framework that recognizes important stages, which unfortunately are often overlooked. It acknowledges the historical nature of the migration course and the need to approach migration analysis through the interaction between social structures and personal biography.

The preparation stage refers to the ways future migrants cope with the consequences of crises in the countries of origin. It is a stage where long-standing labour and social identities are undermined and new ones are established through the acclimatization of future migrants with the workings of casual and low-status jobs. On the other hand, the allocation of migrants in low-status jobs in the host country is of great sociological significance. This is because it is related to the structure and function of labour markets and also because it acknowledges the paramount importance of sociocultural attributes for the organization of economy. Lastly, the habituation stage crystalizes exclusion in values and life choices that identify migrants with the demands and characteristics of low-status jobs and makes the overcoming of exclusion through traditional policy interventions a particularly difficult task.

Concerning this last issue, the recent research experience that led to the formation of the holistic approach (Psimmenos and Skamnakis 2008, Fouskas 2012, Xypolytas 2013, 2016, Lazarescu 2015) shows that this long and complicated process of marginalization can indeed be intercepted. This would imply the gradual distancing of migrants from low-status jobs through the acknowledgment of previously existing skills (from the country of origin) or the creation of new ones that do not lead to the association of migrants with socially devalued labour. This topic is of great significance, as it allows social policy to use the important research findings of the last 20 years in the analysis of migration and utilize this knowledge in order to deal with the new migrant and refugee flows (Xypolytas 2018), which undoubtedly represent one of the most challenging tasks in the coming years for the field of migration policy.

## Notes

1. The main characteristics of this approach are on the one hand, the emphasis on the organization of economy and society around the notion of class, as well as the analysis of the labour process (Braverman 1974). On the other hand, this clearly Marxist reasoning is complimented by an emphasis on issues of status and more importantly on the centrality of subjective experiences as a means to properly understanding social action.
2. In actual case, the reason why these jobs are perceived as having low status to begin with, is the presense of those relationships that seriously undermine peoples' sense of self-determination (Anderson 2000).

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