

Table of Contents

o. Deutsche Kurzfassung der Dissertationsschrift	9
o.1. Aufbau und Struktur der Arbeit	10
o.2. Theoretische Fundierung und Ergebnisse der empirischen Erhebungen..	11
o.3. Reflexion der Forschung / Postskript	18
1. Introduction	21
2. Methodological footing – Some explanations on the research procedure	31
2.1. Stages of the research.....	34
2.1.1. Preparation phase	35
2.1.2. Field work.....	36
2.1.3. Validation phase	41
2.2. Integration of quantitative and qualitative evaluation and survey methods	43
2.3. Autoethnography	45
3. Case study - part I: “Citizenship” in a work setting	53
3.1. A preliminary definition of citizenship	53
3.2. Are the unorganized organizable?.....	57
3.3. The sample	59
3.4. No sunshine industry - Problems at work	62
3.5. Why should it especially be precarized (middle class) getting active?	68
3.6. Political mobilization – ridden with prerequisites	69
3.6.1. Some sociological reasoning ahead	69
3.6.2. Prerequisites for political action	73
3.6.3. Mediating structure and action – Bourdieu’s habitus.....	75
3.6.4. Political socialization	78
3.6.5. Walking the talk: from consciousness to action.....	86
3.6.6. Frames, opportunities <i>and</i> resources	88

3.6.7. A question of justice and dignity	92
3.7. Precarity as social condition	97
3.8. Neoliberal governmentality: The paradigm of responsabilization.....	109
3.9. Precarization and collective action – an oxymoron?	117
3.10. Middle class – what is that?	119
3.10.1. Class imagination: the paradigm of lifestyle	121
3.10.2. Global middle class as cultural orientation	127
3.10.3. Lifestyling as class formation?.....	132
3.10.4. A third way: Combining class structure and class-consciousness	137
3.10.5. Three to four basic middle class fractions.....	141
3.10.6. Middle class more than a matter of opinion	144
3.11. The precarized new middle class: resourceful and still longing for something	147
3.12. (Marginal) Middle class in the Philippines	154
3.12.1. OCWs as the new middle class?.....	161
3.12.2. Of “Burgis” and other socio-cultural approaches.....	162
3.13.3. Can the respondents to the study be considered “middle class”?.....	164
3.13.They did it: Uprising around the world.....	169
3.14. Why Eastwood (Manila) and San Pedro St. (Davao City) are not (yet) the Tahrir Square.....	171
3.15. Subjectivities: Motivation to join the call center	173
3.16. Individual action	178
3.16.1. Adaptation.....	180
3.16.2. Professionalization	186
3.16.3. Everyday resistance	191
3.17. Why is collective protest so few? And the unions even less?	195
3.17.1. The no-union-policy discourage some agent as they fear to get terminated or discriminated against.....	197
3.17.2. It is not clear whom the agents should turn to	200
3.17.3. Individual compensation and grievance procedures (Token participation)	201
3.17.4. Exit instead of voice: leave and join other call center	208
3.17.5. Transient character of the workforce.....	211

3.17.6. Individualism.....	214
3.17.7. Violations of rights and the lack of humane working conditions is considered "normal"	216
3.17.8. Downward comparison	219
3.17.9. Distinction	221
3.17.10. Unions are stigmatized.....	227
3.17.11. Underestimating their market power.....	228
3.17.12. Youth? – Not a reason!	229
3.18. Are activists more prone to unionizing?	231
3.19. Women: " <i>matiisin</i> ," martyr and apolitical?	244
3.20. What to do to create trade unions in the call centers?	248
3.20.1. What could serve as a point of contact?	250
3.20.2. Excursion: Lessons to be learned from the experience of organizing Indian call center agents (UNITES)	253
3.20.3. Are unions really the solution?	255
3.21. Transcending the workplace as arena of struggle	259
4. Case study – part II: Citizenship beyond work in the Philippine context.....	266
4.1. What is citizenship?.....	269
4.1.1. Communitarian, republican and (neo)liberal concepts of citizenship.....	275
4.1.2. Duties and/or rights?	281
4.2. Citizenship - a western concept?	286
4.3. Spaces of the political	306
4.4. The (nation) state: is it still <i>the</i> space of agency and entitlement?	316
4.5. Sense of citizenship among selected young urban professionals in the Philippines.....	330
4.5.1. How to measure sense of citizenship?.....	330
4.5.2. STEP ONE: profiles of citizenship	331
4.5.3. STEP TWO: On political and social rights and the political system	333
4.6. Perception of the political system	337
4.7. Social service	344

4.8. “Somehow, gamay, nag-expect ko”	349
4.9. Dealing with an informal welfare regime	352
4.10. <i>Maningkamot</i> , moral behavior and communitarianism	355
4.11. Active citizenship	359
4.12. Responsibilization and moralism	366
4.13. Disembedded citizens?	369
4.14. Conclusion	374
4.15. Are the respondents representative for the Philippines?	383
4.16. Perception of the political system	388
4.17. Social service	392
4.17.1. Conclusion	402
4.18. Dealing with an informal welfare regime	404
4.19. It’s still hard work.....	416
4.20. Active citizenship	420
4.21. Is there a specific middle-class profile on political participation to be discovered in the ISSP surveys?	425
4.21.1. Do self-placement or occupation matter?	433
4.21.2. Do gender, age or location matter?	435
4.21.3. Does party matter? Maybe, but the data don’t allow clear conclusions	439
4.22. Does country matter?	443
4.23. Only abroad? The little influence migration culture seems to have on citizenship attitudes	455
4.24. Conclusion	462
4.24.1. Comparison between general sample and qualitative sample	470
5. Food for thought: Looking out for chances of citizenship	475
5.1. Starting point: The “negative narrative”	475
5.2. Barriers to citizenship	480
5.3. Educational system	492
5.4. Nationalism in the Philippines	501
5.5. Can a positive counter narrative be told?	503

5.6. Resources of citizenship.....	505
5.7. Standy-by citizens.....	516
5.8. The narrative of the middle class as prime democratic mover	520
5.9. Middle class self-understanding	523
5.9.1. Communitas – a dream in vain?	530
5.10. Moralism	532
5.11. Do it yourself: The connivance of communitarism and neoliberalism....	537
5.12. Outlook.....	543
6. References.....	545
Literature.....	545
Expert interviews and Focus group discussions (Validation)	564
Abbrevations of Philippine dailies	565