

## **Living with precarious work**

The case of graduates in Denmark

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Work, Employment and Society  
Conference 2018**

**Wednesday 12 - Friday 14 September 2018**

**Abstract Book**

## Making Sense of Careers COPENHAGEN 1

### 'Boundarylessness' of Global Careers: A Realist Social Theory Perspective

*Kozhevnikov, Andrew, Tracy Scurry; Steve Vincent  
(Coventry University)*

Over the past two decades, an array of 'new career' concepts (e.g. boundaryless, protean and kaleidoscope careers) have been introduced to grasp the changes purportedly happening in the modern world. Although their lexicons are somewhat different, all these concepts argue that people have become more active and independent (of their organisations) in managing their careers. The boundaryless careers concept (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) has emerged as the most influential among them (Baruch et al., 2015). It suggests that, unlike 'traditional' or 'organisational' careers, modern careers are not bounded to a particular employer, location or profession, and career agents are free to navigate their interests.

The existent scholarship tends to portray boundaryless careers as ubiquitous (Inkson et al., 2012), although these claims lack theoretical and empirical grounding. An increasing number of scholars suggest that, despite the merit of the concept, its inevitability is exaggerated and the boundaryless career represents only one of many career forms. Inkson et al. (2012, p.330. *italics in origin*) accentuate that boundaryless careers 'present a novel ideal type and an appropriate model for some individuals, some organizations and some industries'. With an explicit reference to internationally mobile individuals, Baruch and Reis (2015) argue that even global careers are not necessarily boundaryless.

In this article we seek to advance these debates further by explaining why migrants' careers may or may not be boundaryless. Studies undertaking such endeavours typically focus upon individual characteristics as predictors of the 'boundarylessness'. Yet, the choice of predictors rarely has a robust theoretical foundation. Furthermore, the context and its role are frequently disregarded. As argued by Mayrhofer et al. (2007), these flaws draw attention to the absence of a strong social theory in career studies. We apply Margaret Archer's realist social theory and, specifically, its notion of reflexivity to demonstrate the importance of both individual proclivities and contextual circumstances for understanding of why 'boundarylessness' occurs for some global careers and not for others.

This study draws upon 52 interviews with skilled migrants in the UK, as well as a review of secondary sources of contextual conditions in the regions where the respondents were cultivating their careers. We examine how differently, based upon how different modes of reflexivity dominate their internal conversations, migrants engage in deliberations of their concerns and contextual conditions and develop various career projects.

Preliminary findings show that, in simple terms, boundaryless careers are neither attractive nor available to all migrants. We find that migrants who fit into Archers classification of autonomous reflexives, were more inclined towards career projects matching the boundaryless career. However, individuals who conformed to Archer's other reflexivity types, meta- and communicative reflexives, were less inclined towards boundaryless careers. Contextual factors (e.g. migration regulation, cultural prejudices, labour market structure) and their various combinations, also facilitate and obstruct realisation of boundaryless career projects, making the boundaryless career more or less possible even when desired by individuals. We argue that these insights offer a significant advantage on our understanding of careers as a social phenomenon rooted in both structure and agency.

### The Case of Probation

*Guillaume, Cecile, Gill Kirton  
(University of Roehampton)*

Government restructuring, privatization and outsourcing programmes spanning a period of more than two decades have transformed workplaces and work in public services in the UK and many other countries creating new organizational forms and introducing the 'logic of the market' to professional work often with deleterious consequences for professionals. At the same time over a period of at least 30 years, public services in many countries have seen increasing managerialism in the form of New Public Management (NPM) eroding professional control over service delivery and generating de-professionalizing tendencies. Despite a relatively large literature looking at the latter issues theoretically or providing overviews of developments, there are few studies providing in-depth analysis of professionals' experiences of partnership forms of privatization in specific organizational settings.

This paper discusses findings from a qualitative case study of the 2014 restructuring/outsourcing programme of the probation service of England and Wales – Transforming Rehabilitation (TR). The research question it addresses is how from professionals' perspective did the new structural arrangements for delivering probation services impact on work and professionalism? This question allows us to assess whether probation professionals were able to reconcile their

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newly restructured environment with their widely shared professional ethos comprising client-orientation, collegiality, autonomy, as well as maintaining a high level of commitment to their work.

This research utilizes a multi-method case study of the probation service to explore practitioner perspectives on how restructuring/outsourcing reconfigured professionalism. We discuss findings in relation to practitioner perspectives on four specific dimensions of professionalism: (i) a profession split; (ii) professional role boundaries; (iii) professional autonomy; (iv) professional orientation. These dimensions allow us to consider in conclusion the extent to which restructuring/outsourcing reconfigured probation professionalism.

Firstly, our case study of probation practitioner perspectives identifies three interconnected outcomes that flow from the four dimensions of professionalism we considered above, and that contributed to the reconfiguration of professionalism in ways that invoke Evetts's (2009) argument that professionals have witnessed shifts from occupational towards organizational professionalism. Contrary to other more optimistic studies on organizational change and the emergence of hybrid professionalism (Noordegraaf 2007; Turner et al 2016), our study of this less powerful professional group highlights the difficulties professionals can encounter in maintaining the dynamics of their community, at the micro-level of practices and identity building compared with more powerful professionals. Secondly, the study highlights the limitations of agency in the shaping of professionals' responses to restructuring and draws on different structural variables to explain these difficulties.

Overall, the findings show that restructuring/outsourcing heralded trenchant change in the relationship between probation professionals and organizational management threatening impoverishment of an occupation that took pride in the resilience of its ethos in the face of earlier reforms. The findings highlight the unique aspects of the specific service domain, but have resonance for other public service professional occupations facing the actuality or prospect of restructuring/privatization.

### **An Exploration of Late Career Academics Sensemaking Processes**

*Kelly, Grainne, Kristel Miller, Allen Alexander*  
(Queen's University)

Universities are increasingly under pressure to take a more prominent role in the economic development of societies. Previously, policy efforts have concentrated on the development of spinouts and the commercialisation of scientific knowledge from universities. However, a new entrepreneurial paradigm for universities has emerged which involves a much greater focus on value creation and impactful research through a wide spectrum of knowledge transfer and industry engagement activities (Fuller and Pickernell, 2018; Wright et al., 2017). Consequently, university HR have had to respond to facilitate the employment of a wider range of academics, combining individuals with significant industry experience and networks alongside traditional academics. We distinguish between these two types by using the term late career academics to characterise academics who had a professional industry career prior to joining academia (and often do not initially have PhDs) and traditional career academics who follow a traditional career path into academia.

The increasing diversity of the academic workforce comprising of these two types of academics can be seen globally. However, there is a dearth of research examining the complexities and ambiguities characterizing the various responsibilities held by late career academics within the context of contemporary institutional environments. In particular, whilst the number of studies into institutional change is rapidly growing, existing research has deficiencies. First, the majority of research resides at the macro level. Second, research has largely been dominated by a functionalist paradigm grounded in positivist epistemology whilst an interpretative paradigm that explores the meanings given to institutional changes by its employees remains underdeveloped.

Our research fills these gaps by undertaking an exploratory empirical study of the dynamics through which specific and dominant macro-level discourses shape micro-level employee sensemaking processes. Weick's (1995; 2005; 2012) sensemaking theory is adopted as a novel lens to explore late career academics identity experiences. Although sensemaking has been defined in various ways, we view it as a cognitive process of constructing understandings of experiences. Although the data collection process is ongoing, this paper will present the findings from 15 narrative interviews undertaken with late career academics across three universities of varying types. Interviews were triangulated with secondary documents on each of the universities respective strategies and human resource policies. The findings draw attention to the heterogeneity of late career academics sensemaking processes characterized by the need to adjust to scholarly demands and activities that tacitly affect their ability to contribute to the success of universities entrepreneurial missions. Furthermore, the findings shed light on the identity work of late career academics and the challenges they face to be deemed legitimate in a university environment. This research extends knowledge on the usefulness of a sensemaking approach to understanding institutional change and organisational intervention. Furthermore, it sheds light on the changing nature of academic work in pursuit of more impactful research.

## Working Conditions in Academia COPENHAGEN 1

### **Beyond the University in Ruins: Reports from the Front Line of UK University Teaching and Research**

*Erickson, Mark, Paul Hanna, Carl Walker*  
(University of Brighton)

This paper reports on research carried out in 2017, investigating UK Higher Education (HE) academic staff attitudes towards their senior management. Modelled on the Higher Education Council for England (HEFCE) National Student Survey (NSS), the Senior Management Survey (SMS) was completed by 6,000 UK academics from a wide range of UK HE institutions. The overall level of satisfaction with senior managers was very low, ranging from 0% satisfaction to 36%, with a median satisfaction score of 17%; in comparison the NSS benchmark for student satisfaction with their institution is 86%.

We note that senior managers have very different ideas of what 'student engagement' and 'staff engagement' are, and we use this as a way of examining HE institutions' current situation. Universities have for a long time been sites of contestation and grievance, and it is perhaps unsurprising that many of those who chose to complete the SMS identified disagreements and dissatisfaction with senior managers. However, what may be new is the level to which this seems to be happening, the depth of feeling respondents expressed, and the coming together of different factors that are contributing to difficult work conditions and frustrations in delivering high quality experiences to students and producing high quality research.

We will report on the main findings from the quantitative survey, principally in the form of a league table of UK HE institutions, and draw some general conclusions regarding institutions, governance and support for staff. We will then move on to consider the qualitative data that was collected from free text responses. Our analysis highlights the following emergent themes:

Bullying and harassment – working in a climate of fear

Commercialization and marketization

Stress and mental health problems

Low staff morale

High workloads

Casualization

Overall, this paper presents a clear picture of working conditions and common working practices in an environment of increasing marketization and metric-led managerialism. We will discuss the consequences changing working conditions have for staff and institutions, and a consideration of how the commercialization and marketization of UK HE may be changing the role of the university as a site for the production and legitimization of knowledge in society.

### **Lecturer Stress in Higher Education - 'Private Troubles and Public Issues'**

*Baron, Andrew,*  
(University of Central Lancashire)

This paper explores the experience of 'Lecturer Stress' in Higher Education. The analysis contextualises this phenomenon within the sociology of emotions and applies the notion of 'Private Troubles and Public Issues' from C.Wright-Mills concept, the 'Sociological Imagination' (1959) to explain the increasing levels of stress in this occupational group. The paper's formulation originated from a pilot study as part of a PhD thesis that is engaging in qualitative research, using the method of the semi-structured interview. Several issues are examined, the prevalence of stress, perceived causes identified by lecturers, the coping strategies they implement and how Neo-Liberal 'individualistic' stress management interventions are orthodoxy in research policy recommendations and organisational practice. The paper highlights from both the literature review and the findings from the pilot study that excessive workplace demands and a deficit of resources are significant factors in the causation of workplace stress in Higher Education. It is contested that this toxic organisational dynamic needs to be analysed in relation to the effects of Neo-Liberal educational policies. It is further argued that because the majority of existing research studies disregards this factor, stress management interventions (SMIs) inadvertently endorse and recommend organisational policies that individualises solutions to alleviate this occupational health problem. This paper asserts that this major deficiency of analysis needs to be re-framed in a more complex micro-macro sociological relationship incorporating the interplay and dialectic between the individual, organisational culture, education policy and social structure, hence the need for Mill's 'Sociological Imagination', that lecturer stress is not just a 'private trouble' but also a 'public issue'.

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**'Someone needs to tell the rest what happens next...' Entry into Academic Careers in the UK**

*Hancock, Sally.,  
(University of York)*

This paper will consider the transitions of recent doctoral graduates in the UK into academic employment. Although it is widely acknowledged that the majority of doctoral graduates leave the academy upon completion of their studies, academic careers persist as the preferred career of many, even in the final stages of their degree (Vitae 2012; Hancock 2017).

The lasting appeal of academia may in part be explained by the mystery and - in some instances, stigma - which continue to shroud career pathways outside higher education (Woolston 2017). In the UK, there is an absence of a detailed and long-term understanding of doctoral career pathways. Internationally, the empirical outlook is somewhat bleak. Across mainland Europe, those who enter non-research positions report lower job satisfaction (Auriol et al. 2013); and there is to date limited support for a knowledge economy in which doctoral graduates find employment easily across a range of sectors (Mangematin 2000; Skovgaard-Pederson 2014). In the United States, PhD salaries have been described as 'surprisingly low' (Zolas et al. 2015).

This paper aims to explore the academic and socio-demographic characteristics of UK doctoral graduates who enter academia. The inclusion of socio-demographic variables in this analysis pertains to a broader set of concerns about the meritocratic potential of mass higher education systems at a time of unprecedented levels of economic inequality (Marginson 2016). If academic careers endure as the preferred outcome, which characteristics and capitals are associated with individual success?

A quantitative analysis of UK domiciled doctoral graduates in the most recent Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education surveys (2008/9 and 2010/11; n=4345), which captures labour market outcomes 3.5 years after graduation, is presented. Outcomes are defined as: employment rate; graduate level employment; position; and sector. Academic characteristics include doctoral institution and subject. Socio-demographic characteristics include: age; gender; ethnicity; and parental education.

A descriptive analysis will share key trends in doctoral outcomes before findings from a logistic regression indicate the impact of academic and socio-demographic variables on the odds of entering an academic career.

## **Welfare and Activation**

### **GRAND 4 & 5**

**Electric Dreams of Welfare: An Ethnography of an Algorithm of Care in the Labour Market**

*Griffin, Ray, Boland, Tom, Hennessy and Tuite  
(WIT)*

Digital interventions are re-constituting the state administration of the labour market, a set of changes that have rendered the social safety-net ever more precarious; not just work, but welfare is becoming precariatized by new forms of governmentality. Discussions about the fourth industrial revolution, big data, AI, algorithmic knowledge, neural networks and robotics has captured public debate about the future of work; however, it is equally significant when democracies, the public realm and the state adopt these digital technologies in how they administer, govern and construct welfare processes.

Empirically we present an ethnography of the Probability of Exit (PEX) algorithm adopted by the Irish Social Welfare system in 2012 to ration supports and interventions for the over half a million people who have passed through the Irish labour activation processes each year. There has been a turn towards ethnographies of algorithms and the virtual in recent times (Kavanagh, et al., 2015; Lustig & Nardi, 2015; Underberg & Zorn, 2013). In aiming to understand the social life of an algorithm, ethnography holds the potential to reveal the networks of influence that exist around PEX, exploring how society has moved from homo-faber to faber-homo and how mundane artefacts (Latour, 2005) such as the formula can take on tremendous agency. The types of criteria that we might apply to such an ethnography include; extension of bureaucratic logics to an algorithmic authority (Lustig & Nardi, 2015); echo of bias and prejudice (Steiner 2012; Stroud 2014); posthuman agency in actor networks (Woolgar, 1982); the logic and control relationships between policy and action (Kowalksi, 1979).

As we plunge ethnographically into the world of the algorithm, we necessarily encounter the moral and ethical foundations encoded into the objective, cold, and absurdist formula. Going further, we explore the telos of calculability (inspired by Callon, 1988) that digital knowledge produces in theological terms as a new iteration of purgatory. Buried in and around the objectivity of the formula is a deep cultural code of work as a vocation and capitalist enterprise - as the grace of god (Weber, 1958) and the hand of providence or the hand of the market (Agamben, 2011). Furthermore, poverty, unemployment and jobseeking can be interpreted as a purgatory on earth, an edifying punishment to purge sins (especially sloth & pride). This journey of unemployment, not unlike Dante's (1308-1320) in the Divine Comedy, begins with judgement, as penitents are directed along a path and must yield to the assistance of their guides in order

to make them suitable to re-enter the labour market. In taking such a radical line, we aspire to expand the vista of ethnographic inquiry into imagined logics of the tecnotopias from which bureaucratic sorting algorithms emerge.

**Legitimate Sanctions?: Procedural Justice and the Justification of Activation Measures**

*Boland, Tom., Niamh Maguire, Kenny Doyle*  
(Waterford Institute of Technology)

Increased conditionality with multiple interventions backed by behavioural sanctions has increasingly been part of Irish welfare processes since 2012, under the Pathways to Work policy. While the impact of these sanctions and the public debates around them have been examined separately, one strand that runs through both is the question of legitimacy; how changes to the system and the application of procedures are justified. While the public presentation of emergent policies has a complex relationship to changes at the 'street-level', they are mutually entangled, so that 'moral orders' within politics suffuse specific interventions. Starting from an examination of the lack of procedural justice within welfare policies, we draw on Boltanski's work to examine the regimes of justification wherein politicians, policy makers, commentators, welfare officers and individual jobseekers assess the legitimacy of processes and decisions. From this empirical analysis we modulate the critique of the 'secret penal system' to suggest that contemporary welfare conditionality proceeds on a dubious moral basis which responsabilises individuals for economic problems, and seems set to intensify punitive measures. By way of alternative, we suggest that strengthening elements of procedural justice within welfare processes could lead to better outcomes for jobseekers, both subjectively and even economically in terms of a narrow conception of labour market participation.

**Liquid Jobs and Precarious Workers. The Welfare State Under Pressure**

*Valadas, Carla.,*  
(Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra)

In one of his well-known books called 'Liquid Times - Living in an Age of Uncertainty', Zigmunt Bauman (2007) uses the idea of 'liquid modernity' to capture the transformation of social reality from a solid into a liquid phase dominated by instability, insecurity, increasing individualization, and consumerism.

From a sociological point of view, and borrowing Bauman's theoretical premises and concepts, I aim to analyse how increasingly precarious forms of work and employment circumstances are interrelated with the weakening of the 'social state'.

I focus on one of the social security contingencies that continues to represent a major political, economic and social challenge, unemployment. In its idealized form, public policy directed towards the unemployed would be expected to guarantee citizens the possibility of managing adequate living conditions and to be given adequate tools to attain a (new) job. In recent times, not only social protection is inaccessible to an increasing number of individuals in search of a job, as the quality of the services designed to provide them with more equal opportunities, along with the freedom to choose, is endangered.

My research is anchored on the observation of a Southern European society where the effects of the great recession were intensely felt. Even if, in recent years, Portugal seems to have overcome (massive) unemployment and economic/financial constraints most dramatic phase, the welfare state pursues the downsizing of its regulatory functions (e.g. transferring them to private organizations). (Un)employment policies are more and more oriented towards a renewed 'unemployed status' powered by individuals 'self-employability', and accompanied by greater obligations/responsibilities.

My central hypothesis is that: 1) thorough their practices and forms of delivering policies, public employment services contribute to steer individuals in search of a (new) job to low quality jobs with low social protection and; 2) in spite of unemployed people increasingly diverse social and economic circumstances, policies and programs are delivered mostly for the more precarious workers. I use a qualitative case study methodology based on literature review anchored on the work of Bauman (2001, 2005, 2007) on institutional change and working life shifts; documentary analysis derived from a review of government reports and statistics; and semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders and policymakers.

Inspired by the challenging task of interpreting some of the dynamics intersecting our changing working societies, I hope to uncover the specific traits of these dynamics in a society which has an idiosyncratic work and welfare state trajectory. I expect that my paper may inform the scientific knowledge on how the transforming role of the welfare state is contributing to reshape the forms and conditions of work with disciplinary effects on the society as a whole.

**Young Women at Work**  
**AMSTERDAM 1**

**Great Expectations? How Young Women Cope with Navigating 'Flexible Careers'**

*Lambert, Aliette*  
(University of Exeter)

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A growing body of research explores young people's increasingly flexible, complex and precarious career paths. Scholars argue that young people's life course avenues are "no longer linear, but may be reversible, blended, synchronic or deferred" (McDonald et al., 2011: 3). This may be magnified for young women given persistent gendered societal expectations in which women often simultaneously pursue goals related to career and family, while men focus on employment and financial security over marriage/children. Young women thus may experience intensified conflicted feelings given the short time frame within which they seek to achieve life goals - e.g., establishing a career and starting a family. Moreover, with an emphasis on a "do-it-yourself", reflexive biography, the onus of responsibility for failure or success in the workplace is on the individual. This places further pressure on young women who are evidenced to be more negatively affected by a fear of failure than men. Despite these insights, there is a lack of empirical research exploring how young women transition into the workforce and navigate the complexities of their early career life stage. In particular, we still know relatively little about the coping strategies that young women may employ to navigate this period of insecurity.

With this in mind, we conducted a two-year longitudinal study of 15 young women aged 20-34 living in Edinburgh, Scotland. Two to four interviews were conducted over time - usually six months to a year - with each participant (50 interviews total, nearly 900,000 words of transcribed interview data), with observational data generated from social media extending past four years with eight participants. Each interview had a different focus to attain a sense of participants' lives from various angles over time (including home visits and focusing on their social media accounts), though all began with reflective questions about recent life events. Final interviews were semi-structured based on themes generated from previous interviews.

The findings indicate that the young women in this study adhere to postfeminist ideals around work - they do not question their ability to pursue a career and assume that they have the same opportunities as men so long as they make the effort: "The only way that, you know, like society or career anything can keep you down is what you limit yourself to" (Tiffany, 28). The majority of participants furthermore believe that their career can, should, and will provide them with existential security: they expect that they will find a 'dream job' that fulfils their 'calling', and that by working hard, they will gain recognition and swiftly 'climb the ladder'. However, these expectations contrast with lived experiences as participants express disappointment and anxiety over the lack of fulfilment in their careers, contradicting gendered roles that they are expected to fulfil in their personal lives, and persistent gendered challenges in the workplace. Five coping strategies are identified from these findings: 1) post-hoc rationalisation; 2) adjusting the goal posts; 3) changing course completely; 4) fulfilling work-related passions outside of the workplace and 5) surrendering to the current situation.

### **The Role of Education in Reducing Insecurity in the Labour Market Among Young Women in England**

*Holcekova, Maria.,  
(University of Essex)*

It has become popular to claim that the changes in political economy and rise of the knowledge economy are important reasons for the growth in the levels of insecurity in every part of the youth labour market. This has led to claims such as insecurity is best addressed by the increased participation of young people in training and education. Unfortunately, there has so far been only limited nationally representative research on how such participation helps in reducing the insecurities affecting young women's transitions into the labour market. The purpose of my analysis is to offer empirical evidence on the effectiveness of educational qualifications in tackling precarious forms of employment and in reducing inequalities between women in different socio-economic positions (SEP). Taking an empirical position, I investigate four main areas of security in the labour market using eight waves of the Next Steps 1990 birth cohort study of young people in England: income, work, employment, and skills reproduction security. Young women in this analysis are clustered into five distinct SEP based on their parental and individual backgrounds. A series of logistic regressions is then used to uncover the impact of various forms of education on insecurity among these classes of young women at the age of 25/26. The findings show that the probability of entering insecure employment can be mediated by certain educational achievements, such as degree area, the class and awarding institution of a first degree or higher, and completion of an apprenticeship. The greatest potential for reducing these inequalities comes from the subject area and the class of the degree: young women with lower SEP who graduate in 'hard sciences' are more likely to be in full-time employment, and less likely to do shift work or be underemployed, than those with 'soft science' degrees, in some cases even superseding their high-SEP counterparts. Likewise, achieving a First or Distinction decreases chances of shift work and underemployment among young women with lower SEP. However, having a Third or Pass increases the proportions in shift work among almost all groups in comparison to having no degree at all thus putting the value of the monetary investment of gaining low-grade degrees into question. Furthermore, apprenticeships provide those with lower SEP with better chances of securing full-time employment than those in higher SEP. Gaining a degree from a Russell group university, on the other hand, widens the inequality by having the greatest impact on reducing chances of shift work among higher SEP. Despite the overall positive tone of these findings, one must bear in mind the continuing inequalities between different SEP. This is because gaining a degree is not enough for those with lower SEP to catch up to their higher-SEP counterparts, unless they excel in those degrees and choose the 'right' degrees in the first place. These findings thus have important implications on policy making particularly in times of increased costs of participation in higher education.



**The Voice and Influence Young Women at Work**

*Cooper, Rae., Vromen, Hill, Baird, Probyn*  
*(University of Sydney)*

Australian union membership density sits at an historical low of 15%, having collapsed catastrophically in the 1990s and then having declined steadily throughout the 2000s. Male membership density crashed during this time and, while female membership fell, it did so at a slower rate. For the first time in history, in 2016, women were more highly unionised than were men and formed the majority of members of trade unions in the country (ABS 2017). During the same period, a 'de-collectivisation' of Australian industrial relations has occurred, as industry-based awards have become a 'safety net' rather than a site of industry-level collective bargaining, union-based enterprise-based bargaining shows signs of deterioration and union activity has become increasingly constrained by state regulation (Cooper and Ellem 2017). This means that a very large 'representation gap' (Heery 2009) has emerged, made all the more challenging and worrying by the absence of mechanisms to promote the expression of union voice through state-sponsored or company initiated-representative consultative or decision-making fora. In this paper we ask - how do young Australian women – who already face numerous gaps and traps in their working lives – exercise voice in relation to their work? We attempt to understand whether, and to what extent, young Australian women feel that they have a voice in relation to their work. We question the extent to which they are consulted about key workplace decisions, whether their managers involve them in decision making at work and, the level of influence they feel that they can wield. We seek to understand the extent to which union membership, as well as a number of other variables, including sector of employment, interact with these perceptions and experiences. The paper reports on data collected in late through the 2017 the Australian Women's Working Futures project a mixed-method study combining a national survey (n=2,109) of young (16-40) women and men (n 502) and focus groups (n=53).

## **Care Work**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

**Sexuality and Household under Care Economy: Analysis of Work**

*Jena, Asima*  
*(Central University of Gujarat)*

Indian feminists' engagement with women's work had a different trajectory from the European feminist collectives. In the western context, it started with the recognizing domestic labour (child care, cleaning and cooking) as unpaid work and thus, subsequently pitched for the welfare measures for women. Whereas, in the Indian context, women's movement pressed the need to consider other kind of work that women especially from disadvantaged communities do, in the household – fetching water, collecting food stock, fuel, cultivation, etc. rather than just household work – actually add to the production or economy but women remain invisible as these activities are labelled under 'household income' and men are counted as the principal worker. So Indian feminists joined the debate on work by questioning paid vs. unpaid division and public vs. private dichotomy, and in turn, sought for the redefinition of work which would capture the complexities involved in predominantly agriculture based economy or in informal economic set-up. Further, a new shift took place in India due to the onslaught of internationalisation and liberalisation of economy, where, besides informalisation of labour and sharp fall in female labour participation particularly in agriculture sector, simultaneously, family became a major site of production and economy. Two significant changes were noticed, firstly, disturbing trend of more number of women under 'self-employment' category and most of these women in this field are found to be unpaid or underpaid labours. Secondly, a new sector too emerged called as 'care economy'. Against this backdrop, this paper seeks to problematise the notion of 'work' by locating diverse kind of work that women from subaltern communities are involved within the domain of 'household' such as work as domestic servants, workers in beauty industry, sex workers, dais (traditional birth attendants), ASHA workers, involvement of women in cultural industry like popular performances and film industry as 'special artists', etc.. Field insights are drawn primarily from my doctoral work on contested identity of performing communities in the wake of HIV/AIDS discourse in Rajahmundry of Andhra Pradesh, India. The implication of putting these multitudes of work in care-economy are multi-fold. Firstly, these occupations remain by and large outside the purview of state regulation and thus creates labour insecurity. Secondly, some of these works run the risk of framing it as 'seva' (charity) and therefore these works are termed as 'voluntary'. Consequently, these works are defied as 'work' and thus devoid of 'descent or minimum salary/payment' which perfectly is in tune with the neo-liberal policy of cutting down state's responsibility of providing social security nets to its citizens. Thirdly, some of these works provoke a moral tone that these are not legible work even if monetary transaction is involved and therefore denounced as exploitation/commodification of women's body or transgression of traditional Indian culture as surfaced in Hindu-right wing, radical feminist and Marxian discourse. Considering these complexities, gender studies and importantly economics offer certain advantages to analyse work pattern of marginalized sections of women by understanding work from the lens of household instead of 'family'.

**Subsidizing Solidarity: Gendered, Unpaid and Time-Constrained Care Work in Late Neoliberalism**

*Baines, Donna, Tamara Daly*  
(University of Sydney)

Using the example of long term residential care in Ontario, Canada, we argue that rather than time being linear and constant, within the context of care work in late neoliberalism, time needs to be understood as contested and multi-scalar. The concept of multi scalar time captures the way that time commodifies, disciplines and delimits workers' experience of care, and fractures human relations and solidarities. Time also provides the ground on which resistance takes place and in which, workers use their unpaid time to generate new solidarities with service users and new care practices. Drawing on interdisciplinary knowledge and qualitative case study data collected in nonprofit nursing homes in Ontario, Canada, the paper explores how the larger macro and policy context of care work, shapes and hinders workers' abilities to spend time caring and building trust-based relationships with residents, how workers negotiate their roles as care providers in austere environments and how workers use de-commodified time to find spaces for resistance and solidarity.

**Old Issues, New Policies: Can Workplace Policies Adequately Address Care Issues?**

*Fletcher, Andrew, Linda McKie*  
(Durham University)

Our current research pays attention to the connections between abstract policy concepts and those affected by policy. Using a realist paradigm, we explore the drivers and mechanisms that influence both employees' and employers' navigation of care landscapes. Our presentation draws on previous research which developed the analytical framework of 'landscapes of care' and how these are shaped across the life course, and in working years, by both employer policy (carescapes) and employees. All of us create improvised informal social networks (caringscapes) which are constantly shifting as we grow older, change jobs or encounter wider societal changes. Combined, these form a framework that can be used to explore the nuances of the employer/employee relationship and reveal the gendered assumptions that underpin workplace care policies. Subsequent research using this conceptual framework has found that policies designed to facilitate employees to carry out their caring duties are inadequate, inaccessible or in some cases, invisible to those who would otherwise use them.

In this paper we also comment on the interdependency of formal/informal structures, on the way restrictions are rationalised, and on the balance between regulation and resistance. Specifically, we will be looking at the types of evidence used in generating care-related workplace policies and how, in the light of the carescapes/caringscapes framework, different forms of evidence might be used to generate better policy. By carrying out a secondary analysis of the original data set, we hope to open up questions that can inform future research, develop the framework, and yield positive recommendations to create more amenable workplace care policies.

We end by exploring more recent drivers and ideas in the light of this framework, and speculate on how these can be explored in ways that can benefit both formal and informal work/care policies.

## **Class and Identity**

### **BERLIN 1**

**Beyond De-industrialisation: Class Politics and the Transformation of Socio-political Identities in South Yorkshire**

*Stubbs, Nicky*  
(University of Bath)

My research traces the decline of community solidarity in Barnsley, a former mining town in South Yorkshire. In the context of Brexit, there are important questions raised over the way in which the transformations of work, community and kinship manifest themselves in political shifts that have confounded many, who now ask 'How could communities that owe so much to European structural funds have voted overwhelmingly to leave the European Union?'

In order to answer this question, I argue that we must take a perspective that integrates the various dynamics that have transformed work and life in post-industrial communities. These dynamics include the confrontation of the cultural contexts in which de-industrialisation has unfolded, the political economy of de-industrialisation and the transformation of the institutional structures that governed industrial communities. I address this in my research by exploring the experience of life and work in Barnsley, combining anthropology and class analysis in order to critically engage with theories from political economy and political sociology. In short, I argue that we must seek to bridge the divide between sociology and anthropology in order to gain an integrated perspective that takes account both of the changing structural nature of work and the cultural contexts within which they occur.

I draw upon data gathered through semi-structured interviews with former industrial workers, service sector workers, trade union leaders and organisers and local policy makers in order to make two theoretical contributions. The first is derived from the way in which the traditional forms of work, community and kinship were decimated during the 1980s and 1990s. Useful in this regard is Harvey's concept of 'creative destruction', which can be used to describe de-industrialisation as a process in which capital overcomes the resistance of labour through the industrial forms of class struggle. But in order to understand the extent to which de-industrialisation transformed the social and physical landscapes of communities, the meaning of 'creative destruction' must be extended to incorporate the whole social infrastructures that underpinned the economic system of industrial capital. The second contribution relates to the experience of the denigration of work. I argue that this denigration amounts to the immiseration of the people living there. The radicalisation against this process that Marx predicted however, has not materialised, and I identify a series of economic, cultural and geographically specific contexts that have obstructed Marx's predicted radicalisation.

Such contexts include the increased use of migrant labour by firms to undercut local workers, increased levels of crime and widespread worklessness, all of which present significant barriers to community cohesion and traditional working class values. In the absence of strong trade unions to organise increasingly fragmented communities, community solidarity has been in perpetual decline and residents feel left behind. While EU structural funds have upgraded infrastructure and transport links, the new forms of work are much less secure and bring lower pay; EU structural funds have not had a measurable positive impact on their lives.

### **Exploring the Intersections: The Role of Cultural Codes in Class Consciousness of Subcontracted Workers**

*Orhan, Burce*

*(Sakarya University)*

The main purpose of this study is to disclose and understand the interaction between individuals' social and class identities which have been come into the question by the recent discussions about the concept of 'social classes'. For this purpose, this study tries to examine the interactions between subcontracted workers' class consciousness and their class identities which root in their class belongings and workers' other social identities. Empirical data of the study consist of interviews done with subcontracted workers at Sakarya University. As a result, one can say that the relations between class identities and other social identities shaped by the social context. Moreover, one can say that specific identities may gain importance and stand out according to the social context, too. In addition, the class consciousness that workers have, on the other hand, has shown itself as a form of consciousness stemming from differences in status, not as a form of consciousness arising from production relations.

### **Bringing Work Back In: A Multidimensional Approach to Contemporary Work-life Differentiation**

*Melldahl, Andreas*

*(Uppsala University)*

The 'cultural turn' in theory on class has resulted in the curious fact that research dealing with contemporary class has focused on nearly everything that expresses class and classed identities, but increasingly ignored the site where class, more concretely, is made – at the place of work. This inclination is especially troublesome given the drastic transformations the organization of work has faced, or is facing, in contemporary societies, be that the restructuring of work in the wake of implementation of new forms of governance in the public sector or threats of work-replacing digitalization and the intensified globalization of work-force competition in the private sector. The call for studies to "bring class back in" was doubtlessly urgent some 25 years ago (McNall et al. 1991 ). Today, however, that call should be modified, into a plea for studies of class that "bring work back in". Through a multiple correspondence analysis of a national survey (distributed in 2008, representative sample, 4,000 respondents) focused solely on work-life issues, with questions on qualifications, task complexity, work-life security, work-life satisfaction, etc., a multidimensional view of how work is experienced and managed by individuals in different sectors and at different level in the organizational hierarchies will be generated. Which are the most salient lines of demarcation between individuals located at different positions in the class structure?

There are several reasons for why recent research on class has de-emphasized the importance of work. On a general level, there are forcefully articulated sentiments that the traditional concept of class – where work, in the guise of occupation, was considered central – failed to take into account the increasingly complex and multidimensional differentiation characterizing contemporary societies. Solutions proposed to remedy this shortcoming has argued for a more differentiated concept of class, either still within the traditional concept or through alternative perspectives. On a level closer to the individuals, there are approaches arguing for the performativity of class, where the construction of identities is more pivotal than are work-place circumstances. As a bi-product of these debates, work has been sidestepped as a decisive factor.

An intricate chain of lacunas in contemporary research with regards to class and work can be specified. Firstly, studies where a multitude of social positions are examined, quantitatively or qualitatively, do not highlight work, but focus on spare-time activities and/or moral stances, even though the positions most often are identified using occupational (i.e. work) titles. Secondly, studies that include elements of work into the analysis of social positions, do not compare between different social positions, but focus on a narrow selection of individuals in similar class positions. Thirdly, studies

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that examine work-conditions and/or the transformation of contemporary work-life, most often do not highlight class in the analysis, but focus on processes and the societal implications. The paper will contribute to this literature by tying these specialties together, and hence remedy the lacunae, through an examination of how work is experienced by individuals in a wide selection of social positions.

## **Democratic Work**

### **BERLIN 2**

#### **'Good Work' in the Face of Disadvantage: The Case of Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISEs) in Scotland**

*Rendall, Jack*

*(Glasgow Caledonian University)*

With the positive effects of 'good work', and the negative effects of unemployment becoming increasingly well documented, innovative approaches to providing employment, and thus well-being benefits, for people marginalised from mainstream labour markets continues to be a salient topic of research interest.

Work integration social enterprise (WISE) is an organisational form that combines trading in the market with pursuing a social mission of employment creation through the development of in work skills for those that face disadvantage. Despite research involving WISEs significantly increasing in recent years, there is still a lack of understanding of the variety of ways in which WISEs deliver employment opportunities for people with disadvantages. Uncovering what people working in WISEs consider to be 'good work' is vital in understanding what makes a WISE 'effective' as well as contributing to a more normative understanding of justice in work. Indeed, the kind of work we do is central to the type of people we are and to the quality of our lives (Sayer, 2009). Yet, WISEs have faced criticism for reifying the role of market solutions to social problems (Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2014).

Given the subjective nature of 'good work', a Q methodological approach (the Scientific Study of Subjectivity) has been employed to gather the subjective perspectives of people facing a range of disadvantages who are working in WISEs. This allows for the study of intersubjectivity and the uncovering of differences and similarities across perspectives, and adds to our understanding of what constitutes 'good work' in such settings.

#### **The Value of Work: What Can We Learn from the Transformation of Collective Community in Israel?**

*Moreno, Adi, Hadas Mandel*

*(Tel-Aviv University)*

What constitutes a fair pay for a job? How do people evaluate the worth of their labor or their peers? And how do systems that aspire to gender neutrality, rationality and equality generate pay hierarchies that are clearly imbued by social biases of gender, race, national belongings and the like? To address these classical sociological questions, our research looks into the transformation of Israeli collective communities – called Kibbutz - which were based upon shared property ownership and equal distribution of means to all members. In the last two decades these collectives are undergoing privatization processes that involve paying different salaries to Kibbutz members, based upon evaluation of their job, productivity, seniority and capabilities (Russell et al. 2013). Via this transformation, from equal pay to hierarchical wages, the Kibbutz societies offer a unique case study into contemporary notions of labor's worth, as well as a site for researching the creation of gendered pay gaps.

Wage hierarchies are an intrinsic feature of capitalist societies; yet their causes are under dispute. Classical and Neoclassical theorists regard pay scales as reflecting the relative social and economic significance of a job and the qualification, effort, and productivity of the individual worker. Conflict theorists, instead, view job hierarchies as resultant of imbalanced power struggle between elite groups: higher pay professionals and employers, and non-hegemonic groups who receive reduced pay as a result of their lesser bargaining power (England 1992). For scholars belonging to the first group, gendered/racialized pay gaps are a result of errors and inefficiencies in the labor market, while for theorists belonging to the latter these are the expected outcomes of an uneven social terrain, reflecting power relations in society at large.

The case of the Kibbutz is unique in its historical and current socio-economic makeup. This experimental way of living involved complete sharing of income, capital, and resources among all members. As the Kibbutz communities now transform into hierarchical pay and privatization of services and properties, they offer insights into the processes that generate pay hierarchies and justify them. That is, Kibbutz members are now called upon to decide what constitutes a fair pay, for themselves and for their peers. Yet when they do so, in manners which involve creating a rational, productivity based pay scale which is allegedly gender neutral and depersonalized, it is still the case that male Kibbutz members earn more than female Kibbutz members, resulting in a pay gap similar to the gaps that are recorded in the Israeli labor market broadly.

Our research is based upon a mixed-methods approach. We analyze wage data from several communities that were privatized in the recent decade, alongside qualitative interviews with Kibbutz managers. This case study exposes implicit biases and structural mechanisms of inequality that operate within contemporary capitalist valuation of labor.

could be held in common). It is no understatement to claim that analysis of the commons stands as the most important current area of political economy. In this paper, we offer an overview of key contributions within this scholarship.

Within the scholarship on the political economy of the commons, there is a strange and rather loud silence when it comes to consideration of how far the commons relates to contemporary production, or work settings - outside of consideration of worker cooperatives and work accomplished through digital commons. It is rather unsatisfactory for a key strand of political economy to be so taciturn in the analysis of contemporary work settings. We argue that it is time for the analysis of the commons to consider how far elements of commons may be found in contemporary workplaces. The scholarship on the sociology of contemporary work relations may similarly benefit from the analytical lens of the commons being turned upon the workplace. Outside of consideration of the digital commons, as yet, management researchers, and sociologists of work have carried on their research and writing in a vacuum, as if the rise of the political economy of the commons had never happened. And yet, as we argue in the paper, there are some key concepts and analytical frames within management and sociology scholarship that are compatible with some key currents in the commons scholarship.

In short, bridges should be built between scholarship on the political economy of the commons and management and sociology scholarship on work relations. Both areas of scholarship can benefit from such bridges being built, and there are already forms of analytical bricks (on both sides of the divide) that can allow such bridges to be constructed. We aim in this paper to start the construction of these bridges.

The structure of our argument is as follows. First, we outline the rise in the political economy of the commons, noting key contributions, and the lack of attention paid to commons in contemporary work settings. Next, we seek to correct this lack of attention by building on the key writing of De Angelis (2017) to put forward a concept of workplace commoning. We then offer a preliminary analytical mapping of the key forms of commoning that occur in relation to work settings. In so doing, we call upon some key concepts in contemporary management and sociology of work scholarship. We end by noting that considerably more work needs to be done in the building of bridges here, and note some key issues to be addressed that can help the construction of these bridges.

### **British Worker Cooperatives: Islands of Workplace Democracy in a Rising Sea of Inequality**

*Castle, Albert*

*(Rutgers University)*

Rights won by workers through mass mobilization and collective bargaining, even when extensive, normally stop short of significant worker ownership or control of the firm. Worker cooperatives – businesses owned and controlled by their worker members – offer a radical organizational, legal, and ideological alternative to the hierarchical governance, occupational segregation, and worker dispossession characteristic of the modern firm. Yet, the cooperative movement has been limited and threatened by increasing inequality and worker disempowerment in the larger economy. In-depth, semi-structured interviews with 32 members at a dozen worker cooperatives throughout England show that the British worker cooperative movement has cultivated an egalitarian and participatory workplace culture that is undergirded by the institutionalization of democratic governance, common property, and equal wages. However, members feared that competitive pressures from large and international firms could compel their cooperative to compromise principles, lower standards, and lose their character. Analysis of the history of the British cooperative movement and evaluations of cooperatives by foundational political economists underlines worker cooperatives' enduring importance to – yet persistent marginality within – working-class politics and socialist theory. By merging labor and capital rather than attempting to equalize them, and by socializing capital chiefly at the level of the enterprise rather than the state, worker cooperatives have appeared to work at cross-purposes with broader labor and socialist movements. Worker cooperatives, however, offer a tried-and-tested model of workplace democracy and economic equality that depends on the success of those movements for their own.

### **Putting Critical Sociological to Work: Paradoxes in Attempting Democratic Organizing, an Insider Perspective**

*King, Daniel, Martyn Griffin*

*(Nottingham Trent University)*

Critical sociologists of management have become increasingly concerned regarding the extent to which they can improve the lives of organizational practitioners. For instance Michael Burawoy's campaign 'For Public Sociology' (2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2009), have fuelled debate about what an engaged sociology might look like. This so-called performative turn (Spicer, Alvesson, & Kärreman, 2009, 2016) has sought to create increased engagement with organizational practice (Butler, Delaney, & Spoelstra, 2018), with the expressed aim of improving the lives of organizational practitioners. The expressed aim here is to formulate sociological work that engages directly with particular public groups, (in our case those involved in organizational practice) to produce and disseminate sociological knowledge.

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Critical scholars, therefore, have increasingly called for greater engagement with practice. Morrison and Sacchetto have recently argued: 'Engaged research is widely assumed to be a participatory, democratic pursuit that employs emancipatory dialogues and action research to access subjective and objective truths about social domination' (2017:2). Yet, there are few examples (Barros, 2010; King, 2015; King & Land, 2018) of this in practice with propensities often 'paint(ing) a frictionless picture of practitioner engagement' (Butler et al., 2018, p. 1) which do not stand up to practice (King & Land, 2018).

One approach that critical sociological studies have indicated is through democratic forms of organizing (Daskalaki, 2017; Griffin, Humphreys, & Learmonth, 2015; Griffin, Learmonth, & Elliott, 2015; King & Land, 2018; Kokkinidis, 2012). Workplace democracy has been posited as one approach that might provide freedom from domination (Griffin, Learmonth, et al., 2015) and emancipation (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992a) in such a way that could further the aims of critically engaged sociology that can make a difference to society.

In this paper we explore the tensions and dilemmas that exist in pursuing democratic organization. We consider the competing paradox of relinquishing power and yearning for control; desiring freedom but yearning for hierarchy; and desiring democratic authenticity but wanting to get things done. We do this through exploring, through our own ongoing experiences transitioning to democratic modes of working. The vignettes explore the central obstacles that we faced in the creation of a democratically organized alliance between coaches, leaders and academics attempting to work together more proactively on facilitating and sustaining transitions to alternative modes of working. The central argument and contribution of the paper is that the paradoxes we experienced, during transition to democratic organization, are not easily solvable or even reduced through greater formal knowledge of democratic methods. We argue that at times we are going to feel hypocritical and fearful in the decisions that we take. Most importantly however, we argue that this should not lead us to assume that a democratic project itself is itself flawed – it is merely subject to the same intense contradictory feelings that we experience in everyday life.

## Creative Labour

### DUBLIN 1

#### **Stigma of Joblessness, Digitalization, and the 'China Dream': Emerging Challenges and Responses of Cultural/Creative Labour in China**

*Tse, Tommy Ho Lun., Li Xiao-tian*  
(University of Hong Kong)

The cultural and creative industries (CCI) in the globalized economy are widely perceived as increasingly significant sources of economic growth and employment. In China, CCI's total workforce rose from 8.73 million employees in 2004 to 17.59 million in 2013. This research represents a timely inquiry into CCI contextualized in China, which have been at the top of Chinese government's strategic development agenda in the context of the country's opening up of the market to the forces of globalization (Keane, 2016), not only based on economic reasons, but also to export its cultural power as part of the country's soft-power-building agenda, contributing to a unique mode of cultural production and labour process.

Case studies, interviews and participant observation are used to explore the nuances of real-life working conditions and the emotional experiences of the cultural/creative workers in China. In this case, the CCI workers in television, advertising and web services industries, face increasingly insecure and stressed working lives, with the boundary between their formal and informal employment status increasingly blurred. These emerging forms of anxieties, insecurities and dissatisfactions in China's cultural/creative workforce undermine the theoretical assumption that full-time secure employment is more stable and secure, raising a reconceptualization of the traditional understanding of precarity accelerated by Standing's (2016) theorization of the 'precariat', which primarily focuses on flexible, temporary employment and the dynamic market situation.

Under the socio-economic and cultural facets of the neo-precariat, the worker identities face continuous tensions between centrality of work and post-work ethics, between their employment expectations and objective reality, and between the pursuit of moral autonomy and stigma of joblessness. Under the techno-cultural facet, the technological transformation and the digitized work environment have escalated the speed of cultural production and contributed to the devaluation of creative labor. A disempowerment of creativity is shown, giving way to a high level of adaptability without concrete social and institutional support for professional development. Under the political facet, China has positioned its cultural industry as an anchor for soft power building and nation branding, and developed a 'created in China' paradigm. However, China's CCI remain heavily regulated and subject to surveillance, and government control is omnipresent. The dichotomous construct of creative autonomy and active state surveillance remains a struggle for and constraint on creative workers.

The project's major theoretical contributions are documenting and conceptualizing the emergent types of work anxieties and pressures derived from the interwoven effects of broader cultural, political, socioeconomic and technological

changes in the creative workforce of the post-socialist China, also categorizing the power of diverse cultural/creative workers at different levels of the cultural production process, also their divergent reactions and responses to precarious work conditions accruing from various factors including age, socioeconomic status, education, gender, place of origin, and work experience. The emerging forms of anxieties and insecurities facilitate three types of labor agency (the 3 Rs)—resilience, reworking and resistance (Alford et al., 2017). Finally, this research discusses what industrial measures, government policies and forms of labor activism can empower China's 17 million-plus cultural workers.

### **Unless Something Goes Horribly Wrong: Consumer Complaints and the Devaluing of Creativity**

*Fleetwood, Paul*

*(University of Aberdeen)*

The arrival of social media was received with excitement by advertising professionals. Consumers, it was thought, would use branded channels on sites like Facebook and Twitter to engage directly with brands in a way which would enhance the brand's status. More importantly, the channel could be used to serve marketing material directly to followers, a boon in an age of massive audience fragmentation. Consumers, however, had other ideas. Rather than using social media to engage in brand-enhancing conversations, they have mostly used these channels to complain. This has meant that, while branded social media channels continue to serve marketing functions, they also - and increasingly - serve customer-service functions. Until recently, responsibility for managing branded social media has fallen to advertising professionals. Now, however, some businesses are outsourcing this work to call centres, or building it into their own customer service provisions. This suggests that some duties previously considered 'creative labour' will in future be performed by those outside of the creative industries, and in jobs which are perceived as much lower in status. This has implications not only for the advertising industry but for the entire customer-service sector. This paper first offers a brief overview of the contemporary media environment and the challenges faced by advertisers, and compares this to the sociological critiques of advertising offered by Ewen (1976), Williamson (1978), Wernicke (1991), Smythe (1981), and Fisher (2015), among others. This elaborates the appeal of social media to advertising professionals. It next examines the potential pitfalls for brands wishing to engage the public in conversation, as well as the tendency for social media to attract a disproportionate number of complaints. Thereafter, closer attention is paid to the ways in which advertising professionals and their clients are managing these issues. One of these responses is outsourcing, which suggests that creative labour is spreading into other areas of work but is, in the process, becoming devalued. Thus in the final part, these issues are examined in relation to Desmondhalgh's (2008; 2010; 2013) descriptions of creative labour, and Hothschild's (1983) descriptions of emotional labour. It is suggested that a requirement for workers to perform a combination of creative and emotional labour will allow new skills and personalities to flourish in these sectors, but risks increasing the alienation felt by many who perform such work (Lewig & Dollard, 2003).

## **Workplace Integration**

### **ROTUNDA**

### **Friendships at Workplace and Beyond: Exploring the Intersection of Work and Personal Live among Ethnic Minority Migrants in Southwest China**

*Mao, Jingyu*

*(University of Edinburgh)*

This paper seeks to explore the intersection of work and personal lives in the context of rural-urban migration in China. Under the exploitive work regime, migrants often work for prolonged hours and spend most of their time with workmates rather than family members. They also heavily rely on the the networks that they facilitate from work to keep a foothold in the city. Therefore, there is a large overlap between migrants' workplace relationships with their friendships. While in previous literatures, rural-urban migrants' work and personal lives are usually discussed as two separate areas of enquiry, this paper seeks to explore the intersection of these two areas by focusing on ethnic minority migrants' friendship practices within and beyond the workplace.

The focus of this paper was put on a group of ethnic minority migrants who are undertaking a unique form of work—ethnic performances, which include them dressing in minority costumes, performing minority songs and dances, waitressing and toasting to guests, etc. They often undertake performance work in restaurants or sightseeing points as a part of ethnic tourism. Performers' bodies and emotions were used to convey a sense of multi-ethnic culture. At the same time, their performances were used to boost atmosphere at urban elites' banqueting tables, which was used to contribute to guests' guanxi (relationship) building process.

During six months' ethnographic fieldwork in 2016-2017, I worked with or alongside performers at three different sites in Green City (pseudonym) in Yunnan province, Southwest China, which include one restaurant and two sightseeing points. In Waterfall restaurant, I dressed the same as other performers, and worked together with them as waitress and performer. In the other two sightseeing points—Tea Park and Forest Park, I shadowed performers' day to day work by being in their workplace and observe their daily activities and interactions. Aside from participants observation, I also

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did 60 in-depth interviews with minority migrants from these three field sites and beyond. Random sampling and snowball sampling were used to recruit minority migrants who do not work in these three sites.

This paper will firstly discuss the reason why it is so important to focus on migrant performers' work relationships if we want to gain a better understanding of their personal lives. It argues that while exploitive work regimes constrain migrant workers' own space of intimacy in many ways, it can also facilitate and maintain intimate relationships. The intimacy created and maintained at work serves as important support networks for migrant workers. Furthermore, these workplace relationships do not happen in the social vacuum. Instead, they are profoundly shaped by the broader social and cultural context. Therefore, this paper endeavours to show how migrant workers' workplace relationships and friendship practices are largely shaped by the intersection of gender, ethnicity, class, and migration status. I further explore how the intersectionality framework will contribute to our understanding of minority migrants' work life and personal life as intrinsically entangled disciplines.

## **Employment Relations**

**DUBLIN 2**

### **Engaging Flexibilised Capitalism, Disengaging Commitment. Exploring Workplace Relations in Employer Organisations**

*Finniear, Jocelyn, Paul White*  
(Swansea University)

In this paper we reveal how the managerial agenda of engagement within Employer Organisations (EOs) is understood by employees. Our work contributes in-depth insights into workplace relations within Employer Organisations (EOs), an area of the literature which has received minimal attention (Gooberman et al, 2018). Here we show how commitment has a dual focus, being something that EOs require of its employees in order to deliver for the membership and the members who are essential to EO survival.

Our paper reflects insights from the early stages of an ethnographic study of EOs, which commenced in 2016. We show how management practices are both culturally and materially mediated and reveal core tensions in terms of who or what is being effectively engaged (Becker, 1960). Across field sites we witness how employees see management as performing engagement via a series of short termed, short lived, initiatives. Such performances of engagement become normalised, ordinary, where employees await the 'next initiative'. Consequently, the promotion of engagement has the effect of generating uncertainty and fuelling a sense of insecurity which impacts on behaviour in the workplace, as well as their lives outside work (Heery and Salmon, 2002). What is made visible is a generalising insecurity that in Sennett's (1999, p. 31) words are '...woven into the everyday practices of a vigorous capitalism', where mundane work life requires effort to downplay the disengaging effects of managerial initiatives (cf Sacks, 1984).

Thus, in attempting to perform engagement we show how employee commitment develops through actions and choices over time. What is crucial is the form and alignments to modes of commitment (Becker, 1960). Here we show commitment as representing identification with and commitment to specific individuals, histories and practices other than the employing organisation. It is the relations between co-workers (managerial or otherwise) of themselves which provides a form of commitment independent of the organisation (Meyer et al., 1998; Bauman 1990) and more importantly in place of the organisation, some participants even being unclear on what their EO actually does and how workplace relations are reduced to calculable, functional and instrumental relationships. Partial, incomplete, or otherwise stalled modes of engaging are interpreted as performative signifiers, aspirational modes displaying an intention to engage staff that react to perceived organisational issues yet are never realised. Employees become both passive and reactive in their roles (Keenoy, 2013) and have a more individualistic, short-term orientation. Consequently, the employment relationship is reduced to that of the transactional, where the path of failed or abandoned engagement activities act as a counterpoint for the reason to stay. Thus rather than fostering commitment, we reveal the unintended effects (Merton, 1936) of attempts to engage which are deemed a 'management of display without action'.

### **The Workplace Commons: Towards Understanding and Mapping Commoning within Work Relations**

*Korczynski, Marek, Andreas Wittel, Simon Cross*  
(University of Nottingham)

The Nobel Prize awarded to Elinor Ostrom in 2009 highlights the contemporary importance of scholarship in the political economy of the commons. Ostrom's key contribution was to argue against the assumption regarding the inevitable 'tragedy of the commons' (in which the inevitable self-interest of commoners serves to ruin resources that could be held in common). It is no understatement to claim that analysis of the commons stands as the most important current area of political economy. In this paper, we offer an overview of key contributions within this scholarship.



Within the scholarship on the political economy of the commons, there is a strange and rather loud silence when it comes to consideration of how far the commons relates to contemporary production, or work settings - outside of consideration of worker cooperatives and work accomplished through digital commons. It is rather unsatisfactory for a key strand of political economy to be so taciturn in the analysis of contemporary work settings. We argue that it is time for the analysis of the commons to consider how far elements of commons may be found in contemporary workplaces. The scholarship on the sociology of contemporary work relations may similarly benefit from the analytical lens of the commons being turned upon the workplace. Outside of consideration of the digital commons, as yet, management researchers, and sociologists of work have carried on their research and writing in a vacuum, as if the rise of the political economy of the commons had never happened. And yet, as we argue in the paper, there are some key concepts and analytical frames within management and sociology scholarship that are compatible with some key currents in the commons scholarship.

In short, bridges should be built between scholarship on the political economy of the commons and management and sociology scholarship on work relations. Both areas of scholarship can benefit from such bridges being built, and there are already forms of analytical bricks (on both sides of the divide) that can allow such bridges to be constructed. We aim in this paper to start the construction of these bridges.

The structure of our argument is as follows. First, we outline the rise in the political economy of the commons, noting key contributions, and the lack of attention paid to commons in contemporary work settings. Next, we seek to correct this lack of attention by building on the key writing of De Angelis (2017) to put forward a concept of workplace commoning. We then offer a preliminary analytical mapping of the key forms of commoning that occur in relation to work settings. In so doing, we call upon some key concepts in contemporary management and sociology of work scholarship. We end by noting that considerably more work needs to be done in the building of bridges here, and note some key issues to be addressed that can help the construction of these bridges.

### **Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Social Partners and the Deconstruction of Wage Setting Institution**

*Kornelakis, Andreas, Michail Veliziotis; Horen Voskeritsian; Panos Kapotas*

*(King's College London)*

Existing literature that sought to examine the recent developments on employment relations in Greece in the context of austerity and the Eurozone crisis (Kretsos, 2012; Wood et al, 2015; Ioannou, 2013; Koukiadaki & Kokkinou, 2016) has not managed so far to provide a convincing account of the social partners' responses to the far-reaching reforms and institutional changes in the wage setting system during the Greek crisis. While several works broadly agree on the general direction of travel towards 'deregulation' (Ioannou, 2013) or 'deconstruction' (Koukiadaki & Kokkinou, 2016), they do not unveil the fault lines and the hidden fractures between and within peak-level trade unions, employers and policy-makers on the unprecedented agenda of labour market deregulation.

The present paper will fill this gap exploiting rich data sources comprising primary documents (position papers, announcements, etc.) as well as in-depth face-to-face interviews with key actors representing labour, business and the state. The fieldwork was carried out in the period June-August 2016 and involved interviews with key representatives of GSEE, SEV, SME associations, and the Ministry of Labour. The thematic analysis will focus on areas such as the minimum wages setting and the decentralization of collective bargaining.

Overall, the paper contributes to the literature by blending the perspective of how actors construct the ideas and ideologies behind changes with a power-based approach provides a richer understanding of actors' perception of the de-construction and re-construction of institutions.

## Academic Careers between Precarity and Excellence COPENHAGEN 2

### Lived Experiences of Bias and Competition Precarity and Gender Amongst UK Early Career Academics

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This research will consider how the current political context of precarity, i.e. the prevalence and increasing use of non-standard or casualised contracts (fixed term, zero hours, etc.) and neoliberalism within UK Higher Education intersects with gendered experience, by gathering and analysing the details of Early Career Academics (ECAs) everyday lives. Whilst both male and female ECAs currently endure many similar and pernicious impacts at the hands of an increasingly marketized Higher Education sector there are differences as well as commonalities to be gleaned when we consider how gender complicates the picture. For example, the research shows that female ECAs are dealing with many traditional issues of gendered bias in academia- for example in student metrics and promotion- that are now being exacerbated by precarity and competition. The research also discusses academic masculinities and how these are tied to the cathexis of breadwinning and work which have been compromised by precarity. It also explores the narratives of ECA men in relation to their female colleagues; whether they are working towards a more inclusive masculinity that incorporates women and challenges bias or whether the competitive nature of the neoliberal university has pressured them into utilising all available social leverage, leading them in turn to commit multiple acts of symbolic violence. This work aims to address the lack of emphasis placed on ECAs non-scholarly pursuits and determine the interconnections between their public and private lives. I will be implementing a feminist phenomenological approach for my methodology as I am interested in discovering the details of the ECAs experience through a gender critical lens, what they choose to discuss and how they themselves interpret that experience. The research itself will be achieved through combined qualitative methodologies, firstly a combination of 20 in-depth interviews with current ECAs and 5 with senior academics reflecting upon their ECA experience. Secondly, it will make use of an 'online focus group' message board to allow ECAs to discuss, compare and reflect upon their collective experience. The outcomes of the research will then be separated out by gender and compared. This research and its analysis are still being undertaken and this paper is therefore a snapshot of what has been uncovered at this point.

### Striving for Excellence: Producing Discipline and Precarity in Academia

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The paper uses auto-ethnography to show how changes in the universities in Norway from 2001 that promised increased freedom, have ended up merged, restructured and tightly controlled and monitored by state authorities.

From being governed by the Department of Education that decided what kind of subjects and number of students each institution were allowed, higher education was 'set free' from state governance to govern itself. The new freedom was accompanied by new forms of control: direct control of the quality of education by a regulatory agency to certify the institutions (NOKUT), and indirect control through competition for funds in pseudo-markets for their share of the state budget for higher education based on production of credits, candidates and publications.

It also brought changes in the governance structure: from collegial management by elected officers to strategic management by appointed leaders. They were made responsible for developing local research strategies to contribute to the goal of becoming excellent by ensuring that the academics did their best to meet the strategic goals. To motivate them to do so incentives were introduced to increase the number of international publications, candidates and excellent researchers. To promote external funding of research, the university would supplement grants (and support projects with high rating, but no funding) with PhDs and post.doc positions. New positions were also created for talented young researchers and excellent research groups. Extra resources for research motivated the academics to align their research with the university's strategic research areas.

Not surprisingly, these measures resulted in an increase in PhDs and post.docs, young academics in temporary positions, as well as a tripling of researchers in temporary positions (not a category in our university system where academics are employed in permanent positions have equal time for teaching and research).

When in 2017 a new type of evaluation of universities was introduced, we were not only asked to report our results, but specifically asked for our large, permanent research groups and their results and impact. Since we as a sociology department did not have many of these, we had to construct some politically. Through the new type of evaluation the authorities not only prescribe what we should do, but also how scientific results should be produced.

From being autonomous under state rule to be 'set free' to govern ourselves, we ended up as tightly governed by the new norms for research (externally financed, in strategic areas, in large research groups). The result is disciplined academics in an organisation that produces temporary workers without academic career opportunities.

## Not in Education, Employment or Training GRAND 4 & 5

### **Reducing the Risk of not Participating in Education, Employment or Training (NEET) in the UK: What Role for Hope and Policies to Promote Pathways-Thinking?**

*Murphy, Emily, Craig Holmes, Ewart Keep, Sue Maguire, Ken Mayhew*  
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Reducing the risk of not participating in education, employment or training (NEET) in the UK: What role for hope and policies to promote pathways-thinking?

The exclusion of young people from participation in any education, employment or training (NEET) has been a key policy concern in Europe for two decades or more. Among those aged between 16 and 29 in the UK, over 10% experienced at least one NEET episode in 2017. Several European-led policies are aimed at reducing NEET rates, and these policies have prioritised youth employability and work activation initiatives.

A cause of 'worklessness' referenced in British policy circles is that people's social origin can foster a complacency with being unemployed or inactive; a 'culture of worklessness' argument presupposes that those from workless households are socially primed to be NEET. This line of argument runs counter to evidence on the mechanisms behind the transmission of intergenerational disadvantage. Studies repeatedly find that getting a job, or entering and continuing in education are universally valued, with family background influencing which option holds greater urgency. Recent literature has stressed the role individual agency plays in the achievement of successful educational and job transitions. Hope represents an important form of agency. Our study conceptualises hope as a cognitive process which comprises two thought paths: one is a 'will' which is being able to see goals or a future; second is seeing a 'way' towards goals or the future. Hope is thus a belief in a future pathway and in one's current capacity to succeed on such a path (Snyder, 2002).

The question examined is whether hope has a protective or enabling effect for a person from any given social background. Are those who exhibit these elements of hope more likely to remain in education, employment or training - or alternatively, re-enter education or employment having left in the previous year - independent of family background? Analyses are based on a nationally representative sample of men and women in the UK aged 16-29, drawn from seven waves of Understanding Society data (UKHLS 2009-2016). Annual transitions are estimated using binary logistic regression. Results indicate that, controlling for social origin effects, hope lowers NEET risks. Disentangling risks by likelihood of NEET exit and entry we find that the 'will' component of hope is a significant predictor of remaining in education or employment from one year to the next, whereas the 'way' component of hope is a significant predictor of whether a person who is already NEET re-engages with education employment or training.

These findings suggest that enabling policies which help young people to envision positive future prospects could prove effective in ensuring their continued engagement with education or the labour market. A greater concentration on mentorships or other schemes which build pathways-thinking and confidence to navigate ways to re-/engage with education or employment for the long-term may prove to be a cost effective policy approach.

### **Youth NEET in Croatia: 'Choices' of education and labour market participation before, during and after the crisis**

*Monastiriotis, Vassilis, Iva Tomic*  
(London School of Economics)

Despite of the economic and social importance of the issue of youth unemployment and the recent policy activism at the national and European levels with regard to youth who are not in employment, education or training (NEET), research on the issue remains somewhat thin. Sociological case-study approaches offer insights about the problems faced by youth, but they contribute relatively little on our understanding of the economy-wide processes of selection and sorting that underpin youth labour market outcomes. In turn, applied labour economics approaches offer some insights about the contribution of individual and environmental characteristics to the labour market outcomes of youth, but are often descriptive and too simplistic in their approach, often reducing the issue of labour market exclusion into a 'binary' selection process between employment/training and unemployment/inactivity. In this paper we try to find some middle ground between these two approaches. While adopting the methodological approach of the applied economics literature, we offer a more careful and more comprehensive analysis of the individual and environmental characteristics associated to different labour market outcomes of young people. Specifically, we identify four outcomes of interest – in employed, unemployed, in education and inactive – and examining 'selection' into these outcomes as a simultaneous process. Using data from the Croatian Labour Force Survey over a 12-year period, encompassing the recent crisis, we provide a detailed examination of the evolution of NEET and employment/education outcomes in the country with the third highest youth unemployment rate in the EU. Our analysis unveils a critical distinction between employment and education outcomes (and, less so, between unemployment and inactivity) showing that different environmental factors and individual characteristics contribute differently to an individual's likelihood to enter employment or remain in education – and, inversely, that the 'choice' between inactivity and unemployment is to a large extent rather random.

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We discuss the implications of our findings with regard to policies aiming at addressing problems of labour market participation of NEETs, focusing in particular on the need for a more careful alignment, or fine-tuning, between activation and education policies (including VET).

#### **A Lost Generation or a Period Specific Selection Process? Youth Unemployment in the Times of the Great Recession**

*Dietrich, Hans*

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The Great Recession and its aftermath hit most of the European countries severely. Especially young people suffered by both an increasing risk of becoming unemployed and a prolongation of individuals' duration of staying unemployed. Already in 2010, politicians reactivated the term 'lost generation' to characterise the situation of young people in the years of the Great Recession. In fact, youth unemployment increased until 2013 by numbers and rates, and the duration of unemployment experience prolonged. However, from a research perspective it is still unclear, in how far the recession cohorts (here the school leavers, who left the educational system in the years of the Great Recession) became a lost generation. The term lost generation is used in a double sense here: experiencing a delayed entry into the working life and starting at an insecure or precarious level of employment with lower perspectives to recover. From that perspective, scholars assume the Great Recession worked as a cohort-specific obstacle, yielding a lost generation. The alternative hypothesis is, the Great Recession created a period-specific episode of unemployment and people involved recover from unemployment along with economic recovery.

As a second effect the paper assumes, the Great Recession amplified the selection process when young people enter the labour market and establish in employment. Thus, not cohorts in general but especially disadvantaged groups (poor school performance, social background, etc.) suffered most from the years of crisis and experienced a precarious school-to work transition.

Eurostat Labour Force Survey (LFS) data from 2005 to 2015 are employed to analyse individuals transition from school to work and their first years on the labour market before, whilst, and after the years of the Great Recession. The paper utilised data from 26 European countries. Logit models are applied and marginal effects (AME) calculated. The paper estimates the effect of the Great Recession on the risk of being unemployed, the duration of unemployment, the risk of working in a precarious job and the risk of working in a decent job.

First results indicate, the Great Recession increased the risk of becoming unemployed especially for labour market entrants in the European countries. But individuals' labour market position improved in line with the economic recovery. Secondly, even for young people already established on the labour market, the unemployment risk raised, with the Great Recession, and decreased afterwards. These findings support the 'period effect hypothesis', whilst there is less empirical evidence for a 'lost-generation hypothesis'.

Thirdly, the unemployment risk raised especially for the at-risk-population, (e.g. less qualified young people). The later findings support the assumption of an enforced selection process.

## **Work and Disability**

### **AMSTERDAM 1**

#### **Does Where you Live Shape Perceptions of Conditionality? Inequality and Regional Variations in Perceptions of Work Disability**

*Ciccia, Rossella, Declan French, Frank Kee, Mark O'Doherty*

*(Queen's University Belfast)*

This article engages with debates relating to social policy and disability, and public opinion and welfare deservingness of benefit recipients. In the last decade, both public opinion and supports for the people with disability have hardened. In this paper we ask whether perceptions of disability can be related to pattern of segregation and polarization at the regional level. Using the work disability vignettes from the third wave of the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA) in 2006/07, we explore the geographical variation in how participants rate the level of work limitation of people described in hypothetical scenarios and its association with wealth and income inequality. The results show that people in areas with higher levels of wealth inequality, but not income inequality, have more favourable attitudes to work disability and are more likely to rate the vignettes as work-limited. These differences persist when controlling for other local authority area-level characteristics such as social capital and diversity, as well as a large number of individual-level characteristics. Our robust findings provide support for the hypothesis that individuals have interdependent preferences displaying an aversion to inequality.

#### **Online Recruitment as an Organising Process Producing Disability Inequality**

*Scholz, Frederike*

*(University of Leeds)*

This UK based study is primarily concerned to show that the way online recruitment and processes are designed can lead to disability inequality in organisations.

The paper is informed by Acker's (2006) inequality regimes. Within feminist literature, Acker (2006) developed the concept of inequality regimes to highlight the way that organisations are gendered. This concept has been used as an analytical approach to understand the construction of inequalities in organisations, which are linked to inequalities in the surrounding society, its history, politics and culture. This paper highlights that Acker (1990; 2006) has acknowledged the production of disability inequality within her idea of inequality regimes, but she has not yet incorporated this dimension into her work.

Thus, the unique contribution of this paper is to demonstrate that this tool has the potential to demonstrate how a number of practices within the recruitment process are arranged to disable people with impairments. This paper tries to uncover the following four components that jointly form the bases of disability inequality and the shape and scale of disability inequality in organisations. These four components are: a) recruitment as an organising process producing disability inequality, b) the visibility of disability inequality, in particular the awareness of employers of unequal access to the Internet and the inaccessibility of services provided by Jobcentre Plus, c) the legitimacy of disability inequality when adopting online recruitment processes, and d) control and compliance, which is manifested in power derived from hierarchical social relations and which impedes changes in inequality regimes.

This study has adopted a qualitative research approach involving semi-structured interviews primarily with disabled jobseekers, but also with employment advisors from two disabled people's organisations, who have worked closely with disabled jobseekers, as well as with employers, who have tried to implement recruitment practices that are more inclusive but to various degrees of depth. The main intention of this paper is to demonstrate that online recruitment as an organising process can produce disability inequality, because practices are designed around taken for granted ableist norms that assume jobseekers can engage in online job seeking behaviours. These ideas can have a considerable, albeit often unintentional, impact on the design of recruitment practices and produce disability inequality not only in organisations, but also in the labour market more widely.

## **Informal Work**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

#### **Working for Virtually Nothing: Street Children's Earnings on in the Informal Urban Economy of Accra**

*Mizen, Phillip.,  
(Aston University)*

The sociology of street children is now defined by its rejection of the narratives of child welfare organisations that identify the street as the root cause of children's immiseration and improper socialisation (Glauser 1997). In its place, sociological analysis has questioned the value of conceptualising street children as a coherent category within the informal economy and in a parallel move has looked to conceptually re-position street children away from assumptions of passivity and neglect, towards a foundational insistence that street children are active and strategic social agents (Offit 2008; Kovats-Bernat 2006; Panter-Brick 2002). It is the value of this latter concern that is the focus of this paper. By drawing upon extensive and long-term qualitative research examining the working lives of street children in Accra, Ghana (Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2010a, 2010b), this paper critically examines arguments that emphasise the capacity of street children to work to generate a viable living on the street as part of their successful 'accumulation of a portfolio of assets' (Conticini 2011). The argument presented here stresses an alternative interpretation that locates street children within the social relations of the informal street economy, especially as this relates to their attempts to earn an income. Underlying these efforts are dynamic social relations of dispossession which actively denies the children the ability to realise their primary asset, their labour, or which permits it only in forms that increasingly threaten their subsistence and thus their day-to-day reproduction as street children.

#### **"I'm an unpaid slave' – Caring as Unrecognised and Informal Work: Reflecting on Women's Careers**

*Oldridge, Louise, Anne-marie Greene  
(Nottingham Trent University)*

Much sociological research has previously divided work into paid employment within a public domain and unpaid domestic work in the private sphere, which has been criticised from a gender perspective as devaluing women's work (Taylor, 2004). With specific relevance to this paper, constructing a division between spheres of work in this way devalues the informal care work undertaken by women. This paper fits into a context of the growing critique of separating out paid/unpaid, public/private and formal/informal work and supports calls for a new sociology of work (Parry et al, 2005; Grint, 2005).

Glucksmann's (1995) Total Social Organisation of Labour (TSOL) was ground-breaking, calling for broader considerations of 'work', including informal and unpaid aspects. This led to a number of studies debating, using, and revising TSOL, of which Taylor's (2004) conceptual continuum has been particularly useful. Within her 'fields of labour'

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continuum, what is considered to be labour and 'work' are broadly and expansively defined, while there is an explicit recognition that an individual can move between, or can be part of different fields simultaneously.

This paper considers informal caring as a field of labour and extends notions of work, considering the activities, context, and relationships, that enshrine informal care as 'work'. It draws on findings of a qualitative study involving thirty mid-life women (aged 45-65) with experience of providing informal care for dependent adults. It provides empirical support for the renegotiation of traditional notions of 'work'. Participants considered their unpaid caring as a form of work, with a description of it by one as a 'labour of love', articulating both the activities involved but crucially also, the emotions associated with doing so (see also Graham, 1983; Hockey and James, 2002). The nature of their caring work includes a lack of training, requirement for emotional labour, absence of remuneration, and feelings of being under-appreciated, which led to one participant referring to herself as an 'unpaid slave'.

Considerations of caring as 'work' challenges the concept that paid work is the only source of identity and career development (Cohen et al, 2004; Kirton, 2006). This is important in terms of the contemporary caring landscape because not every carer aspires to, or is able to maintain, a paid job within the formal labour market alongside their caring activities (Carers UK, 2017). Furthering the work of Aneshensel and colleagues (1995), this paper explores the significance of care as 'work' and the construction of informal caring careers alongside women's paid careers. It presents two innovative typologies: women's formal careers affected by caring and a typology of informal caring careers, taking account of 'emerging', 'uncertain', 'focused', 'declining', and 'former' careers. The categories in the second typology bring together the experiences of participants with existing literature to encapsulate length of caring and transitions; caring activities; carer identity; and considerations of skills development. By extending conceptual boundaries of 'work', theories of caring, careers and informal learning together, the typology offers the first framework to study women's informal caring careers and their development.

## **Reproducing Class** **BERLIN 1**

### **Forms of Capital in Working-Class Students' Transition from University to Employment**

*Lehmann, Wolfgang*  
(Western University)

As undergraduate degrees have become increasingly common and their relative value has declined, employers and admission committees to post-graduate programs increasingly look at other forms of capital that can distinguish one candidate from another. Both social and personal capital are increasingly important in this respect, but also create disadvantages for university graduates from less privileged backgrounds. Using data from a longitudinal study, I will discuss the employment outcomes of working-class, first-generation university students in Canada. The participants in the study were first interviewed in 2005, when they entered their undergraduate program. They were re-interviewed twice during their undergraduate education (in their second and fourth year of study), and once more five years after completing their undergraduate degree. The findings to be presented highlight that working-class university graduates struggle with the development and mobilization of social and personal capital in the search for employment. Instead, they largely rely on formal job postings, and trust in the value of their human capital. Some participants discussed mandatory internships and placements that took place during their education, and how they assisted them in the development of networks and social capital for career advancement. The data also identifies shifting occupational goals that can be interpreted as the result of participants' reassessment of their chances to break into high-status professional careers.

### **Class Reproduction in a Hair Dresser**

*Gulec, Esra*

This study examines how classes get experienced and reproduced in Istanbul-based local hair dresser which has middle-upper class women as target group. Class reproduction in the dresser has been observed from various ways: First, in the terms of consumption patterns and relations with service workers of middle-upper class women and then second, in the terms of general logic of high-end service sector where workplace system is constructed in deference to class hierarchy. That two extent provide continuance of lifestyle of middle-upper class -getting high-end service is a marker of class position- and also consolidate workers' inferior status -satisfying customer's ego is an obligation for worker. This assumptions are made as results of interviews with workers and two-year participant observation. The workers of the hair dresser are aware of their positions and act as well when encounter happens. They seem like accepting their roles as subordinates, not just because it is an obligation from management, also it is their choice and pleasure -but not for every encounter. They make distinctions between customers who are in same level economically but differentiate culturally -as Bourdieu mentions. The workers' state that they like to service the customers who have cultural capital, because they find them kind and debonair, when the 'others' have insulting behaviour. It can be said finally that workers know their place from the beginning of encounter, but they only approve one fraction's superiority.

## Worker Solidarities and Resistance

### BERLIN 2

#### Green Jobs and Sustainability

*Schulte, Lisa*

*(Middlesex University)*

Sustainability is defined by three dimensions, an ecological, an economical and a social. Within the environmentalist and management literature different models have been developed often aimed at facilitating the assessment of sustainable work systems and sustainable energy supply systems. Authors often conclude that it is difficult to define practices that strike a balance between the three dimensions and that trade-offs need to be made in particular between the social and ecological dimension of sustainability.

What is striking is that the social dimension in the environmentalist literature is mainly defined as impact on local communities and the relationship between public opinion and environmental policy. Whereas in the management literature social and ecological sustainability are mainly seen as an outcome of 'sustainable work systems', which at a closer look, are identical with high performance/commitment work systems (teamwork, involvement, training, incentives). However, in the more general sustainability literature, the support of sustainability practices in society is argued to be dependent on an understanding of the sustainability issues at stake and on broad solidarity.

This paper contributes to the literature on social and ecological sustainability and solidarity, as it examines the lived experience of workers in the offshore wind turbine industry in the three European countries, Denmark, Germany and England. Renewable energy technology producers are highly affected by intermittent subsidy schemes and as a result industrial work in this sector is highly unstable, with large parts of the workforce in non-standard employment. How does this impact on social relationships and solidarity at work? The comparative view allows to expand the analysis to the question: What are institutional and policy factors that support or undermine social sustainability and solidarity at work?

This paper is based on 30 qualitative interviews with HR Managers, works councillors/shop stewards and trade union officers in the Danish, German and English offshore wind turbine industry.

#### Migrants with Insecure Legal Status and Access to Work: The Role of ethnic solidarity networks

*Keles, Janroj, Eugenia Markova*

*(Middlesex University Business School)*

This presentation extends the understanding of the role of ethnic solidarity networks on the labour market participation of migrants with insecure legal status. Drawing on data from a questionnaire survey of 178 Iraqi-Kurdish migrants with insecure legal status, four focus groups and 10 expert interviews. Working conditions and sectors of employment are explored alongside strategies for accessing work and the role of ethnic solidarity networks. It is evident from the analysis that migrants in precarious legal situation heavily depend on ethnic employers with a sense of solidarity, either 'flexible' or 'exploitative', to access the host labour market, at least initially. It is argued that a nuanced notion of stretched solidarity can enable a better understanding of the complexities of accessing labour markets, the fears of migrant workers for themselves and their employers and how migrants account for the combination of solidarity and exploitation they experience in the workplace.

#### Institutions as the Focus of Political Struggle: Labour Outcomes under the Trade Union Representativeness Reform in France.

*Reaney, Ruth., Niall Cullinane*

*(London School of Economics)*

For some time, French trade unions have been impugned for their dependence on resources provided by the state, local authorities and employers (Andolfatto and Labbé, 2012; Labbé and Courtois, 2001). This so-called 'institutionalisation' is largely attributed to government interventions which have sought to strengthen the country's labour movement, which has been characterised by deep divisions and rivalries (Howell, 1992, 2009). One important intervention was the irrefutable 'presumption of representativeness' awarded to five union confederations in 1966, which essentially guaranteed any union affiliated to one of the five confederations the right to negotiate and sign agreements at industry or firm level. Notably, only one union needed to sign a deal for it to be valid.

However, a 2008 law on 'Social Democracy and Working Time' radically reformed these rules, emphasising quadrennial works council elections as a new measure of trade union representativeness. Some accounts suggest that the reform may encourage a closer link between trade unions and employees because of the need to appeal to the electorate (Bévort, 2011). However, it is also plausible that the 2008 law may foster behaviour more focussed on winning votes than representing employees' interests, as unions are required to differentiate themselves from other unions electorally. Thus, pre-existing inter-union divisions may be further exacerbated, hindering the potential for unions to construct an effective 'united front' in the face of the asymmetrical bargaining power created by a more internationally mobile capital.

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In France's context of inter-union division and rivalry, the study interrogates local level dynamics and labour outcomes in the face of declining institutional security. Drawing on case studies at Renault Société Anonyme and Groupe Peugeot Société Anonyme during the first two cycles of works council elections under the new rules, the paper demonstrates that a preoccupation with electoral success is an important factor in shaping trade union behaviour. Indeed, the cases suggest that the electoral structure of representativeness reinforces traditional patterns of rivalry and coordination amongst unions along ideological lines. Based on their ideological predisposition, unions' desire to achieve representative status results in either increased coordination between unions, or it can exacerbate inter-union competition. As such, the 2008 reform of trade union representativeness has served to divert unions from their primary focus of representing workers' interests. As such, the study demonstrates the dual role of institutions such as works council elections in facilitating closer ties between trade unions and the workforce, and in thwarting meaningful inter-union coordination in bargaining against a strong employer.

## Creative Labour DUBLIN 1

### **Don't Work for Free: The Web Discourses of Value used by Photographers**

*Patrick, Holly, Michael Kranert*  
(Edinburgh Napier University)

Few occupations have remained safe from what Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) call the 'new spirit' of capitalism; photography is no exception. As photographic technology has become cheaper and more available, the professional boundaries in this field have eroded. Like many other media-related occupations, the rules commissioning and remunerating photographic work have become ambiguous.

Spicer and Bohm (2007) highlight the importance of paying attention to new forms of extra workplace resistance, such as the online communities who instruct aspiring photographers to 'stop working for free'. The rise of social network sites provides spaces which can be used to collectively puzzle the evolving rules of the game in valuing and charging for work. These sites provide a window into the deliberations of market participants which has been difficult to access (Mautner, 2005) and which allows us to understand and analyse web discourses as 'socially influential' forms of social practice which are shaped by and shape the social structures that photographers' work is embedded in. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258).

This research draws on methods from the discourse historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) to examine posts about client transactions shared by photographers within a Facebook group. Our corpus is composed of all the threads related to photography posted in September 2017 on a Facebook group dedicated to 'withdrawing unpaid labour from the creative and media industries' and consists of 20 threads (comprising 19476 words).

Through analysis of the threads, we identify the conventions that commenters develop and draw upon in justifying their proposed actions. We analyse how the factors affecting whether the conventions are reinforced, maintained, or disrupted in each case are constructed discursively, including for example the economic status of the client (e.g. profit/non-profit) or the terms of the license under which the creative content was originally produced. We explore how photographers co-construct, reproduce, and contest discourses concerning the value of photographic work, the value of images, and the (commercial) relationships between photographers and their clients. While social movements in this area have seen some attention, the micro-political actions of less co-ordinated groups are another important mechanism for resistance which is less explored (Spicer and Bohm, 2007).

### **The Struggle for Art: Experiences of Young Artists in Search of a Career in the Creative Sector**

*Paraskevopoulou, Anna*  
(Anglia Ruskin University)

Young people's transition from education to gaining a career has long been the subject of sociological enquiry, with more emphasis in recent years on precarious employment experiences (Kretsos, 2010; Standing, 2011). In the creative sector, increasing importance has been given to young people's engagement with all forms of the arts as it is thought that irrespective of the educational setting or the socioeconomic background of young people, arts participation can have a transformative effect on young people by contributing to the development of social and life skills (ACE, 2003). A recent OECD report, 'Art for Art's Sake?' examined the importance of arts education in knowledge-based societies where innovation is considered to be key to economic growth. The report found that as well as creative and cultural skills, arts education in contemporary societies also delivers skills considered as relevant to innovation (OECD, 2014). Yet, as a consequence of today's financial landscape, persistent cuts continue to impact the financial and operational stability of the creative and cultural industries (Spending Review, 2013/2014).



The paper presents the findings of a three-year qualitative longitudinal study that followed a sample of 68 young people who transitioned from education to either further study or into the labour market. The study also included more than a dozen interviews with mature students who completed their arts education and were already in the labour market.

The paper will explore the precarious and unstable work conditions of these young artists and will interpret their experiences through the lenses of the 'social' and 'cultural' capital, as recent social research highlights how important these factors are for social mobility (Savage 2013). Furthermore, the paper will concentrate on the intersections of age, race and ethnicity and social background in order to analyse the position of young artists entering the labour market.

## **Military and Seafarers**

### **ROTUNDA**

#### **Underemployment and unemployment: unravelling the lived experiences of UK military spouses and partners**

*Lyonette, Clare, Erika Kispeter, Sally-Anne Barnes*  
(University of Warwick)

Previous evidence has shown that military spouses, women and men who are married/in a civil partnership or cohabiting with someone in the Armed Forces, face additional difficulties in finding and maintaining paid work compared to civilians (Dandeker et al., 2005). US research has shown that military spouses are less likely to be employed, and are more likely to work part-time and be overqualified for their jobs (Lim and Schulker, 2010) than spouses of civilians. Even living in close proximity to military bases reduces wives' ability to gain employment and has a negative impact on their earning potential and career progression (Booth et al., 2000; Booth, 2003). Recent UK surveys of military personnel show that one of the main reasons why they intend to leave the services is because of the impact of military life on spouses' or partners' careers (AFCAS, Ministry of Defence, 2014).

There is little known about the current employment situation of military spouses in the UK. This paper is based on new mixed-methods research, funded by Libor and commissioned by the Army Families Federation (AFF). The research incorporates 12 interviews with key stakeholders, as well as an online survey and semi-structured telephone interviews with 30 military spouses. The online survey and interviews focused on the experiences, expectations, barriers and enablers to employment for spouses and partners across all three services, yielding in-depth data on the employment decision-making and lived experiences of military spouses. Participants are diverse, including male and female spouses/partners, those with varying levels of educational and professional qualifications, of different ages, with and without children, living overseas and in the UK, and with partners of different ranks and in different services.

Drawing upon the dual concepts of the 'trailing wife' (e.g. Cooke, 2007) and the family and military as 'greedy institutions' (Coser, 1974; Segal, 1986), this paper explores in depth the employment decisions and outcomes of military spouses: emerging findings show how the military service culture, childcare costs and a lack of local family support all impact on spouses' decision-making around employment. In addition, 'patch-work CVs', periods of inactivity, regular postings, voluntary and involuntary part-time working and under-employment - in terms of working below one's level of qualification and experience - as well as negative employer perceptions of the commitment and loyalty of military spouses, have led to the majority falling behind their civilian counterparts in terms of career advancement, job satisfaction and lifetime earnings.

#### **The Organisation of Work and Employment at Sea and Ensuing Inequalities in the Seafaring Labour Force**

*Devereux, Helen*  
(Cardiff University)

In recent decades the structure of the seafaring industry has changed beyond recognition with the vast majority of today's seafarers employed by third-party agencies on a temporary basis. Yet not all seafarers experience precarious employment— a small minority of seafarers are permanently employed directly by shipping companies. Whilst this has resulted in inequity in terms of financial security other inequalities among the seafaring labour force, such as workplace specific familiarity, job scheduling control and deployment duration are also a cause for concern. In other industries such factors have been shown to be associated with workers' health, safety and well-being outcomes.

This paper is based on a PhD thesis which explored the impact of the organisation of work and employment at sea on the occupational health, safety and well-being of seafarers. The paper primarily draws on qualitative data collected from participants through semi-structured interviews on board four cargo ships.

Specifically, this paper shows that seafarers' health, safety and well-being experiences were related to the organisation of their work and employment and as a consequence of the inequity among the labour force, some seafarers were found to be more vulnerable than others. Those who were precariously employed at the lower end of the onboard occupational

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hierarchy were revealed to be especially vulnerable, whilst those with more power were seen to be able to mitigate some of the adverse features of the organisation of work and employment at sea.

#### **'I really wanted to get there and succeed' –Joining, Being in and leaving the Armed Forces**

*Roth, Silke*

*(University of Southampton)*

This paper will discuss the circumstances that led young men to join the British military, what skills and resources they gained during military service, and how they experienced the transition to civilian work and life. Coming from different class-backgrounds, respondents described how they sought out discipline and an opportunity to prove themselves. The armed forces offered them a space for self-development, community and trust. The experiences and relationships within the armed forces were experienced as deeply satisfying for a number of years. Biographical and organisational changes led to the decision to leave the armed forces. The transition to civilian work and life was experienced both as liberation and a gain of autonomy, but at the same time as loss of a tight knit community. I discuss the resources on which service leavers draw and to what extent their civilian careers are characterized by continuities and discontinuities.

This paper will contribute to the literature on careers in general and to the transition from military to civilian life in particular. It also concerns the understanding of masculinities in neo-liberal societies. Literature on service leavers has so far highlighted the problems associated with the transition out of the military (unemployment, criminality, drug and alcohol abuse, violence, mental health issues). While a small proportion of service leavers suffers from these problems (often a combination of these issues), the vast majority successfully changes from military to civilian life. Nevertheless, civilian and military habitus differ. This paper is innovative through its focus on skills acquisition and skills transfer from the military to civilian work and life.

My paper is based on life-history interviews with fourteen men who joined the armed forces (British Army, Royal Navy, Royal Marines, Royal Air Force) which I conducted between May and October 2017. One of the respondents was in the National Service (1955-1957), the remaining respondents had joined the military between 1962 and 2009 and left between 1968 and 2017. Of the respondents who had joined voluntarily, some had served less than five years, others more than twenty years.

## Labour Market Dualism

### DUBLIN 2

#### **Mobility of Regular Workers in the Korean Labour Market: How has Labour Market Dualism in Korea Been Exacerbated in 2009–2016?**

*Yoon, Soorin,*

*(Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training)*

Labour market dualism in Korea has worsened since the 1997 economic crisis, resulting in a massive number of non-regular workers and clear stratification in the labour market between so-called insiders and outsiders (or regular and non-regular workers). The situation has not been improved until now, with the labour market consisting of almost 40% non-regular workers as of 2017. Moreover, several empirical studies have suggested that once a worker enters the labour market as a non-regular worker, the career works as a 'trap' rather than 'stepping stone' to their mobilisation into the regular worker labour market. This is regarded as a serious issue in Korean labour market since the restriction in mobility contributes to income polarisation amongst workers and it results in another form of social stratification in the long term.

However, unlike the mobility of non-regular workers, that of regular workers has been rarely studied. Mobility in the labour market in both directions (regular to non-regular workers and non-regular workers to regular workers) is worth studying, regarding the dynamic characteristics of the Korean labour market. Moreover, in a considerable number of cases, being a regular worker is not always the career's final destination. Considering this, this work focuses on tracing the trajectory of how regular workers have mobilised in the dualised labour market since 2009, drawing implications on the characteristics of workers who have moved to different types of employment (to non-regular workers, self-employment, or retirement). Comparing the mobility trend of regular workers with that of non-regular workers in the latter part, this work intends to show how the Korean labour market has exacerbated its journey into becoming a more dualised one.

This work uses Korea Labour Institute (KLI) panel data, which offers one of the most robust datasets for researching labour market issues in Korea and contributing to the generation of influential policy recommendations regarding the Korean labour market. This study particularly uses survival analysis to show the labour market mobility trend from the year of 2009 to 2016. This work shows the characteristics of labour market mobility by using Cox regression to investigate the causal relationships between changed forms of employment and various independent variables

(Dependent variable: the forms of employment each year; Independent variables: demographic characteristics of each case, factors of labour supply and demand etc.). Ultimately, this work will contribute to the more comprehensive understanding of mobility in a dualised labour market, focusing on the moves of regular workers that have rarely been studied as of now, drawing policy implications from the stratification amongst workers caused by the exacerbation of labour market dualism in general.

### **Occupational Gender Segregation in the 'Non-Academic' Workforce: The Compounding Effects of Simultaneous Inequality-Producing Processes on Women**

*Anderson, Pauline, Angela O'Hagan, Emily Thomson*  
(University of Strathclyde)

Organisations are subject to increasing pressures to address occupational gender segregation. The UK's Equality Act 2010, for example, supersedes the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and a number of other anti-discrimination acts. The Act places a positive duty on all public sector organisations to tackle gender inequality (Public Sector Equality Duty, PSED). This paper therefore considers the challenges of tackling occupational gender segregation within a group of public sector organisations, namely UK Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Our focus is on the often neglected 'non-academic' workforce (e.g., Acker, 2012). It is no coincidence that non-academics are often referred to as the 'invisible workers' in higher education (Szekeres, 2004). Yet these invisible workers make up just over half (51%) of the UK's HEI workforce, the majority of whom are women (63%) (ECU, 2015, p.27).

Our approach to understanding and explaining occupational gender segregation is guided by the underpinning assumption that embedded gendered processes (Acker, 1990, 2012) and processes linked to position within organisational opportunity/status structures (see Bhaskar, 1979, 1998; Cassirer & Reskin, 2000; Kanter, 1976; Ridgeway, 2014), whilst analytically distinct (e.g., Gunnarsson, 2011), operate as 'simultaneous inequality-producing processes' (Acker, 2006, p. 442; see also Holvino, 2010). Given that non-academics work in a diverse range of jobs and job groups, we purposively selected four job groups for special attention – finance, registry, security and cleaning. The site of empirical data collection was Scotland because public sector organisations in Scotland, in addition to UK-wide legislation, must comply with further equality specific duties outlined in The Equality Act 2010 (Specific Duties) (Scotland) Regulations 2012. As a result, public sector organisations in Scotland are now required to publish statements on occupational segregation and gender pay gaps every four years.

Analysis of the qualitative interview (interviewees n=25) and focus group (participants n=55) data revealed ingrained patterns of gender segregation and little evidence of concrete attempts to address these divisions within the non-academic workforce. The findings also suggest that the proposal non-academics are the invisible workers in higher education (Szekeres, 2004) requires refinement. Some non-academic workers are more visible than others. Of all the oversimplified dualisms in higher education, MacFarlane (2015) is right to argue that the academic/non-academic binary is possibly the most 'disrespectful'. Just as importantly though, our research highlights that the term homogenizes disparate groups of workers in a way that serves to camouflage rather than shed light on stark gender divisions and other areas of inequality, and, in doing so, stresses the need for sensitivity to the characteristics of discreet job groups in approaches to tackling gender segregation. The research underlines the importance of recognising that embedded gendered processes and processes linked to position within organisational opportunity/status structures operate simultaneously to reproduce patterns of gender segregation, and the compounding effects on women in particular.

### **Minority Embeddedness and Economic Integration: Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine the Employment Prospects of Majority Members and Weaken the Mainstream Attachment of First and Second Generation Minority Members?**

*Demireva, Neli, Wouter Zwysen*  
(Essex University)

The impact of migration on the economy – in terms of general income, productivity and wellbeing as well as the earnings of the majority – is generally found to be positive (e.g. D'Amuri and Peri, 2014; Docquier et al., 2014; Foged and Peri, 2013; Ortega and Verdugo, 2014). This is thought to be due to migrants not substituting the jobs of the majority, but complementing them and even pushing them into better jobs (Card, 2012). As migrants initially lack the required networks, resources and other forms of host-country human capital such as language skills they would not compete directly with the majority (Chiswick, 2009).

Whereas this optimistic picture of migration can very well hold for the aggregate, different commentators have argued that it obscures the dire state of being of traditional working class white communities exposed to greater diversity and the acute competition for resources in places which 'have been left behind'. While migrants may not directly compete with the majority, established minorities and migrants may be substantially affected through competition as well (Ottaviano and Peri, 2012; Pedace, 2006).

This paper uses the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) which is a large-scale household study following respondents over 6 waves between 2009 and 2016. It also holds a large ethnic minority boost sample which

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oversampled respondents from the most prominent ethnic minority groups in the UK. We weight the data to account for different selection probabilities. We restrict the data to employees with non-missing information on crucial variables aged 16-64, resulting in 28,396 observations. We identify the following groups of interest: white UK-born and immigrants; Indian UK-born and immigrant; Pakistani/Bangladeshi UK-born and immigrant; Black (African and Caribbean) UK-born and immigrant; and other/mixed UK-born and immigrant respondents. This classification allows for a comparison of migrants to white British UK-born as well as to their UK-born co-ethnics.

This paper examines the predictors of economic integration – activity, being in employment, wages and occupational status. Some interesting patterns emerge. Deprivation is a stronger predictor of poor economic integration than minority embeddedness. Indications exist however that ethnic niches together with high levels of deprivation can become environments vulnerable to marginalization. In contrast, white British respondents have greater chances of achieving good occupational status at higher level of diversity and deprivation: that is to say, the white British in poorer areas are doing better if there has been an increasing number of migrants in the area compared to white British in poor areas with low share of migrants. This finding goes against the gloomy picture painted by pro-Brexit campaigners and the result merits further investigation. It is possible that white Britons in high diverse areas have also been exposed to greater precariousness of their positions and higher levels of job turnover which can explain rising subjective perceptions of disadvantage. Among migrant and minority women, ethnic niches have pronounced negative effects especially if combined with deprivation.

## Challenges and Careers COPENHAGEN 1

### **Prolonged Progression and Pronounced Barriers: Careers in Small- and Medium-sized Law Firms in England and Wales**

*Kele, Juliet*

*(University of Birmingham)*

Much research into the professions conclude that career progression remains dependent upon the amalgamation of continuous high levels of training, accreditations and working long hours: including frequent networking and nurturing of client relations after office hours (Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012; Brivot et al., 2014). These promotion criteria appear to favour masculine-associated qualities, which subsequently become incorporated in organisational hierarchies and continue to perpetuate gender inequalities (Acker, 1990). Much scholarship has therefore investigated the difficulties faced by women and minority-ethnic lawyers in terms of career progression (Sommerlad, 2002; 2016; Nicolson, 2005; Ackroyd and Muzio, 2007; Pringle et al., 2017). While much has been written about larger law firms, fewer studies exist which have a smaller-size focus. This paper thereby makes an important contribution by examining whether the smaller law firm size is beneficial to career progression.

This paper draws upon a qualitative study conducted as part of a larger project. Access was granted to four small and medium-sized law practices in England and Wales: those with fewer than 25 partners (Law Society, 2012). As small- and medium-sized law firms comprise 98% of the legal sector (Aulakh and Kirkpatrick, 2016), they make for an interesting and valuable research setting. Two firms in the study were classed as 'small' (with 1-4 partners) and two were 'medium', headed by 5-25 partners (Law Society, 2015). Fieldwork from this previous project generated a total of 44 one-hour interviews; conducted with 7 partners, 7 non-legal managers, 12 solicitors, 2 trainee solicitors, 10 paralegals, 4 conveyancers and 2 administrative staff. The interview data was analysed using the computer software NVivo, which facilitated the examination of relationships and common themes within the data.

Findings illustrate that the smaller firm size appeared to have a both a positive and negative impact upon career progression. Paradoxically, the perceived size advantages: firstly, that individuals learn faster as they are more involved in the businesses at an early stage and secondly, that smaller firm size will facilitate recognition by management – also manifests as a disadvantage in that the limited hierarchical structure within these smaller firms restricts career progression at more senior levels. The lack of availability of career opportunities is further exacerbated by the services related to 'retail market work' (Law Society, 2016) provided by these small- and medium-sized law firms: the less profitable law specialisms; usually dominated by women (Bolton and Muzio, 2007; Sullivan, 2010; Sommerlad, 2016). Moreover, while all four law firms stated that their career progression routes were transparent, the duration of this career journey was vague in each company.

It would thus appear that while small- and medium-sized firms may be praised for their flexibility, the career progression barriers emulate those found in larger law firms, yet they are more pronounced. Furthermore, the partnership in these firms would possess a higher power concentration; given the small nature of the firm. This augmented 'professional closure' (Ackroyd and Muzio, 2007) can be expressed in intersectional terms: 'the reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities' (Hill Collins, 2015:2).

### **Lawyers, Social class, Capitals and Impression Management: Bourdieu meets Goffman in Scotland**

*Terry, Esme, Marks, Abigail*

*(Heriot-Watt University)*

Through a qualitative study of lawyers, located in the central belt of Scotland, this paper explores fee earners' experience of, and use of, class-related capitals within their professional lives (Bourdieu, 1984). This work builds upon earlier studies which have highlighted the narrow forms of cultural capital favoured by elite service firms during the recruitment process (Ashley and Empson, 2017; Cook, Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2012). However, by employing a Bourdieusian perspective on capitals, alongside Goffman's Impression Management, initial findings from this study suggest that the forms of cultural capital utilised by practicing lawyers in this context are far more varied than might be expected, as fee-earners appear to embody different class capitals dependent on their audience.

Whilst lawyers often utilise the capitals traditionally associated with their own class origins, many frequently embody capitals inconsistent with their personal habitus in a form of 'bluff' or 'performance', used as a mechanism to generate successful impression management during professional encounters. In particular, initial findings suggest that possessing or embodying working class cultural capital can provide lawyers the opportunity to 'dial it up or down' when communicating with audiences from different class backgrounds. That being said, lawyers from non-middle-class origins still face challenges in entering and practicing within the legal profession in Scotland.

**The Early Labour Market Career of Dropouts: The Moderating Role of Training Firms and Occupations**

*Patzina, Alexander, Gabriele Wydra-Sommagio*

*(Institute for Employment Research)*

In an occupationally structured labour market the integration of individuals strongly depends on vocational degrees. Thus, dropping out of apprenticeship training (i.e., not attaining a vocational degree) might have long lasting negative consequences for individual employment biographies. To analyse labour market consequences of dropping out of apprenticeship training this study relies on a linked panel data set that combines register data of the Federal Employment Agency and both chamber of industry and commerce and chamber of crafts data of the Federal State Saarland. As suggested by research on career mobility we assess experience growth of individuals in their early career stages based on school-to-work transition outcomes. Results from our two stage estimation approach reveal that dropouts accumulate less labour market experience than graduates in their early career. However, training firm characteristics and the specificity of skills acquired during the course of training mitigate the differences in labour market experience between dropouts and graduates. Our findings are robust to several specifications indicating a scarring effect of dropping out on individuals' employment prospects.

**A Stratified Job-search? An Analysis of the Shifting Patterns in how People in the UK find Work**

*Formby, Adam, Albert Varela*

*(University of Leeds)*

The 'job-search' process is of key sociological and policy interest. Both the strategies pursued by job seekers and the outcomes of their job searching are heavily stratified by social divisions as well as shaped by the institutional features of the labour market and the role of job matching agents. Given the major institutional, technological and demographic changes experienced in the British economy, we would expect that job search has likewise been transformed. This paper examines how job-search methods in the United Kingdom have evolved over time by analysing UK Labour Force Survey data from the early 1990s to the present day. Our main goal is to answer two related but different questions: (a) whether job searching methods have changed over the past two decades; and (b) whether the differences in job searching behaviour between different types of workers have themselves changed significantly. More specifically, we explore whether the job-search process in the UK has become increasingly educationally stratified, as reflected in a growing individualisation in job search behaviour (chiefly but not exclusively) among graduates. The paper will present an evaluating of such trends and discuss their implications and impact for job seekers and employment policy more widely.

## **Understanding Teacher's Working Lives**

### **COPENHAGEN 2**

**Academies, Managerialism and School Teachers' Working Lives: A Labour Process Perspective**

*Morrell, Sophie*

*(University of Bradford)*

The English school sector has been transformed over recent decades through wide-ranging education policies. One far-reaching change has been the dramatic rise in academy schools driven by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition (2010-2015) (Stevenson 2016), with 64.7% of secondary state-funded schools now holding academy status (Department for Education 2018). A central issue emerging from this context is the changes to school teachers' pay and working conditions, given that autonomy over employment terms and conditions transfer from local authorities to operating education trusts under the academy model (Bolton 2014). Stevenson (2011) importantly argued that rather than establishing new directions in education policy, recent changes – such as the academy expansion enterprise – solidify the long-standing trajectory of restructuring to public education, underpinned by neoliberal ideologies. Such projects seek to fragment a public service accountable to local authorities, superseding it with a state-subsidised system buttressed by predominantly private investors (Stevenson 2011); pressing schools into competition for students and resources (Connell 2009). Dovetailed in this setting, a significant study by Carter and Stevenson (2012:491), exploring workforce remodelling in teaching, found strong evidence for 'an accelerated form of creeping managerialism,' with middle-grade teachers carrying increasing responsibility for the monitoring of colleagues. The combined effects of markets and managerialism, that bolster the grander-scale neoliberal project, have worked in unison to fundamentally recast teachers' experiences of work (Stevenson and Wood 2013). Currently in its analytical phase, this PhD study, informed by a labour process theoretical (LPT) perspective, set out to explore (1) the various formal and informal structures and processes (control strategies) that impact on school teachers' work, (2) how teachers experience those control strategies, (3) teachers' orientations to work and (4) how teachers' orientations to work interrelate with their experiences of control strategies. Several scholars employ an LPT perspective to facilitate critical studies of teachers'

work (for examples see Carter and Stevenson 2012; Stevenson and Wood 2013). Yet there remains a paucity of research that takes an LPT approach to the in-depth interpretive analysis of teachers' work. Inspired by a call from Reid (2003) for research that combines LPT with detailed single-site ethnographic accounts, a qualitative ethnography of one academy school in Northern England was conducted over a four-month period. This comprised interviews with 26 teachers, senior managers, HR and trade union representatives; a six-week shadowing period; non-participant observations and document collection. This article focuses on two key issues relating to the impact of academies and widespread managerialism on teachers' work experiences: working time and teaching preparation. In particular, it highlights the erosion of autonomy previously given to teachers to manage their own time, lessons and resources; with accounts of increased frustration at the rising mechanisation of teaching. The central contribution of this paper, therefore, is the application of LPT to the context of contemporary teachers' work in England, to gain an in-depth understanding of the impact of academies and widespread managerialism on school teachers' working lives.

**The Sea Change of Student-Teacher Relationships in a Changing Workplace: A Case Study of Education Reform In Hong Kong**

*Ho, Ching Wa,*

*(The Education University of Hong Kong)*

The current study attempts to incorporate an institutional framework to understand the changing relational aspects of teachers' work and workplace during education reforms.

Drawing on insights from discursive institutionalism, the study delineated the mechanism of how teachers make sense of and respond to the changing societal expectations towards teacher-student relationship at school. Examination of this process is highly significant because it helps us to understand how individuals' responses may facilitate or hinder the institutionalization of emerging ideas and practices in their everyday work.

In-depth interview is used to obtain information from the teachers' perspective as front-line practitioners in the education system. Those texts and discourses that teachers produce at the everyday workplace level reflect the meanings that teachers attribute to their work, their relations and their identity in the course of interaction.

The study provided another avenue to look into teachers' work pressure in public discussion and academic literature and further examine the dynamic relationship between individual agency and systemic reform. This paper argues that through situating teachers' response to the reform in the relevant socio-historical context, we can better delineate how meaning negotiation is possible in the moment of institutional change.

**Who Runs Our Schools? Privatization, Corporate Elites and the Workforce in Public Education - A Longitudinal Analysis of 20,000 English State Schools**

*Martindale, Nicholas*

*(University of Oxford)*

Neoliberalism is transforming who we work for and how we experience work. Through the outsourcing and privatization of the public sector, neoliberal policies are creating a new elite stratum of owners and managers while workers are losing many of the privileges and protections they once enjoyed. In England, private providers now own and run more than 7,000 state-funded Academy and Free schools and have largely displaced the democratically-accountable local authorities that have traditionally been at the centre of the education system.

Many private providers are closely linked with big business. Indeed, corporations such as Carillion, Interserve and JCB have their own Academies. The owner of Carpet Right has a chain of 44 schools. These chains, or Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs), have a large degree of centralized control over their schools and successive governments have granted them a range of freedoms in relation to pay and working conditions for their employees. Consequently, the school workforce increasingly finds itself in a poorly defined grey area between public and private sectors. However, little is known about who controls these MATs and what their impact has been on work in schools.

Here, for the first time, I shed light on the hiring practices of individual MATs. I build on my previous research in which I investigated the association between outsourced schooling and negative consequences for the school workforce, particularly in the use of unqualified teachers. Using school census data from the Department for Education, I now show how particular MATs are associated with changes in the proportions of unqualified, older, female and BME workers in England's schools. I argue that the closer a MAT's relationship with the private sector and the political establishment, the greater the disparity between its workforce and that of schools that are not outsourced. To do so I use a newly-constructed database which links all MAT trustees with their positions on the boards of influential policymaking institutions and UK registered companies.

This research provides much needed insight into the connections between politics, business and the realities of work for the thousands of people employed in England's outsourced schools. It makes use of new digital methods for acquiring online data to shine a light on the creation of an outsourcing elite that sits in the grey area between the public and private sectors. Overall, this work serves as an example of how it might be possible to investigate what work is becoming in the neoliberal state.

## **Special Session: Underemployment GRAND 4 & 5**

### **Underemployment in Austerity Britain: Theoretical and Practical Implications**

*Fuertes, Vanesa*

*(Edinburgh Napier University)*

The UK has achieved the lowest unemployment rate since 1975 (4.5% for those 16+, ONS 2017). Yet, being in employment no longer equals full-time, permanent, and secure work, and does not necessarily mean a 'way out of poverty' (McQuaid et al. 2010). In fact, this low rate of unemployment has been attained on the back of an extraordinary growth in underemployment, which disproportionally affects women (Kamerade and Richardson 2017, Lyonette and Baldauf 2010) and individuals from working-class backgrounds (Warren 2015, Warren and Lyonette 2015), resulting in high levels of inequality (Shildrick et al. 2012). The continuing but accelerated growth of the underemployed -workers employed below their potential in terms of hours, skills and qualifications- raises key questions about underemployment and unemployment as consequences of social and economic turmoil, and crucial linkages between the two, both conceptually and experientially.

Current underemployment levels and pervasiveness is an important phenomenon, which requires critical investigation. Even though underemployment has been researched (Bell and Blanchflower 2013, Smith and McBride 2017), the conceptual and experiential links between unemployment and underemployment have yet to be systematically and theoretically explored. Furthermore, much of the research on underemployment so far has been atheoretical, despite Feldman's critique in 1996. Re-thinking the conceptualisation of underemployment is crucial, given its increasing prominence in the labour market (Heyes et al. 2017) and its consequences for welfare policy, the economy, and society.

In this session, six academics from various disciplines and members of TURN\* (Theorising Underemployment Research Network) will present their work. The aim of the session is to advance the conceptualisation and theorisation of underemployment, building on previous research and bridging between various disciplines. Dr Vanesa Beck (University of Bristol), Dr Vanesa Fuertes (Edinburgh Napier University), Dr Daiga Kamerade (University of Salford), Dr Clare Lyonette (University of Warwick), Dr Jo McBride (Newcastle University), Dr Andrew Smith (Bradford University) and Professor Tracey Warren (University of Nottingham) will explore the following themes:

- Existing research on and conceptualisation of underemployment (Beck/ Fuertes)
- Theoretical underpinnings of and links between underemployment and unemployment, and proposed conceptualisation (Beck/ Lyonette/ Warren)
- The minimum dose of work required to benefit psychologically from paid work (Kamerade/ Burchell)
- The realities and lived experiences of underemployment (McBride/ Smith)

The broader discussion in this session will thus assess the overlap between underemployment and unemployment experiences; the rationale and factors behind the rise of underemployment; and the multiplicity of consequences of underemployment for individuals, households, society, the economy, and the welfare state. The session could be open to other colleagues that would like to present on the themes above mentioned.

\* TURN (Theorising Underemployment Research Network) was formed in 2017 as a network to advance theoretical insights into the un/der-employment. TURN has received funding from the ISRF in order to progress its objective during 2018.

### **Existing Research on and Conceptualisation of Underemployment**

*Fuertes, Vanesa, Vanessa Beck, Tracey Warren*

*(Edinburgh Napier University)*

Academic research tends to focus on unemployment and underemployment separately, yet the dichotomy is breached by policy (Universal Credit) and by individuals cycling between low pay and no pay (Shildrick et al. 2012). Though many studies on unemployment refer to underemployment, and vice versa, varied definitions of underemployment abound. Our understanding of the assumed wisdom that paid work, any job, is better than unemployment is shifting. McQuaid et al. (2010) highlight multiple factors that kept individuals unemployed or working poor through low paid work and underemployment.



Underemployment is thus a pressing real-life problem. Moreover, much of the research on underemployment so far has been atheoretical (despite Feldman's critique in 1996). Re-thinking the conceptualisation of underemployment is crucial, given its increasing prominence and consequences for welfare policy, the economy and society.

This paper seeks to establish what is/is not known about underemployment from the existing literature. Although such a review has previously been attempted (McKee-Ryan and Harvey 2011) to develop Feldman's model of underemployment, this reflects a managerial and US-centred perspective. It is our contention that the subject matter merits renewed attention in the context of austerity Britain, which requires a sociologically founded, inter-disciplinary perspective to take the broad range of factors influencing the experience of underemployment into consideration.

To achieve this objective the authors will employ a scoping review methodology, which differs from other types of reviews e.g. systematic reviews or meta-analysis (Levac et al. 2010, Pham et al. 2014). Scoping reviews aim to map rapidly the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources and types of evidence available (Colquhoun et al. 2014). The paper will identify and present all relevant literature, peer-reviewed academic and 'grey' literature, regardless of study design (Arksey and O'Malley 2005).

### **Utilising Latent Deprivation Theory to Reconceptualise Underemployment: A New Theoretical Approach**

*Beck, Vanessa, Clare Lyonette and Tracey Warren*

*(University of Bristol)*

This paper revisits Jahoda's classic 1933 Marienthal study to suggest a new approach to underemployment. Drawing upon Jahoda's latent deprivation theory (LDT), the paper offers a reframed discussion of underemployment and unemployment that identifies similarities between the two, pinpoints any differences, and exposes the economic and social realities of the economic world of austerity UK. Too commonly studied separately, the paper argues that underemployment and unemployment must be explored concurrently if we are to better understand the state of the economic world and outcomes for workers and job seekers, their families and communities, trade unions, employers and managers.

It is an often-repeated policy mantra that employment is the best way out of poverty. It was therefore perceived as positive that unemployment levels in the UK were less affected by the 2008-09 financial crisis than by previous recessions. Unemployment remains low (at 4.3% in Q4 2017, ONS 2018). However, the flip side of this success story has been the rise in underemployment, that is of workers employed below their potential in terms of hours, skills and qualifications and for whom work does not protect from poverty and subsequent social-psychological implications. The disadvantaged nature of the underemployed is well established: they tend to work in lower level occupations (Warren, 2015; Warren and Lyonette, 2015), on 'zero hours contracts' and within the gig economy, and experience high levels of financial and psychological distress (Beck, 2018, McBride et al., forthcoming; Kamerade and Richardson, 2017).

The growth of this heterogeneous group raises conceptual (and experiential) questions about underemployment and unemployment that this paper addresses. Although underemployment has been discussed previously (Feldman, 1996, Steffen, 2017), economic and conceptual understandings diversified in the aftermath of the recession. A renewed assessment is thus imperative, that integrates insights from multiple disciplines. This paper will use latent deprivation theory (LDT, Jahoda, 1933, 1980), which is still commonly utilised to explore the social-psychological impact of unemployment, as its starting point. Core to LDT are the five latent functions that employment would normally fulfil: social contact, status, meaningful use of time, time structure, contribution to society. The paper uses these latent functions to question the similarities and differences between underemployment and unemployment. Further considerations will include the underutilisation of time, skills, health/wellbeing, economic and career opportunities whilst unemployed or underemployed and their longer-term ramifications.

The paper asks to what extent only good jobs (as opposed to any paid work) are better than unemployment. In drawing on the existing literature in this area, we compare and contrast theoretical considerations on underemployment with empirical insights into the experience of unemployment and underemployment.

This paper constitutes a theoretical revisiting of the unemployment and underemployment literature to suggest an innovative and original approach to underemployment that is relevant to contemporary working lives. It represents the foundation for an Independent Social Research Foundation funded small group of researchers working on an interdisciplinary reconceptualization of underemployment.

### **The Minimum Dose of Work Required to Benefit Psychologically from Paid Work**

*Kamerade, Daiga, Burchell, B.*

*(University of Salford)*

Numerous psychological studies have demonstrated that employment is good for wellbeing, for most people in most jobs, paid employment generates higher levels of physical, mental health and wellbeing than unemployment or economic inactivity (for reviews, see McKee-Ryan 2005; Paul and Moser 2009). There are some exceptions; this does not apply to some very precarious jobs and some exceptionally resilient individuals, but the finding is robust across time and between countries. Several theorists have attempted to specify exactly what it is about jobs that create these benefits (e.g. Fryer, 1986; Warr, 1987; Jahoda, 1981, 1982; and Strandh, 1997). Empirical studies have linked each of these

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features to health and wellbeing outcomes such as psychological distress, anxiety, happiness and life satisfaction (Coutts 2009, Coutts et al 2014; Creed et al 2001; Muller 2012).

There is, however, one important gap in the labour market literature that has important policy implications: that is: how much paid employment is needed to get some or all of the physical and mental wellbeing benefits? This is a strange omission; for most other health and wellbeing outcomes a desirable dose is clearly indicated – for instance, medics recommend a minimum of five portions of fruit or vegetables per day, and suggest two 500mg tablets of paracetamol to suppress a headache. With paid employment there is general agreement about the maximum amount of work that should be tolerated before harm sets in – the European Working Time Directive puts that figure at 48 hours per week, which aligns with the empirical evidence on work and wellbeing as well as permits employees to act as good-enough parents and to partake in civil society. Yet no academic researchers or policy makers have asked what is the smallest amount of paid work that will provide, on average, levels of health and wellbeing characteristic of employees rather than of the unemployed.

This paper is an attempt to start answering that question in terms of hours of work per week or per year. We use data from a sample of 44,000 workers in 35 countries from the European Working Conditions Survey 2015 (EWCS). We explore relationships between the number of working hours and subjective well-being. We also analyse how different cultural, socio-economic and individual contexts (e.g. welfare regimes, presence of long working hour's culture etc) shape the links between working hours and wellbeing. We discuss policy implications of the finding from this study in terms of future of work.

### **Underemployment, Low-paid Multiple Employment and Work Extensification**

*McBride, Jo, Andrew Smith*  
(Durham University)

Underemployment has always been an issue in employment studies (Feldman, 1996), but has recently grown in prominence due to contemporary changes in the world of work. Despite record levels of employment in the UK, there are serious concerns around growing underemployment (Heyes et al., 2017; Warren, 2015). Underemployment is multidimensional and there are various conceptualisations of this phenomenon. This paper, in particular, brings together working time underemployment, being overqualified and not having the opportunities to make use of skills and abilities. Pivotal to these issues are the interconnections of pay, working time and job quality. Whilst successive governments have viewed employment as the best route out of low-pay and poverty, around 5.6 million workers in the UK are paid below the Foundation Living Wage (Moore and Fiddes, 2016). This research critically examines the experiences of low-paid workers in legitimate multiple employment, many of whom are underemployed.

The data presented are from 50 detailed interviews with low-paid workers in multiple employment, together with 9 trade union officials and 6 senior managers. These workers are all low-paid and are struggling to make ends meet. We interviewed workers with 2, 3, 4, 5, and even 7 different jobs. They are employed on a mixture of full-time, part-time, agency, temporary, seasonal, term-time only, casual and zero hours contracts. Some also gained additional work through self-employment, but this was typically out of necessity rather than 'choice'. Regarding education, many have NVQs, GCSEs, 'O' levels, 'A' levels, good quality degrees and even masters' degrees.

We argue that the causal factors of low-paid multiple employment are related to insecure work, low-pay, limited hours and job instability. Working time underemployment is a consequence of the proliferation of part-time and zero hours contracts, along with limited working hours. The combination of multiple employment means that these workers have fragmented and complex working days, which permeate non-standard hours. Many interviewees also work variable and irregular hours resulting in the extensification of work. Making ends meet is a challenge many face due to being both time and income poor. The availability of quality employment is a central issue, as many have no option but to take whatever employment is available. We also found evidence of intergenerational underemployment as the siblings of some interviewees were unable to leave home due to income and working time constraints. This research contributes to current debates around underemployment, low-pay, working time and job quality.

## **Work and Disability**

### **AMSTERDAM 1**

### **Opportunities and Barriers: Institutional Reforms and the Formation of Pathways Towards a Disability Pension for Young Work-Seekers**

*Karlsen, Anita Oxaas, Ann Rudinow Sætnan*  
(Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

In Norway, an increasing number of young people on disability pension (DP) since 1990 has caused concern. In spite of policies directed at reversing this trend, the problem still remains. While the political approach mainly has been

considering the problem to be a matter of individual proclivities, this study follows up on claims made by four male long-term benefit recipients which point to the service institutions as responsible. By critical discourse analysis, we study two key political reforms directed at securing young people's paths into working life: a universal secondary school reform (Reform 94) and a reform of the labour exchange and social services agencies (the NAV-reform) in 2005. Together, these two reforms enable following the political and institutional development over time. Tracking the reforms through official texts, we looked for goals, measures and tensions that might explain the policies' ineffectiveness in this regard. The analysis finds that the reforms show tensions between two discourses, individually tailored services vs. standardization and effectivity. Taken-for-granted practices of results-driven management render the latter discourse hegemonic, modifying the meanings of honorifics and practices pointing towards 'individualization'. One such modification is that education paths are standardized through a more 'flexible' theory focus. When pupils struggle with theoretical coursework, diagnoses serve as criteria to finance individualized teaching measures, which make earning problems medical. For youths struggling to enter working life, a diagnosis, open the pathway towards a DP. Reform policies have thereby paved the way for an increase in the number of DPs.

### **The Impact of Paid Employment for People with Learning Disabilities**

*Dearing, Kim*  
(Cardiff University)

People with a learning disability (LD), and who are in receipt of social care, often have a precarious relationship with paid work and the open labour market. Similar to mainstream 'welfare-to-work' policies, LD employment policy locates the barriers to employment within individuals. 'New Deal' work programmes incentivise employment providers to move participants into long-term employment, yet people with LDs are frequently (and implicitly) denied access to such programmes. Consequently, people can be signposted to third sector organisations, based in communities, to enable people with higher support needs to find employment. Here, there is a tension to manage: LD people may aspire to paid work, yet they are commonly far from 'job-readiness' and are interacting with organisations dependent on outcome-focused funding. Based on ethnographic research in a third sector organisation supporting people with LDs accessing employment options, I explore the impact of paid work together with the complex, persistent, and prevalent barriers to employment inclusion. This will be undertaken in a context of concerns over exploitation driven by long-term 'work experience', and by the perception that self-employment might be a route to paid work out of the formal boundaries of secure contracts. In so doing, the research will unpack the nuanced and multifaceted reality of everyday life for learning disabled people struggling to access paid work. Early findings suggest that an open and inclusive debate about targeted wage subsidies should be considered as a mechanism to increase the presence and inclusion of learning disabled people in the labour market.

## **Non-Standard Workers**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

### **The Bifurcated Rise in Alternative Work Arrangements in the United Kingdom 1990s to 2017**

*Mark Williams, Koumenta, Maria*  
(Queen Mary, University of London)

All types of alternative work arrangements have been growing, however there is a tendency in the literature to group them as non-standard or flexible work, despite their diverse characteristics. There is also a paucity of UK evidence with regards to their nature and prevalence in the labour market. Using the UK Labour Force Survey, we document the varied rise in alternative work arrangements (AWAs) using two important job characteristics in employment contract design suggested by transaction cost economics (Williamson 1980) and occupation-based accounts of contract design (Koumenta and Williams 2018). Given the plethora of indicators and the level of detail in the LFS, we provide a detailed account of the structure of AWAs as well as their evolution and nature. Using a latent class approach (Goldthorpe 2007; Greene 2006; Williams 2017), we identify three broad types of alternative arrangements in the UK labour market:

- Flexible arrangement (FWAs) (e.g., on-call working, zero-hours)
- Flexible contracts (FE) (e.g., sub-contractors, freelancers, temporary)
- Flexible practices (FWPs) (e.g., flexitime, compressed hours)

We also identify two residual categories:

- A residual category of multiple alternative arrangements
- Jobs with no identifiable alternative arrangements

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Under the broadest definition of alternative work arrangements (FWPs+FWAs+FE), we find that almost as many as half of all jobs might be described as 'alternative'. In the narrowest definition (counting only FWAs), about 20 per cent of jobs might be described as 'alternative'. A key finding in our analysis is the relatively little overlap in AWA types: FWAs cluster with other FWAs, FWPs cluster with other FWPs, and so on. From a theoretical perspective, we show that the difficulty of monitoring (the extent to which tasks can be easily separated and performance directly monitored) and human asset specificity (the extent to which workers can be substituted for another in a job role) positively predict the presence of FWPs, while they both negatively predict the presence of FWAs. Finally, we examine variation in the nature of AWAs. All AWA types are associated with a similar level of variability in working time, while FWPs are associated with lower hours, whereas FWAs are associated with longer hours. Only FWAs are associated with more unsociable hours (weekend working, late shifts, etc.). We conclude that the growth in AWAs have been bifurcated, finding support for a model that distinguishes between 'employer friendly' and 'employee friendly' AWAs. More broadly, we contribute to the literature on developments in the employment relationship and discuss implications for the future of work.

### **At the Bottom of the Heap: The Experiences of Older Female Part-Time Workers**

*O'Sullivan, Maeve*

*(University of Limerick)*

Part-time working arrangements have been lauded as both facilitating caring responsibilities and allowing women to maintain a presence in the labour market, avoiding skills obsolescence and depreciation of their human capital (Hakim 1996, Houseman 2001, Rubery et al. 1994). However, despite its apparent benefits, women working part-time are more likely to be lower paid (O'Sullivan 2012, Russo and Hassink 2008), less educated, older and working in temporary, low-level jobs with poor job tenure (Manning and Petrongolo 2008, Salladarré and Hlaimi 2014). Using the sociological concepts of a dual or segmented market as expressed by Doeringer and Piore (1971) division of a primary and secondary labour market, this paper explores the choices of older women in Ireland to work part-time.

Part-time jobs have typically been characterised as rooted in the secondary labour market (Tijdens 2002), which consists of 'low level, unskilled jobs which require no specific training' (Dekker et al. 2002, p.109). These jobs are often inferior in nature, attract poorer conditions and rates of pay (Fernandez-Kranz and Rodriguez-Planas 2011), offer fewer promotional prospects (Glover and Arber 1995, Gornick and Jacobs 1996, Ketsche and Branscomb 2003, McDonald et al. 2006) and provide less security of employment (Tijdens 2002) compared with full-time positions. Additionally, research by O'Reilly and Bothfeld (2002) found that only a small share of employees use part-time jobs as a bridge to full-time positions.

This research addresses the gap in knowledge of the complex factors affecting women's labour markets (Ghilarducci and Lee 2005). Accordingly, these issues are interrogated through testing Dual labour market theory on this cohort of worker. The posing of this question is particularly relevant given that increased life expectancy and the reduction in the proportion of the working age population will necessitate older people working into their late 60s and beyond in Ireland in the future.

Using data from the National Employment Survey 2008, a matched employer-employee dataset, descriptive and multivariate (binary logistic regression) analyses were conducted. The findings reveal that the factors likely to influence part-time working among older females include under-employment, limited educational attainment, few years' work experience and service sector employment in lower occupations. The study also finds that the characteristics associated with these jobs include low-wage, private sector employment with few employment benefits.

This study adds to our knowledge of part-time working by older females and supports the notion that labour markets are segmented into clearly defined segments with different employment conditions. Older female part-time workers in Ireland are significantly more likely to work in secondary labour market employment where it is the characteristics of the job, rather than the person, that determines the terms and conditions of employment.

### **Flexible Working in the UK: The Impact of the Extension of the Right to Request**

*Wilson, Joanna, Wendy Olsen*

*(University of Manchester)*

Recent research suggests that access to full-time flexibility such as flexi-time and homeworking is important in helping women maintain their working hours after having children. However, flexible working has been predominantly associated with part-time work performed by women with dependent children often in low paid and low status jobs, which is seen to be a major contributing factor to the UK gender pay gap. Persisting ideal worker norms and beliefs about male and female roles in the family, together with operational difficulties, are all barriers to the use of flexible working and the range of options available to employees. The extension of the right to request flexible working to all employees on 30 June 2014, regardless of caring responsibilities, was aimed at increasing its use in the hope that this would lead to the creation of better paid and better quality flexible jobs, thus helping close the gender pay gap. However, the change has been widely criticised its lack of teeth; employees must work for an organisation for a minimum of 26 weeks before they have a right to request to work flexibly.

Using three waves of data from the Understanding Society survey this quantitative study looks at the use of flexible working in the UK in the period before and after 30 June 2014. It focuses on formal flexible working (i.e. that which employees have a right to apply for under the legislation) and investigates the type of employees who work flexibly and how this has changed over time.

Results indicate that there is little change in the overall use of flexible working over the period of the study (2010 to 2015). Within this there is a small decline in the use of term-time only and job sharing and a small increase in the use of flexi-time and home working. Logistic regression models revealed interesting differences between the use of flexible working involving reduced hours and that involving full-time hours. Part-time, term-time and job sharing are strongly associated with women with dependent children and over the period of the study (2010 to 2015) this relationship appears to have strengthened. In contrast, flexi-time and home-working are not associated with caring responsibilities and are more likely to be used by employees working in larger firms and those in management positions. Investigation of the occupational differences identified low rates of flexi-time and home working in a number of female-dominated occupations whereas there were high rates of these types of flexibility in a number of male-dominated occupations.

This study contributes to the literature by offering a longitudinal analysis covering the period both before and after the legislative changes and which provides an updated picture of flexible working in the UK. Barriers continue to exist to prevent further uptake of flexible working beyond part-time and further action must be taken by policy makers and organisations to make a range of flexible working options accessible to all, particularly to employees who have the most need such as those with caring responsibilities.

## **Migrant Work**

### **BERLIN 1**

#### **The Intersection of Ethnic Identity and Entrepreneurial Identity: An Exploration Rooted in the Voices of African-Caribbean Immigrants in the UK**

*Korede, Tayo, Andreas Giazitzoglu*  
(Newcastle University)

Identity, one of the most contested terms in sociology, is increasingly being treated from the perspective of intersectionality, whereby the multiple identities a person exhibits are seen and studied in relation to each other, allowing for a more nuanced view of identities to emerge, which considers one's class, race, gender and other identifying features relationally. Here, the intersection of two identities are analysed: the identity of ethnicity and the identity of entrepreneurship. Our analysis is rooted within the discourses of 15 African-Caribbean immigrants, living in the UK who are practising self-employment. In the phenomenological, lived-experience tradition, our analysis focuses upon the question: how do participants balance, negotiate and experience their (potentially) desperate identities as 'entrepreneurs' and 'ethnic minorities' within their lives? At the intersection of ethnicity and entrepreneurship, immigrants use their multiple identities to navigate through entrepreneurial opportunities in the host country. But this is a complex process that requires them, in the Goffman tradition, to participate in various dramaturgical processes. There is a conflict between the identity of the normative, hegemonic entrepreneurial actor – who is expected to be white and male (Ogbor, 2000; Giazitzoglu and Down, 2015) - and the identities of black Immigrant entrepreneurs. These differences need to be negotiated by ethnic entrepreneurs in the spaces enterprise happens. We investigate how ethnic entrepreneurs with non-hegemonic identities negotiate these tensions at the performative level, and overcome their blackness which may impair their identities and opportunities as entrepreneurs.

#### **High Skilled Migrant Entrepreneurship, Forms of Capital and the Influence of the Business Accelerator**

*Noor, Alia*  
(University of Sussex)

This paper investigates the capital mobilisation strategies of high skilled migrant entrepreneurs in the technology sector, and highlights the influence of business accelerator programmes in shaping their entrepreneurial activity. The study is set within the context of selective migration policy which is increasingly encouraging high value entrepreneurship. The use of business accelerator programmes, which offer both start-up finance through seed competitions and continuing know-how support, is one of the last few remaining routes for high skilled migrants to start a business in the United Kingdom.

This qualitative research is based on in-depth interviews conducted between late-2015 to late-2016 with 45 entrepreneurs who used government endorsed business accelerator programmes between 2011 and 2016 in the United Kingdom (UK). Current research highlights that migrant entrepreneurship takes place within wider political and economic institutional frameworks and the overall opportunity structure. The research is therefore broken down into three groups of participants based on their overall 'mobility', i.e., migrants from outside the European Economic Agreement (EEA)

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region, migrants from within the EEA region, and British entrepreneurs. Based on the participants' experiences, Bourdieu's theory of practice, and its associated concepts of social, financial and human capital was identified as an appropriate conceptual lens through which the entrepreneurs' activities could be interpreted.

The findings suggest that with these programmes, migrant entrepreneurs who used business accelerators actively chose to substitute a variety of traditional forms of capital normally associated with either migrant or high tech enterprise. For most entrepreneurs, funding received from accelerators was the only form of finance they received. While this was policy necessitated for a small group of non-EEA entrepreneurs, this also happened to be the active choice for many EEA and non-EEA entrepreneurs due to the wider social networks it potentially offered in a new market. It was also the preferred choice over angel investors and other forms of early stage financing amongst all three groups due to the additional value it added in 'legitimising their worth' through the competitive nature of the programme.

By highlighting the influence of business accelerators on capital mobilisation, the paper provides novel understandings of migrant entrepreneurship which has thus far focussed on unpacking the role of ethnicity based ties. The paper shows that due to the high levels of human capital the entrepreneurs possessed, the entrepreneurs used their agency to identify the 'opportunity' of a business accelerator to convert their human capital to financial, social, as well as other forms of valuable human (symbolic) capital. Based on these findings, this paper argues that by giving entrepreneurs a support system to fall back on and the recognition to move ahead, business accelerators can be viewed as part of an 'opportunity structure' that enables migrant entrepreneurship.

### **The Impact of Post-Accession Migration on Transferable Competences**

*Grabowska, Izabela*

*(SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities and Centre of Migration Research)*

The paper will examine the impact of post-accession migration on transferable competences of people who experience work abroad. The key research questions of this article are: (1) what is the relation between work abroad and transferable competences?; (2) how movers and stayers equipped with transferable competences differ/are proximate? (3) how migration-related competences are implemented after return in various social spaces and (4) what are the conditions of an effective transfer of migration-moulded competences to micro-social spaces? The paper will use two data sources. Firstly, the quantitative analysis will be based on the secondary representative dataset of Human Capital in Poland 2010-2014 (migrants=4040; stayers=67174). Secondly, the qualitative data will be derived from the project on Cultural diffusion of social remittances between UK and Poland funded by the National Science Center (n IDI= 121 in two waves) where transferable competences were also captured and will serve here as illustrations of transferred competences. In this paper I am going to apply the clear-cut categories of transferable competences in relation to the experience of international migration both in quantitative analysis and qualitative illustrations from local social spaces in Poland. The three domains of transferable competences are: cognitive, interpersonal and intrapersonal. These domains will navigate both the quantitative analysis and qualitative illustrations.

## Open Session BERLIN 2

### **Union Resistance and its Determinants: Evidence from a Field Experiment**

*Nüß, Patrick*

*(Kiel University/ Macroeconomic Policy Institute)*

Based on a correspondence experiment, the paper analyse firms resistance to unionism by revealing trade union membership in the hiring process. Due to the institutional structure of Germany as well as the available firm characteristics, the experiment furthermore tries to decompose firms potential resistance of union membership into different channels related to firm characteristics as the existence of a collective agreement. Preliminary results suggest, union resistance in Germany exists for all tested occupations with an average decline in callbacks by 30%. The analysis further indicates, that union resistance is lower in firms with a collective agreement. For now it is an open question whether this results from a selection process of union members in firms with low union resistance leading to collective agreements or that collective agreements decreases union resistance. This will be tested at the end of April when needed explanatory variables are public available.

### **Performing Professional Identity in Transnational Work and Leisure spaces**

*Devadason, Ranji*

*(Bath Spa University)*

This paper examines the performative aspects of transnational working with a specific focus on how actors' ethnic and national identities inform their everyday encounters and behaviour both within and beyond the workplace. It draws on a

British-Academy funded study about transnational professionals in global organisations. Transnational professionals are a hard-to-reach group precisely because of the intensive work-travel regimes that many of them undertake. For this study, an online survey was launched in a multinational corporation to capture the employment histories, mobility and values of their international staff; 12 biographical interviews were then conducted with survey participants. Three-quarters of the executives in the sample held citizenship in the 'Global North' – Britain and other European countries – and a quarter held citizenship in countries of the 'Global South' including: India, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Three case-study biographies of executives are analysed here to explore how they describe performing their professional identities on the move. We examine how interactions with colleagues, clients, and strangers in work and non-work settings are described in their life narratives. Interviewees' narratives shed light upon what it means to work transnationally, especially when one does not conform to - what is often perceived as being - the archetypal expatriate: male, upper-middle class and European or North American. The performative aspects of identity work often become self-conscious in certain global cities where being white (and European/American) acts as a marker of a privileged and professional identity whereas non-whiteness (often regardless of national identity) is seen as signifying relative disadvantage.

**Expatriation, Exploitation and Institutional Isomorphism in the Global Creative Industries: A Case Study of the Work Time Regimes of British Creatives in Dutch 'Expat Agencies'**

*Pitts, Frederick Harry*  
(University of Bristol)

Drawing on 33 interviews with workers at 10 graphic design, brand design and strategic design agencies in the UK and the Netherlands, this paper takes two countries with very different work-time regimes so as to understand the commonalities between the creative industries in each. Despite a wide divergence in working hours between the two, whereby average working hours in the UK are a whole day a week longer than the Netherlands, working hours in the creative industries can be seen to converge. Evidence from the case study suggests that where national average working hours differ, the creative industries maintain a single unified work-hours culture through a constant flow of expatriation- specifically, in this case, of young British designers from the UK to the Netherlands. This convergence suggests that creative industries constitute a 'global' space above and beyond the specificities of the national context in which they are situated institutionally. The research uncovers some indications of how this global status is constructed. To compensate for the typical four-day week worked by Dutch nationals, Amsterdam design firms encourage UK designers to migrate from London, who, with no family ties or friendship networks, bring with them an expectation of long, intense work schedules developed in a much different national context, in distinction from the family-oriented work schedules of Dutch designers who build work around life rather than the reverse. In this way, creative industries may be seen to attain their global work-time regime from an exploitation of the work-time regimes of expatriates.

**The Limitations of Community Organising: An Analysis of Intra-Community Tensions Among Polish Immigrant Workers in South Somerset, UK**

*Jiang, Joyce, Marek Korczynski*  
(University of York)

In examining the potential collective mobilisation of immigrant workers, industrial relations scholars are increasingly turning their attention to the community organising approach. In the community organising literature, mostly commonly, the term 'community' is used as a surrogate for community organization in the union-community coalition. We argue that this focus on the role of community organisations – the institutional and formal dimension of immigrant communities often carries with it the presumption of existing social networks and the ignorance of important internal differences within immigrant communities. Our ethnographic study of Polish immigrant workers in South Somerset has drawn attention to the key dimensions that define internal cleavages with immigrant communities and suggested that the potential internal divisions impose limitations on how far ethnic cohesion – rooted in common values, a shared sense of place and nationality, and ethnic networks of trust - can become the basis of community organizing. We stress the importance of considering community as fluid and symbolic space where negotiation of boundary (de) construction and identity is actively being carried out in the study of community organising.

**Working in the Media**  
**DUBLIN 1**

**Male Correspondents Preferred? The Silencing of Women writing Letters to the Editor**

*Elisabeth Michielsens, Deborah Knowles, Linad Clark, Sylvia Snijders*  
(University of Westminster)

The paper addresses the problem of why news content is dominated by what men consider to be newsworthy (Melki and Mallat, 2013). It builds on research showing how women are stereotyped, rendered invisible, or excluded in the

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media (e.g. Ponterotto, 2014; Fawcett Society, 2015). This has become an increasingly relevant subject area, especially following the Beijing Platform for Action launched in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women. Governments then agreed to 'support research into all aspects of women and the media so as to define areas needing attention and action and review existing media policies with a view to integrating a gender perspective', a message reaffirmed in the 2015 twenty-year review (UN Women 2015).

Research both on letters to the editor and on women's participation in such letter-writing is generally lacking and the paper shows who actively engages with the media, how and why. The unique value of this data is that, unlike most public online contributors, the writers to hard-copy letters to the editor are not anonymous: their names (revealing therefore their gender), (worldwide) locations and (usually) their affiliations and qualifications (or claims to expertise) are published alongside their letters. The question raised is: why do women participate so little in this activity?

Our study focuses on newspaper letter pages to the editor, with the example of the influential and international Financial Times (FT). Within the theoretical frameworks of occupational gender segregation and intersectionality, the paper represents a critical discourse analysis of letters published in the FT over the past three years (2015, 2016 and 2017). Drawing on this analysis and interviews with a letters page editor and prolific writers of published letters, the study investigates the gendered distribution and content of the different subject matters and the language used.

Analysis of the collected quantitative data is currently on-going, with the interviews to follow.

The FT Letters pages reveal those subject areas that are of interest to women and how they approach them. Initial findings indicate a very low proportion of women writers writing on most of the same themes as those addressed by a larger field of men. The paper will present relevance to contemporary debate, the length of letters, position on the page etc.

### **Grasping the Relation Between Higher Education and Work in the Field of Journalism and Media. A Comprehensive Integrative Sociological Approach**

*Stavrou, Sophia, Dimitris Trimithiotis*  
(University of Cyprus)

The paper contributes to the discussion on 'graduate employability', promoted as a priority of public policy, especially European, and attested as a crucial issue through recent social data on youth unemployment. In the official discourse there is broad agreement on a problem of 'mismatch', between high rates of higher education attainment, especially in specific fields of study, and the labour market needs. This research aims at moving beyond outcome approaches and individualist accounts of employability, towards providing a novel sociological understanding of how one's relation to work is construed. To grasp this social complexity we suggest the adoption of a comprehensive integrative account by exploring the interactions between youth life-course experiences, educational structures, and labour market factors which shape young people's relation to employment and work. Under shifting inter-relationship between higher education and employment (Tomlinson, 2012), bridging sociological theory of education and of work proves necessary.

The study focuses upon the example of the broader journalism field, with characteristics which relate to changes both in journalism and media as a socio-economic field, as well as changes in the academic field of communication. The discussion rests on a recent empirical study based on 40 in-depth semi-structured interviews with graduates, academics and employers and in the media field, conducted in 2017 in Cyprus, complemented by statistical secondary data.

The findings reveal that the field of study involves specific modalities of knowledge and identity specialisation (Bernstein 2000) that need to be addressed, in terms of how university departments differently react to employability policy incentives and engage in construing graduates' relationship to work through specific curriculum formations (i.e. producing 'flexible market', 'occupational-specialised' or rather 'introjected-academic' identities). This operates alongside the degree of organisation of the field of practice as a collective professional base and the degree of visibility of rules for entering the workplace. The field of study can also intersect with individual social background, since a graduate's social position can provide differential 'capitals' (Bourdieu, 1998) and ways to deal with these resources, in order to build his/her relationship with the labour market (especially for developing attributes valued by official discourse such as individual responsabilisation, internships and voluntary work, international work experience and mobility). Finally, perceptions and practices of potential or effective employers from the media activity sector are to be considered. These reveal how graduate identities formed through higher education are being received and negotiated by labour market structures and contingencies, including the impact of the economic crisis on employers' recruitment and work policies. Thus, it is crucial to consider the specificities of a given field, such as, in this case, how the development of online technologies has transformed practices of news production and circulation leading to a de-professionalisation of work skills, as well as how the crisis, alongside the adoption of neoliberal incentives, have impacted temporality of work, markers of quality and opportunities of professional development, turning the journalistic field to a particularly precarious working environment (Fenton, 2011). Graduates deploy their subjective reflexivity in various ways in struggling with these neoliberal settings.

### **Conceptualising Creative Work in a Super Independent Television Company**



*Jones, Emma*  
*(Cardiff University)*

The development of the creative industries over the last several decades and the accompanying surge of academic research studies has produced a wealth of theoretical insights into contemporary ways of working and organising. Such research however has tended to prioritise high theory over detailed empirical studies of different industrial contexts (Thompson et al., 2016), leading to relatively broad descriptions of the nature of creative work often unreflective of the actual experience of the creative labour process. Accordingly, researchers have called for additional detailed case studies that examine the specifics of occupations and sectors in different creative industries (Blair, 2009; Smith and McKinlay, 2009a; 2009b; Thompson et al., 2016). This paper contributes to such debates by presenting a critical analysis of creative labour in the context of contemporary television production in a case study of a super independent production company.

Consolidation with the UK's independent television sector has led to the emergence of 'super-indies', organisations formed by multiple takeovers, grouping together independent producers into larger companies. In the super-indie studied, the creative labour process is somewhat novel, given that the consolidation of local producers into one larger entity, alongside repeat commissions from regional broadcasters, has given rise to a level of security and stability for workers. While the majority of workers are employed on a staff basis, including office hours, regular pay and guaranteed work into the foreseeable future, their work is also accompanied by compromises in terms of autonomy and creativity. This paper considers individual responses to this work and the creativity involved through reflecting on data gathered from 63 interviews with respondents in a variety of occupations and levels within the super-indie studied.

Findings indicate the various ways in which respondents perceive and frame their role within the production process in this super indie context. A creative work typology is developed distinguishing between these different roles, referred to as allocators, creators, consolidators, facilitators, fusers, implementors and visualisers. Existing studies have highlighted the both routine and creative aspects of creative work however few seek to delineate this analysis further. The analytical framework developed in the paper assesses the features of creative work in much more detail, providing a more nuanced account of creative work. This analysis also demonstrates the diversity and complexity of the creative work in this single creative industry context and illustrates the importance of a differentiated notion of creative labour that delineates between different roles and processes in understanding contemporary creative work.

## **Precarious Lives**

### **ROTUNDA**

#### **Solidarity or Stigma? An exploration of the Lived Experiences of Working Age Welfare Recipients in Ireland: Examining the Potential for Stigma and the Effects of Living with a 'Welfare Identity'**

*Whelan, Joe*  
*(University College Cork)*

Most people will encounter a need for state provided financial support or welfare at some point in their lives. This can be due to any number of things such as old age, injury, illness or unemployment. However, in Ireland, very little is known about the day to day experiences of welfare recipients. Research from the UK (see Baumberg 2016; Patrick; 2017; Jensen & Tyler, 2015) strongly suggests that an overt negativity and stigma surrounding welfare recipients there is ubiquitous despite the obvious benefit of having a functioning welfare system. Part of the rationale for undertaking this research project rests on the fact that whilst there has been a wealth of research in this area in the UK, there is a dearth of literature available in Ireland and so, in areas such as stigma, we don't have any fine-grained data that tells us to what degree Ireland converges or diverges with the UK experience. Given what appears to be the very damaging effects of recent welfare reforms in UK on the everyday experience and impact of stigma, it is important to try to understand how similar impacts are experienced in an Irish context. Taking the work of Erving Goffman (1990) as a theoretical starting point and using a critical realist approach to research methods that attempts to capture underlying mechanisms, this paper will present preliminary findings from qualitative interviews which are currently being conducted with up to thirty welfare recipients in Ireland. Interviews will be semi-structured and interviewees will be drawn from across a range of demographics in order to capture a range of experiences thus allowing an understanding of these experiences to emerge. This research on which this paper will be based is being conducted as part of a PhD project and is arguably timely, with Ireland having recently exited a period of intense austerity during which many aspects of welfare provision saw retrenchment and the introduction of new conditions.

#### **Precarity, Homelessness and Employment**

*Robinson, Richard, Parsell, C., Lugosi, P. & Brenner, M.*  
*(University of Queensland)*

Imposed categorisations vis-a-vis the precarious lives of homeless persons are powerful in ascribing them identities (Parsell, 2011), and meaningful employment does not feature strongly in these characterisations. Precarity, whether

wittingly or not, is itself often defined by its intersection with (un)employment (cf Campbell & Price, 2016; Kalleberg, 2009; Standing, 2011). As various studies corroborate (Ferguson, 2018; McLachlan, 2013), employment is acknowledged as a pathway towards exiting deep disadvantage for most working age people, and homelessness evinces grievous disadvantage. Thus, it is of significant interest to understand how arguably the most precarious in society - homeless persons - describe their prior experiences with employment, or at least their relationship with the world of work. Drawing on 66 semi-structured interviews with persons who were homeless, or who recently exited homelessness, we seek to theoretically recalibrate definitions of precarity, in its relationship with work, to accommodate the complex perspectives of the most marginal and marginalized in society, and concomitantly address a substantive social problem.

The preliminary analysis of these data sought to surface participants' experiences in, and with, the world of work/training and in particular their disposition towards employment. Homeless and disadvantaged populations are frequently subjected to courses in employability and skills development. Our initial analysis revealed a range of direct positive and (predominantly) negative experiences of employment and training. More interesting however, were the narratives of work where the participant was relating third-hand experiences; for instance, those of family, friends or associates, and intriguingly, their pejorative subjective dispositions towards those in work that they encountered. These might include social workers, health sector occupations, and the allied crime and justice professionals. Furthermore, many participants made no reference to the world of work or related it as something inconsequential, the inference being employment was not within their realm of experience or interest.

Recounting previous lived work experiences, resonates with the literature and conceptualisations of precarity, even 'work poverty' (McBride et al., 2018; Zuvekas & Hill, 2000). More importantly, for these participants, the world of work was neither in their consciousness nor was it within their reach, and when it was the discourses were disparaging and condescending. Conceptually, we can juxtapose these absences and dispositions against neo-liberal ideals that 'work is good' (cf Mirowsky and Ross, 2003) and therefore theoretically propose a decoupling of precarity's seeming inseparability from notions of employability and meaningful work. Practically, these findings point to deep agentic and structural barriers to employment for cohorts of the homeless. This challenges us to imagine new approaches to exiting disadvantage. Our ongoing analysis seeks to further probe these data to explore and theorise the relationship between precarity and work as surfaced by the accounts of homeless persons living precarious lives.

## Labour Market Inequalities

### DUBLIN 2

#### **Diminishing the Conditions of Possibility: Examining Historical and Contemporary Experiences of Workplace Inequality**

*White, Paul, Jocelyn Finniear*  
(Swansea University)

This paper closely examines the nature of inequality as experienced individually as forms of discrimination. Such an approach highlights the means through which individuals mediate the social, historical and economic contexts of inequality that is reproduced within workplace relations. The interplay between employment relations and the wider societal order has long been recognised (Owen, 1991) and in this regard, we examine forms of inequality as part of the accomplishment of a given moral order. Drawing upon an interactionist approach we make explicit the habituated (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) nature of inequality as a means of creating distance between individual conduct (Cohen, 2001) and how such conduct may be accounted for (Garfinkel, 1967). Whilst recognising the significance of inequality within a broad societal, institutional and organisational context, we examine the 'pinpricks' (Weil, 1977) of everyday life, where the proximity of inequality is brought to bear as modes of discriminatory practices. Through an examination of proximity and distance we show the limitations to perspective (Mills, 1959) and specifically how inequality diminishes conditions of possibility (Foucault, 2002; Bauman, 1987).

We draw upon our research examining accounts of women seeking 'flexible working arrangements' (FWA) following periods of maternity leave and line managers who act as gatekeepers to such arrangements as a contemporary means of showing how inequity works. Indeed, that inequality is so entrenched and taken for granted as something that no longer happens or happens to others, represents the sting of how inequality is accomplished. Here, the subtle, mundane and perfectly ordinary (Sacks, 1984) nature of discrimination is made explicit. We trace the effects of forms of inequality through contemporaneous accounts of race, gender and class within the workplace. Our contribution is to make the connections to how this is experienced through contemporary insights (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011) historical and classical sociological research and show the similarities between these accounts and that of the fear, shock and horror (cf. Weil, 1987) reported by participants in our longitudinal research.

Taking the mundane nature of discrimination as a specific mode of social practice, we examine classic sociological and ethnographic work that refers to the ways in which inequity is obscured, unconcealed and experienced. The work involved in degrading the status of others (Garfinkel, 1956), how discrimination works to ration access to certain social

or organisational privileges (Acker, 1994), which demands the performance of a diminished subject (Steedman, 2000; cf. Goffman, 1961) highlights the precarity of the employment relationship and ultimately shapes our relations. From Engels' (1987) depiction of working class life in England and Weil's description of factory work in France, we show the ways in which inequalities retain distinct features across time and political economic contexts. Whilst we may see ourselves through the eyes of others (Du Bois, 1999), we show how we police ourselves in order that others are not privy to the privileges we never had access to.

### **The Impact of Job Polarisation on Occupational Mobility Among Low-Skilled Workers**

*Velthuis, Sanne*

*(Coventry University)*

In recent decades, employment growth in the UK has been concentrated in low-paid and high-paid occupations, with a relative fall in employment in intermediate occupations: a process referred to as job polarisation. Many of the intermediate occupations which have seen declining employment shares have historically provided opportunities for career progression for workers in low-paid occupations. The apparent hollowing out of the middle of the occupational structure therefore raises an important question about the impact of this process on the upward mobility of workers in low-paid, low-skilled jobs. Many have expressed concern about the prospect of declining numbers of middle-wage jobs leading to a 'bottleneck' obstructing upward occupational mobility (Holmes & Tholen 2013; Social Mobility Commission 2016; Crawford et al. 2011; McIntosh 2013; Clayton et al. 2014), but to date few studies have empirically assessed the impact of job polarisation on occupational mobility among low-skilled workers. Using data from the ONS Longitudinal Study, my research examines the effect of job polarisation on the upward mobility of workers initially employed in a low-paid occupation. It does this by measuring differences in the degree of job polarisation in local labour markets across England and Wales, and estimating the effect of this area-level polarisation on occupational transitions from 2001 to 2011. The results provide insights into the relationship between labour market change and worker outcomes, and have important implications for policy efforts to address progression from low pay.

### **Occupationally-stratified Human Resource Development Strategies in Vietnam: An Impediment for Inclusive Skills Development and Social Mobility**

*Mori, Junichi*

*(Cardiff University)*

Vietnam became a lower middle-income country by the end of 2010, following the rapid economic growth since the early 1990s. However, the lack of competent professional staff such as engineers and intermediate workers such as technicians is often claimed as one of the factors which may hinder Vietnam's further economic growth and industrialisation. Many previous studies attribute this skills mismatch to the poor quality of education and training programs which do not sufficiently take into account employers' skills demands. Accordingly, they suggest that the government should focus on supporting firms' skills development initiatives, assuming that employers conduct recruitment and training to fill in their skills shortages and gaps. This logic seems to be founded on the neoliberal skills formation approach which comprises human capital theory and skill-biased technological change theory. This approach presumes that, by following firms as an agent of the market, developing countries can achieve nation's skills development accompanying social mobility from lower to higher occupations.

However, to what extent does the neoliberal approach explain the actual human resource development (HRD) strategies of firms operating in Vietnam? In fact, a few past studies pointed out that firms tend to concentrate recruitment and training resources on professional staff such as engineers. Nonetheless, they have not clarified why firms allocate less recruitment and training resources for intermediate workers, despite their claim of skills shortages and gaps at this level of occupation. Therefore, this paper aims how firms form human resource development strategies and to what extent they can be explained by the neoliberal approach, analysing qualitative data obtained through interviews with 27 firms in Vietnam.

This research found firms' HRD strategies are driven by managers' subjective feeling on what type of skilled workers are rarer, in terms of difficulty in finding in the labour market, and can make more contribution to productivity improvement, rather than objectively identified skills demands as the neoliberal approach assumes. As a result, firms tend to prioritise professional staff, who are mostly university graduates, in recruitment and training, regardless skills mismatch they perceived. University graduates also have a career progression path to be managers, receiving training on both general and specific skills. In contrast, elementary and intermediate workers with lower educational attainments tend to receive only job-specific training on less transferable skills. Furthermore, they are rarely promoted to professional staff, blocked by a 'glass ceiling' which may be caused by firms' HRD systems as well as their low learning abilities.

These findings imply that relying on firms' skills development initiatives may not enable Vietnam to achieve skills development benefiting wide range of population. Instead, it may result in expanding job polarisation between a small number of highly skilled professional staff and a large number of unskilled workers who have less social mobility. In order to increase intermediate jobs and achieve inclusive skills development, the government needs to formulate more

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proactive policy measures such as synchronisation of skills and industrial policies focusing on the sectors which potentially require more intermediate workers and are eager to train them.

## Understanding Managers and Management COPENHAGEN 1

### **Reliable Programmer vs Sensitive Product Manager? Gendered Labor Process in the Chinese IT Industry**

*Li, Xiaotian*

*(University of Hong Kong)*

This research represents an inquiry into labor process of office laborers in the information technology (IT) industry in the Chinese context, based on observation in an IT company and interviews with regular employees. The software engineers, dominated by men, in the IT company admire technical brilliance and the reliability of getting work done on time, which could be exhibited by the office culture of visible busyness, long-time and over-time working, and the interest in geek culture. Technical brilliance in this context and the work culture, are related to a new type of masculinity, favored by this industry, which contributes to labor process control. The product managers (responsible for service design, project management, etc.) and operation managers (responsible for maintaining services for users and improving their number and activeness), representing the major non-technical rank and file personnel in the company, are required to use more 'common sense' to interpret and predict the users' needs, expectations, and complaints, which therefore are less men-dominated, but not necessarily feminine, especially not dominated by women. The non-technical personnel share a flexible working schedule and optimistic career prospects, mainly due to the current flourishing industry environment, which contributes to generate consent from these office workers. Moreover, employees at the two types of positions interact intensively, making labor process in the office more complex and, not surprisingly, controllable. Gender, masculinity, and labor control techniques are interwoven in the same workplace, implying a gendered labor process theory in the field.

### **The Rise and Fall of Professional Managers in Advanced Capitalist 'Knowledge Economies'**

*Livingstone, David, Tracey L Adams*

*(University of Toronto)*

Since the early 1980s, advanced capitalism has seen the growth of both professionals and managers in production relations that have become increasingly dominated by cognitive labour. The overall coordination and control of the capitalist labour process has fallen increasingly to a rapidly expanding managerial class. At the same time, professionals applying specialized knowledge have become increasingly present in most sectors of paid employment and their labour functions are seen as becoming more complicated mixtures of direct labour and managerial control. That is, professions scholars argue that increasingly professional work combines market and professional logics, creating professional-managerial hybrids (Noordegraaf 2015). In this paper we argue that the development of professional-managerial hybrids is important, but more complex than the literature on professions often assumes.

Research on professionals has most often conflated four distinct classes: professional employers, self-employed professionals, professional managers and professional employees. Here, we focus on professionals who have managerial roles, and distinguish them in terms of managerial level (i.e. upper, middle, lower) and extent of actual managerial decision-making authority exercised. We then compare them with professional employers, self-employed professionals, professional 'lead hands' and non-managerial professional employees in both authority exercised and such mediating factors as age, sex, race, employment sector and organization size, as well as economic attitudes. The basic finding is that the growing numbers of professional managers are becoming polarized among themselves, with lower levels exercising little more job control than the growing numbers of non-managerial professional employees—who themselves are becoming more like the declining numbers of traditional working-class service and industrial workers. That is, lower professional managers and non-managerial professional employees are both becoming more proletarianized. Specialized knowledge claims have served to enhance the control of both professional employers and upper professional managers.

The general theoretical perspective posits an intimate relationship in workplaces between the right to control people and the recognition of skills and knowledge. On one hand, owners of private corporations strive to control knowledge of specific commodity production techniques for advantage over competitors. On the other hand, professional employees and other non-managerial workers are gaining more access to many forms of knowledge. Professional managers are in the middle of this conflict. Clarifying their orientations may be pivotal to understanding future prospects for change in the labour process of 'knowledge economies'.

The analysis is based on a unique time series of general national labour force surveys conducted in Canada between 1982 and 2016 dealing with occupational descriptions, working conditions, learning practices, demographics and social attitudes (Livingstone and Scholtz, 2016; Livingstone and Watts, forthcoming), as well as a survey of engineers and

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further in-depth interviews conducted in Ontario in 2017 (Adams, 2017). Mixed methods will be applied, including basic statistical analysis for the surveys and thematic content analysis for the interviews.

**Does the Context Shape the Wage Compensation to Supervision for Middle Managers? Evidence from Germany and the UK**

*Scicchitano, Sergio, Marco Biagetti, Antonio Giangreco, Leone Leonida, Marianna Marra*  
(INAPP – National Institute for the Analysis of Public Policies)

Research has concentrated on the wage dispersion and payment of workers in low paying jobs, or on CEOs' compensation. How middle management compensation is influenced by the context of where they work is a relatively neglected area of research. To shed light on this, we considered the size and the shape of the wage compensation to supervision paid to middle managers in Germany and the UK. Our results suggest that middle managers are paid differently for the same task according to the economy where they work, and that about half of the difference is related to the context.

## **Internships and Traineeships**

### **COPENHAGEN 2**

**Behind the experiential learning curtain: A qualitative inquiry on internships**

*Gonzague, Isirabahenda, Gonzague Isirabahenda*  
(Babes-Bolyai University)

It is unsurprisingly witnessing complex difficulties faced by young graduates in their transition from school to work and different authors argued that this period of life for young people has always been complex and uncertain (Woodman & Wyn 2013, Raffe 2011). Young graduates are having a tough and painful time finding work and the probability to remain unemployed is three times higher than global adult unemployment. In December 2017, the youth unemployment rate has been rising steadily, 16.1 % in the EU-28 and 17.9 % in the euro area while in Romania was 16.8 % (Eurostat, 2017).

While many young graduates continue to struggle for finding work that matches their skills, therefore, they are embarking on jobs which do not make the most of their talents and sometimes internships are appealing as alternatives for first employment entry. Globally, internships are increasingly attracted to young graduates, companies, universities, policymakers, scholars, journalists etc due to the multiple implications that internships propagate on both social and economic spheres. Nearly everyone acknowledges the value of internship on un(der)employed young graduates' life and their early careers development as well as companies' benefits. However, the shocking realities are that many interns are exploited to perform essential labor without remuneration where employers are illegally using such internships for free labor instead of providing valuable skills and knowledge to the trainees.

This qualitative study will use semi-structured interviews and participatory observation in order to analyze the prospect of internship taken in multinational companies and organizations in Romania by exploring how young people and company representatives involved seeing the role of internships; examining what are the meanings and expectations attached to this practice. By this article, a conceptual understanding of internship will be presented as it was necessary to review the literature on internship and to analyze how some internship is providing the young graduates limited experiential learning or professional value and it will try to reveal what is behind that experiential learning curtain.

**Unpaid, Un-thanked and Underground: Future Challenges for the Study of Graduate Internships in Quantitative Research**

*Hunt, William*  
(University of Warwick)

Graduate internships have become an established feature of an increasingly congested and positional UK graduate labour market presenting a challenge to social justice, public policy and prevailing theory. Until recently, there has been a dearth of quantitative research on the topic. However, recent research by the author and others has shown: 1) unpaid internships are more common than previously thought; 2) there are notable differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of quality, outcomes and implications for social mobility; and 3) issues of inequality of access go much deeper than questions of affordability. While these findings are informative, some questions remain and the monitoring of internships going forward is crucial to understanding how the practice fits in with current sociological theory about the graduate labour market and patterns of social (dis)advantage. However, established statutory surveys, such as the Labour Force Survey, fail to capture internships as a separate employment category. Furthermore, planned changes to the one current reliable source of data on graduate internships, the Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) and Longitudinal DLHE, mean that in future only graduate internships carried out at 15 months after

graduation will be captured. This leaves internships carried out before this point, the vast majority, unmeasured and the true outcomes and implications of such experiences unobservable.

Drawing on the lessons from two recent studies, carried out by the author, involving data from three quantitative surveys: Futuretrack, the DLHE, and a bespoke survey of creative and mass communications graduates, this paper examines the problems of measuring internships in quantitative surveys, the implications for research and theory of the graduate labour market, and proposes some solutions. The aforementioned studies challenge the 'stepping stone' view of unpaid internships and suggest that, contrary to prevailing theory, it is actually access to the more beneficial, paid, internships that presents a challenge for social mobility. However, further research is needed to confirm these findings. Yet, a failure to measure internships in future surveys hampers efforts to understand how the practice squares with current theories about social mobility and the operation of the graduate labour market, leaving policy and theory subject to speculation and conjecture. If sociology is to be put to work on internships, access to reliable data is crucial.

**Working for 200 euro? The Effects of a Large-Scale Traineeship Reform on Labor Market Outcomes in Croatia**

*Zilic, Ivan, Iva Tomic*

*(The Institute for Economics, Zagreb)*

In this paper we evaluate the effects of a large-scale traineeship reform, the so-called SOR measure (vocational training for work without commencing employment), on labor market outcomes in Croatia. SOR was designed to ease the first labor market entry and promote on-the-job training, enabling a young person without relevant work experience to get a one-year contract and a net monthly salary of 210 euro. The measure soon became popular, especially among university graduates, accounting for around 30% of their unemployment exits. Pooling Croatian Labor Force Surveys from 2007–2016 and using difference-in-difference strategy we estimate the causal intent-to-treat effect of the reform on labor market outcomes of the eligible group: 18–29 year-olds. The main results indicate that the reform significantly decreased the probability of being unemployed of the treated group, as well as increase their probability of being inactive. We also find an adverse effect on wages—driven mostly by wages received by females and university graduates—and evidence that a portion of individuals was shifted towards the public sector. However, we do not find any effect on the probability of being employed.

## **Special Session: Bad Utopias**

### **GRAND 4 & 5**

**Bad Utopias? Discussing post capitalism, Automation, UBI and the 'end' of work**

*Thompson, Paul, Dinerstein, Ana Cecilia, Pitts, Harry, Wood, Alex, Briken, Kendra*

*(University of Stirling)*

Today, the post-work society has become a hot topic of debate. Based on the presumption that a wave of automation will displace labour from production and bring an end to 'work' as we know it, the post-work prospectus has translated from the domain of radical theory to take hold in mainstream debate. The post-work prospectus is recruited in the name of an appeal to an incipient 'postcapitalist' society germinating from within the shell of the present. In this special session, we will explore and critique the nascent 'post-work' imaginary and its claim that a post-capitalist society rises from the ruins of work. The contribution will each suggest that, even were the historical conditions in place for it, the escape from 'work' is no escape route from capitalism. The papers address five fronts on which the postwork prospectus fails. The first (Pitts) is that the post-work literature is counterintuitively productivist insofar as it sees 'work' as the central relation of capitalist society and not as the antagonistic relations of property, ownership and subsistence that logically and historically precede a society in which most people are compelled to sell their labour to live, nor the specific kind of results assumed by the products of that labour in the market. In so doing it remains locked within a capitalist understanding of what is productive and what is not, despite professions otherwise. The second (Dinerstein) is that the vista of automated worklessness supported by a basic income rests on a continuation of the money wage in all but name and the presence of a strong state that becomes the wage-payer of both first and last resort, with attendant consequences on the capacity of people or workers to resist and contest the conditions or pay to which they are subject. Nowhere in the popular imaginary of post-work or post-capitalist society does class struggles feature, when it is only by means of this and the creation of 'concrete utopias' that a post-capitalist society can be accessed at all. In the third (Thompson), some of the flawed theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the anti and post-work project are uncovered and critiqued. The actual and potential for a radical politics of work are explored, along with the implications for the sociology and sociologists of work. The fourth (Wood) is that post-work accounts are based upon a fallacy regarding the diminishing importance of paid-work. It is neither true that technological advancement is leading to a reduction in aggregate employment or that paid work is becoming less important as a source of well-being. Employment is a central institution of capitalism and strong mechanisms exist which ensure its reproduction. Speculating about the end of paid-work ignores people's real struggle and need for dignified paid-work and distracts us from the existing social problems

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of inequality, environmental degradation, and concentration of power within the hands of a few tech companies. The fifth (Briken) is that a post-work society necessarily needs a change in the role assigned to work in general. So far, the concept seems to be reduced either to a redefinition or refusal of work ethics seen as fundamental to the capitalist mode of production, or defined as a 'cultural shift' in the perception of work, somehow suggesting a flaw in workers' own 'false consciousness'. In challenging these approaches with a sociology of critique based on Boltanski and Thevenot's conceptualisation of justification, it will be argued that any attempt to understand actually existing 'work ethics' needs to include the 'critical capacities' actors use in disputes and controversies of working life. This will allow us to go beyond rather too generic analysis like 'bullshit jobs' and to overcome the tendency to reinforce the top-down hierarchisation of work in society.

## **Rethinking Gender**

### **AMSTERDAM 1**

#### **Coming Up Roses: Re-imagining Gendered Histories Though Reification and Retrotopia**

*Hancock, Philip, Katherine Duffy, Melissa Tyler*  
(University of Essex)

In this exploratory paper we consider contrasting representations of women's working identities within the sphere of vintage consumption, developing a critique of the aestheticization processes involved.

At a time when the contemporary working lives of women are once again in the public eye due to concerns surrounding the continuing inequity in pay and its impact (Dias et al., 2018), the prevalence of sexual harassment and discrimination (O'Grady, 2018), and the insecure and precarious nature of many low-paid, low status jobs often experienced by a predominantly female workforce (Sands, 2014), the past might seem an unlikely topic of interest. After all, the past is where they do things differently and, in the case of women's rights and conditions at work, usually not for the better.

Nonetheless, we cannot simply ignore the past, especially while it appears to be bleeding into the present. What has been described as the vintage movement (Cassidy & Bennett 2012; Jenß, 2015) for example has, amongst other things, increasingly acted to reinvigorate a gendered history of work particularly in order to promote patterns and acts of contemporary consumption. In doing so, it has sought to re-imagine, and potentially re-shape, the working identities of women in the past (Hancock & Tyler, 2018).

Perhaps one of the more popular and yet disturbing versions of this vintage re-imagining is that promoted by the globally successful women's clothing and homewares company Cath Kidston. The self-proclaimed 'home of modern vintage', the Kidston brand celebrates an imaginary past of idealised and largely passive domestic labour in which prettiness, bold prints and quirky kitchen knick-knacks will 'bring a smile to your face and brighten your day'.

Sitting alongside this fantasy world of perfect cup-cakes, and the pleasures of a knitted tea-cosy, there exists another narrative, however. One in which women's work, especially during the world wars, is both recognised and celebrated, if not similarly romanticised. Yet along with the ubiquitous tea dresses and victory rolls, institutions such as ROF 59, a disused munitions factory and now activity centre in County Durham, and Bletchley Park the much-vaunted home of British Code breaking during the Second World War, have also attempted to develop a far more active representation of women's waged labour.

In order to explore this dialectic of passive femininity and of active female endeavour, we draw on these largely competing empirical representations of women's vintage labour, mobilising Bauman's (2017) notion of retrotopia as a critical lens through which to consider how we might make conceptual sense of different ways of recognizing women's pasts. We do so in order to evaluate their implications for contemporary ways of thinking about women's labour and the ways in which false, and frequently reified dichotomies between idealisations of a heroic female labouring past, and the saccharine re-presentation of a predominantly quiescent female subjectivity produce different, but ultimately partial, gendered aesthetics ripe for commodification.

#### **How Changing Social Norms and Individual Attitudes Affect Women's Labour-Force Participation in India and Bangladesh**

*Olsen, Wendy, Amaresh Dubey, Nik Loynes, Anup K Mishra, Daniel Neff, Santosh K Singh, Samantha Watson, Min Zha*  
(University of Manchester)

This research is a response to a longterm decline in Indian rural women's labour supply. We explores attitudes and norms about women's labour-force participation in Bangladesh and the states of Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh in India. The problems around women doing paid work outside their home include social disapproval, tension, feelings of insecurity due to breaching purdah norms, and some women's dissatisfaction



with male 'breadwinners' failing to provide for the family. This paper focuses on north central India and Bangladesh, enabling a refined historical and sociological analysis combined with a statistical study. We find that women's own attitudes can influence upward their tendency to work 'outside'. Using path analysis, we show how much individualised values matter, even in regions where overall individualization is low.

Our theoretical framework is a variant upon 'gender and development' theory, where women's decisions are rooted in the intersectionality of their class, gender, ethnic background and lifestage. The data analysed come from several sources, notably the successive National Family Health Surveys of India, the Demographic and Health Surveys of Bangladesh, and a primary study using both survey and interview methods involving 950 rural couples (450 in Bangladesh, and 400 in north central India) in 2015/6. In these rural areas many women say that working 'outside' creates opportunities for others to criticise them, belittle them, embarrass them, or harass them (fieldwork reports, 2016). Where women are poor, they are more likely to be economically active and work for others 'outside'. We discuss these findings in terms of the differentiated, intersectional experience of working widows, female heads of households, young married women who usually do not go out to work (and hold relatively traditional attitudes), and older married women.

Attitudes and norms have a specially complex interrelationship over time, and we are able to trace both norm differentials over space, and change over time in norms, in this coherent region of South Asia. Latent factor scales are used to simplify this analysis. Changes over time took place in both egalitarian and 'breadwinner'-related attitudes. The space for women's agency, as opposed to male backlash and seeing women as targets of violence and oppression, has opened up considerably (cf Walby, 1997, 160-163). This informs our concluding section on the policy implications of both rural women working, and these women being involved in local organisations.

### **The Role of Gender on the Trading Floor, an Interdisciplinary Approach**

*Petratou, Eirini*

*(Leeds University Business School)*

This paper examines the role of gender on the trading floors and the social norms within the modern banking institutions, in order to provide a better understanding of markets' functioning.

Particularly, gender differences and similarities are investigated on the trading floor, as well as social norms about female underrepresentation. This research is based on two rounds of semi-structured interviews (before-and-after-Brexit-vote) with UK-based financial traders in 2016, and a 2017 online survey designed to validate interview results.

Previous studies show that women tend to be more risk averse than men; by implication, increasing the proportion of women in financial governance could reduce financial instability. We find, to the contrary, that there are no significant self-reported gender differences in terms of risk aversion. There is empirical evidence though suggesting that there are social and institutional reasons behind female underrepresentation on the trading floor.

## **Unemployment**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

### **Corbynism, Cynicism and Social Change: Why the Anti-Capitalist Left came out for Labour in 2017**

*English, Claire*

*(Queen Mary University)*

'If we learn anything from the rise of Corbyn, it should be this: The people want the Left. Now the Left needs to decide whether it actually wants the people.' (Respondent A)

The rapid rise of Jeremy Corbyn has been, perhaps optimistically, welcomed by those who sees the 'Corbyn surge' as a 'crack in Capitalist Realism, a crack through which a flood of pent up postcapitalist desires have burst' (Milburn, 2017). Yet, it's a contradictory moment. The 2017 Labour manifesto certainly pushed beyond what had seemed politically possible in recent years but looked at historically it's in keeping with fairly standard promises made by social democratic governments in the Global North. In fact, it represents a retreat from some of the measures that were being proposed in Labour circles of the 1970s. Corbyn is managing to make social democracy seem radical, without really proposing anything especially radical at all (Seymour, 2017).

This paper is based on the results of a survey of thirty-three activists from the anti-capitalist left, attempting to understand the rapid rise of Jeremy Corbyn within the context of Brexit and Austerity, and what it means for those traditionally considered to the left of the Labour Party to engage with normative political systems. This is important in terms of thinking through strategies for either contributing to or acting against the current configuration of the Labour Party and the possibility of a subjectivity that does both. The survey was devised to help those in the anticapitalist left find direction and potentially inspiration from the changes happening around this shift in mainstream politics. This paper seeks to understand the positions of both those anticapitalists choosing to act within the Labour Party formation- acting as a leftward pole of attraction, and those anticapitalists hostile to any philandering with the PLP- those who see the way that

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anti-capitalists are involving themselves in Labour campaigns as a distraction from the project of building a commons and grassroots struggle more directly. For many I surveyed, the task now is to build an industrial strategy that compliments the political strategy, a trade union movement working with other social movements that can push a Labour government to implement radical reforms and to defend that government from attacks by the Right of the PLP. This position insists that the those to the left of Labour should be advocating and organising for directional demands within the Labour Party and wider Labour movement, defending the Government when they are attacked by the right and opposing them when they are not being sufficiently radical. This is a complicated task that requires much thinking and strategising- this paper aims to contribute to that thinking work.

### **Pay Day for the Unemployed**

*Mann, Gisela*

*(University of Salford)*

Grounded theory (GT) (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) is being used to understand why Moneyline clients who are overwhelmingly single mothers on benefits, use high cost credit, and the impact of this on their lives. This involved carrying out 33 in depth open interviews with Moneyline clients to elicit data regarding their use of high cost credit. This data is used to develop a theory out of the data, rather than being led by classic sociological theorists and 'forcing' the data to fit a predetermined theory. The research is in the theoretical sampling stage of data collection according to GT.

An unexpected finding of the research is that although the income of the majority of the participants is in the form of welfare benefits, the term all participants used, except one, to describe their income is 'pay' which they receive on 'pay day', adopting the parlance of formal paid employment.

The term 'pay' has definitions of being deserved and worked for, yet this group have not worked for this money, and the popular discourse is that they do not deserve an income if they do not work (Alson, P. 2017; Pemberton, S. et al., 2014; Murray, C. 1984; Satchell, G. 2013; Faber, M. 2010). The government's ideology reflects this discourse with its adherence to an increasingly restrictive welfare package in order to 'incentivise' claimants to work (Independent, 2017; Duncan-Smith, I. 2014), despite a current low unemployment rate (Bank of England, 2017).

If they consider themselves to be 'paid', what are they getting paid for? The single mothers (although there was one single father) whose sole income is benefit driven are raising children. Single parents who are in paid employment have to pay people to look after their children and this costs on average £222.36 per week ([www.moneyadviceservice.org.uk](http://www.moneyadviceservice.org.uk), accessed 13.2.2018). The work is the identical, one paid, one 'unpaid'. Many of my respondents doubled up as carers to their disabled children, they are carrying out care work although they are not 'paid' do to so, although they may a carers allowance which is below the minimum wage.

Some of the participants I spoke to volunteered. They 'worked' in charity shops, 'worked' with the elderly and 'worked' with the homeless. They could not do this if their time was otherwise spent on formal paid work. It is a huge contribution to society, and deserves to be recompensed.

However, one recipient was unhappy with how his friends call their benefits 'pay' which they receive on 'pay day'. He complained that they had not worked with it, and therefore did not deserve to spend it on cigarettes and alcohol, or call it 'pay'. He had adopted the popular discourse that people on benefits are 'undeserving'. But the use of the term 'pay' by the majority of the participants indicates that they believe they are deserving and entitled to the money. Their everyday activities are of value. Perhaps it's time to change the 'undeserving' rhetoric.

### **'There are some positives': Challenging the Social Construction of Unemployment**

*Finn, Philip*

*(Maynooth University)*

This paper pursues a critical exploration of the social master narrative of work, defined as paid employment, and its relation to the social construction of unemployment through the experiences of job-seekers in Ireland. Within contemporary societies work assumes the position of a lodestar around which income, respect, substantive citizenship and social recognition are distributed. Defined in opposition to work, unemployment is thus constituted as an apparent lack. Sociological research on unemployment attests to the erosion of identity, social status, self-esteem, a decay in mental and physical health and the dissolution of social networks in unemployment.

Whilst acknowledging these substantial losses it is argued that they emerge out of our prior constitution as workers and therefore provide only a partial depiction of the experience of unemployment. This paper contends that exploring more positive aspects of this experience is important in recognising the agency and humanity of individuals, but also politically important in opening up future possibilities which challenge the centrality of work and the experience of unemployment derived from it.

The paper's theoretical approach derives from Foucault's 'governmentality' to explicate how job-seekers are governed according to a 'job-seeking' rationality which is derived from and reinforces the socially embedded master narrative of

work. This gains a concrete manifestation through techniques, such as caseworker meetings, job-search evidence and training.

30 qualitative semi-structured interviews collected over four years of PhD research with unemployed individuals on Jobseeker payments in the east of Ireland are used to explore this experience of unemployment. These interviews are spread across three cohorts: 'job-seeking' unemployed, discouraged jobseekers and lone-parents. A focus on agency highlights similar and divergent experiences, motivations, values and activities in relation to waged work and the experience of unemployment and social welfare interactions across the groups.

The paper's findings highlight the limits of governmental power as qualifications, disjunctions and reversals unfold in response to the governance of unemployment and the centrality of work underpinning it. While fidelity to the work ethic is reiterated the importance of work is subject to multiple caveats, often diminished and in some cases, rejected. Complex perceptions, motivations and relationships in regard to work emerge as participants articulate a desire for autonomy and reflect on the positive aspects of unemployment such as building relationships with others, developing interests, community volunteering, and care work.

The paper contributes to the literature by situating such benefits against the material and symbolic losses of unemployment in order to open a space for utopian thinking based on imagining the future so as to critique the present (Levitas 2013). It explores a 'Politics of Time' (Gorz 1988) which insists upon a reorganisation and redistribution of leisure time in the pursuit of autonomous activities as a means of reconstituting the experience of joblessness. In doing so it argues that the exploring the interests, needs and desires of unemployed individuals, along with emphasising their socially valuable activities, is crucial in displacing the centrality of work in order to construct the experience of unemployment differently.

## **Food and Beverage Employment**

### **BERLIN 1**

#### **From the Brewery to the Bar: Craft and Authenticity in the Beer Business**

*Land, Christopher*  
(Anglia Ruskin University)

This paper will present an outline of an on-going project, and preliminary findings from the first stages of research. As such, it is a report on work-in-progress. The study is concerned with the meaning and experience of work in the craft beer and real ale industries. It follows from an earlier project examining the experiences of women working in the masculine brewing industry, but extends this work to include interviews with men in the industry, and to include participant observation of brewing and the work of selling beer. The framework is concerned with the construction of artisanal authenticity in the work of brewers and barstaff, and the mobilisation of the brewing process as part of the symbolic/communicative value of the product at the point of sale and consumption. The focus is on bar sales, particularly the public house and tap room. Observations in tap-rooms and public houses, as well as breweries, will take place over the summer of 2018, so this will be a first report on the findings.

Conceptually the paper will draw upon the now established literature on the resurgence of 'craft work' at the higher end of interactive service work, where the new labour aristocracy, inhabiting 'cool jobs', are gravitating towards traditionally blue-collar industries like brewing, distilling, bar-work, barbering and butchery, but with an intensive focus on knowledge of the product, skills, style, and the provenance of the supply chain (Ocejo, 2017). Such businesses are structured a combination of physical skills, knowledge, the material product, and the performative identities of producers as manifested through brands and the interactive service encounter. This research is concerned with how this emphasis shapes the realities of work for producers, including those physically brewing beers, and those selling them. The focus on the tap-room reflects a growing desire amongst consumers to be able to see the production of what they are drinking. Whilst this has long been established in whisky and wine tourism, the recent increased popularity of tap-rooms connected to breweries, even in relatively insalubrious locations like out of town industrial estates, suggests a shift in this dynamic that is perhaps closer to the traditional 'brewhouse' ideals, where pubs have in-house micro-breweries. This increases the visibility of production, providing an opportunity for 'staging' value in production (Böhme, 2003). This is amplified at the point of sale, where both consumer and serving staff are called upon to position themselves in relation to a distinctively knowledgeable practice of consumption. This can lead to tensions, for example when a customer wants a 'normal' lager in a craft beer bar, and the serving staff have to explain why they should instead pay a premium for a 'craft' lager, brewed in small batches, with particular hop varieties. It can also lead to opportunities for both staff and customers to perform distinction in consumption, establishing credibility by demonstrating their knowledge of particular styles of beer, yeasts, hops, and the most credible breweries. This, in turn, places an additional burden of work on serving staff.

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**Gender Equality in the Chef Profession in Ireland – New Data Reveals the Extent of the Problem**

*Farrell, Mary*

*(Dublin Institute of Technology, School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology)*

Cooking has been ideologically and materially assigned to women in the domestic space while men have dominated the professional cooking world in their roles as chefs. From the mid 20th century women entered the chef, however academic research and women chefs themselves have detailed the challenges faced by women chefs in the profession in the 21st century. However, the lack of substantial demographic data makes it difficult to demonstrate where exactly the challenges exist.

This paper presents the Republic of Ireland demographic results of the Irish chef survey Step up to the Plate – All Ireland Gender Equality Survey of the Chef Profession, undertaken from October to December 2017. Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected and weighted with the National Central Statistics Office (CSO) figures for gender in the chef profession. The findings present, for the first time, the demographics of the chef profession in Ireland which are critical to evaluate the extent of gender inequality within the chef profession

The findings reveal clear evidence of gender inequality within the chef profession on a multiplicity of levels. Through an in-depth analysis of the roles men and women occupy with the chef hierarchy, the types of kitchens environments they work in (from cafes to fine dining restaurants), the survey findings reveal a highly gendered profession.

**'Risk is progression' - Notes from An Ongoing Ethnography of Restaurant Work**

*Etoria, Verdine*

*(Teesside University)*

This paper presents data and analysis from previous and ongoing ethnographic studies of restaurant workers in Leeds, England. The initial study was a small-scale project capitalising on my own occupational history as a chef. With unique insider access to a convenient sample of ten men and women currently engaged in restaurant work, I conducted semi structured interviews with the broad objective of revealing subjective experiences of the flexibilization and casualization of labour in an under-studied and misunderstood sector.

I analysed the data with the reference to a number of popular and academic assumptions. Principally, that the accelerated 'dismantling of work' (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2004) compels more and more people in de-industrialised urban centres into precarious, service industry labour; and subsequently, this 'emerging new class' are denied a fulfilling 'occupational identity', or narrative (Standing, 2011). Some initial findings were surprising. Instead of bemoaning their material hardships, many respondents demonstrate a remarkable sensitivity to sociological themes like cultural capital, self-governance and risk. I uncover blasé attitudes to normative ideas of progression and a marked disdain for 'old school' institutional employment paths that are being eroded in tandem with other navigating structures of society. Crucially, many of the participants claimed some measure of resistance to the effects of precarity by forming unofficial networks.

Acknowledging how formerly transient (perhaps, superficial) jobs are being re-positioned as rewarding, 'cool' employment options for young people (Besen-Cassino, 2014); particularly in cities like Leeds where retail and leisure economies have apparently transformed the fortunes of the city, I go on to ask, could this resistance instead reflect acquiescence to a 'capitalist realism' (Fisher, 2009) that is reproduced by social agents? Is the crisis in capitalism forcing middle classes to colonise traditionally working class industries as pathways of 'occupational hereditary' (Bourdieu, 1984) are being closed off? Are the middle classes reproducing their position by imbuing such occupations with notions of 'craft' and 'artistry' that are exclusive and alienating to lower socioeconomic groups?

I reassert that ethnography is the best method for studying the evolving interpolation of capitalism and workplace identities in situ, whilst admitting that my initial sample group does not yield generalizable data. I then construct a unique typography of restaurants in the UK from (scant) sociological recourses, marketing data, cultural and aesthetic theory, anecdotal and literary evidence. From here I have remodelled the research design into an ongoing, multi-site, covert ethnography whereby I gain legitimate employment in four different restaurants to access participants outside my own field. Recognising the deep moral and ethical apprehensions that rightly surround covert methodology, I construct a theoretical framework using 'situated ethics in the field' (Calvey, 2008). Rather than being a 'last resort', I conclude that this is not just the best, it is the only way to access an opaque and mercurial industry. Particularly when asking, if this resistance exists, is it available to everyone?

## **Open Session**

### **BERLIN 2**

**A Psychoanalytical Approach to the Ideology of Work and Its Critique in Turkey**

*Mercan, Boran Ali*  
(Ankara University)

Setting out the Lacanian theory of ideology, the psychoanalytically-inflected Western labour studies tend to mark out that informal workplace practices reproduce the relations of authority and subordination through cynical performances against organisational ideals whilst seemingly suspending the hegemony and control of management. Likewise, departing from the evidences of workplace and labour process research in Turkey, this paper argues that workers reproduce the hegemony of factory management by exhibiting cynicism and mockery against the principles of production, by misrecognising the loose workplace discipline through fantasies of family and freedom and by otherising their peers who are different on the ethno-religious basis. The categories of clinical psychoanalysis such as fantasy and desire help us understand the cynical practices of workers as well as criticise the ideological-discursive construction of workplace relations in Turkey.

### **Exploring the ILO's Conceptualisation and Methodology on Forced Labour Research**

*McGuire, Darren*  
(Stirling University)

This project grew out of a study on state-organised forced labour in Uzbekistan's cotton industry and the talk presents a work in progress that explores the ILO's conceptualisation and methodological approach to monitoring forced labour in the country. Forced labour is the most common element of modern slavery and almost all slavery practices contain an element of forced labour (ASI, 2018). This includes 'any person under the menace of any penalty for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily' (ILO, 2015, 7) and is linked with six key indicators- notably: threats or actual physical harm; restriction of movement and confinement; debt bondage; withholding of wages or excessive wage reductions; retention of passports and documents; and threat of denunciation (ILO, 2005). The ILO's conceptualisation has however, been criticized for dealing with phenomena in isolation from the wider political, economic and social context, so that forced labour emerges as a separate dimension that is disconnected to the local and global mechanisms capitalism generates (Lerche, 2007). Indeed, Lewis et al. (2016:587) argue that forms of forced labour, like seasonal debt bondage 'generates economic forms of coercion' that are not captured by the ILO's definition and hinder an exploration of the complexities, variations, practices, processes and relations of forced labour regimes. There is also a discrepancy in views between the ILO and Civil Society Organisations regarding the extent to which participation in harvesting Uzbek cotton is or is not a largely voluntary phenomenon; indicating the need for methodological improvements. As will be discussed, substantial human rights improvements for 2017's cotton harvest have been made (ILO, 2018). However, the ILO's (2015) assertion that 'Large numbers of citizens seem to be willing recruits and see the harvest as an opportunity' (ILO, 2015) appears problematic. Only through thinking about the challenges to conceptualizing forced labour, and the ways to enhance the effectiveness of monitoring methodologies can we make further inroads to eradicating forced labour through policy and practice.

### **Slacking, Resisting, Withdrawing? A Comparative study of Personal Internet Use at Work**

*Miltsov, Alex.,*  
(McGill University)

This paper examines the main factors that motivate employees to engage in personal Internet use at work (PIUW) and the ways in which such workplace arrangements as flexible employment, task-based work, and overworking affect the quality and the quantity of PIUW. The study employs a series of regression analyses of how gender, age, seniority, and other socio-demographic variables interplay with different types of PIUW. It begins by conceptualizing PIUW in the context of multiple interconnected technological, socioeconomic, and cultural changes that have been shaping the world of work in the past three decades. In particular, this analysis draws inspiration from contemporary Autonomist theorizing of work and digital media (Berardi, 2009; Virno, 2004). In this context, it shows a highly multidimensional and heterogeneous nature of this phenomenon. This multidimensionality manifests itself in the idea that personal use of the Internet and digital technologies during working time can be understood as a social condition produced by the increasing digitization of all spheres of life. It can also be framed as a 'cognitive navigator' that helps workers to make sense of their increasingly disjointed working time.

In order to test these propositions, the study uses a mixed-methods approach by combining a survey of 600 respondents from a random stratified sample of workers in Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States with 50 in-depth interviews. The findings show, among other things, that PIUW is a gendered activity, where men are more likely to use digital technologies at work for entertainment and women are more likely to use them to take care of shopping, banking, and household tasks. In addition, contrary to common assumptions, in less restrictive working environments, workers are less likely to engage in PIUW. This paper makes three new contributions. First, it explains to what extent flexible and/or irregular working conditions play a role when it comes to when, how, why, and for how long white-collar employees engage in non-work-related Internet-based activities. Second, my research offers a comparative, cross-national perspective, by investigating the dynamics of PIUW in four highly developed economies, shedding light on the effects of different labor contexts over workers' engagement in 'non-productive' workplace activities. Finally, this work

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provides insights into the effects of processes such as the digitization of work and the rise in non-standard employment on contemporary workers' understanding of their work-life balance.

## **Gig and Platform Economy**

### **DUBLIN 1**

#### **Deliveroo and the City: Work, Resistance and Technology in the Gig-economy**

*Badger, Adam*

*(Royal Holloway, University of London)*

From the corporate office to the warehouse, the introduction of digital technologies built for, or harnessed by the workplace is nothing new (see Gregg, 2011). Nevertheless, recent developments in the 'gig-economy' and its unprecedented growth and scalability are presenting a novel phenomenon to the world of work that is taking in millions of workers across the globe. This kind of work is often presented as digitally seamless and flexible; thinly veiling its exploitative realities which are becoming increasingly apparent. Worker testimonies, undercover exposes, and initial research are highlighting how the work is becoming transformed, shifting the balance of power from labour to capital. However, this oversimplification of the forces at play not only acts to homogenise the perceived landscape of contemporary 'gig' work, but it also reduces the perceived agency of the worker.

This paper will focus on the amalgam of technology, work and resistance with particular reference to Deliveroo and the Independent Workers of Great Britain (IWGB). It presents the findings from months of covert research undertaken by the author as a 'rider' for the company, in addition to overt research as an organizer and member of the trade union - who have been responsible for representing riders in London. It highlights the sociomaterial ways in which riders work with, and through the technologies of the workplace in the undertaking of paid labour. This includes its tactile, audio, and visual surfaces; which interact with a complex assemblage of other interfaces (the phone of the geographically displaced consumer, the tablet of the restaurant receiving orders, the cacophony of other workers' activity, and the algorithm engineered to make sense of it all). Furthermore, it will cast light on the ways in which digital and non-digital actants interact in the work process, to construct an image of working for Deliveroo that takes into account a range of factors such as: the lactic acid build-up in a rider's legs, the pounding of rain on tarmac, and the crack of the algorithmic whip in creating a more than digital workplace.

Finally, attention will turn to the ways in which workers and trade unions are generating understandings of the technologies with which they work to actively resist; in so doing, dissolving carefully engineered sites of efficiency into points of rupture and resistance. This paper will reflect the researcher's own interdisciplinary position (across Geography and Management) bringing both disciplines to bear on the empirical information generated through ethnographic study. This will aim to open-up discourses on new ways for academics and workers alike to imagine contemporary work and its possible futures.

#### **Fair Work on Digital Labour Platforms: Challenges of Research and Organisation**

*Woodcock, Jamie, Mark Graham*

*(University of Oxford)*

There has been a significant growth in the number of people looking for work on digital labour platforms across the world, now estimated to be over 70 million. Broadly speaking, there are three different types of labour platforms: location-specific (for example, Uber and Deliveroo), microwork (for example, Amazon Mechanical Turk), and macrowork (for example, Upwork). Across all three, it is becoming apparent that there are challenges for workers across a range of issues, including: pay, conditions, contracts, communication, management, governance, use of data, and collective bargaining.

However, what is less known is how these challenges are experienced by workers in different countries, or the response to them. As a general rule, the existing trade union movement is either not interested in organising with these workers, or do not have effectively strategies to do so. As there are an increasing number of workers finding employment this way, the lack of collective voice for platform workers poses important questions about their ability to collectively organise and bargain with platforms/employers. There are exciting examples of new forms of worker organising on location-specific platforms – for example, at Deliveroo across different European countries – but it is not clear what forms this can take on microwork or macrowork platforms, without the shared urban environment.

This paper introduces the ongoing 'work in progress' of the Fairwork project, a research initiative that is also developing an intervention around the quality of work on digital labour platforms. The first phase of the project involves developing principles for 'fair work' in a digital context. These are being developed in dialogue with workers, worker representatives,

and platforms. The second phase translates these principles into specific criteria for assessing the fairness of platforms. This paper will discuss the process of a research-led certification process, introducing the initial findings.

This project provides new empirical data on the labour process and work conditions of digital labour platforms – something that is much needed in debates on the future of work. Moreover, it intends to move from research to intervention, taking inspiration from the London Living Wage as a way in which research can contribute to organising for improvements in the quality of work. The paper therefore argues for a way to hold digital labour platforms accountable, starting by making visible the production networks involved in this kind of work. The aim of the certification process is to provide a way to support workers overcoming the twofold structural barriers they face on these platforms: the lack of ability to collectively bargain and the asymmetry of information between workers and platforms. New kinds of work require innovations in organising techniques and regulations, and this project provides an important starting point for developing these in practice.

### **On the Conditions of Possibility for Labor Organizing in the Platform Economy: Towards a More Granular Research Approach**

*van Doorn, Niels*

*(University of Amsterdam)*

The main question this paper aims to answer is: what are the conditions of possibility for labor organizing in the platform-based gig economy and what groups of workers are most likely to meet these conditions? Drawing on different bodies of scholarship (on gendered and racialized inequalities in low-wage service industries; labor organizing in low-wage labor markets; labor process theory; and the platform-based gig economy) as well as interviews conducted with platform workers (Deliveroo couriers and Helping cleaners) who participated in a multi-stakeholder conference I co-organized in Amsterdam last year, I examine the recent wave of protests and strikes organized by food delivery workers in various European cities – focusing on the Amsterdam case in particular.

I start with an assessment of the rise of the Riders Union, an impromptu workers' collective primarily consisting of Deliveroo couriers. This section of the paper explains how its rapid emergence and growth is driven not just by the intensification of (inter)national debates on worker misclassification but more immediately by Deliveroo's controversial and poorly timed/executed decision to switch the status of its entire courier workforce from employee to independent contractor. In response, Deliveroo couriers started to organize and stage protests, using the messenger app Telegram as one of their main communication tools. The Riders Union was formed and, as their actions were quickly gaining traction and received attention from the national press, the FNV (the largest union in the Netherlands) offered their institutional support. However, as the Riders Union – composed mostly of young men – is using its newfound public leverage to push for better working conditions and more rights, other groups of platform workers, such as Helping's majority-female cleaning workforce, are receiving decidedly less attention and neither are they assembling to protest.

Section two thus examines what options exist for the women (and some men) who find their cleaning gigs through Helping, with respect to meeting up with other workers, sharing information, and collective organizing, given that their work takes place in private, domestic spaces rather than the public space of city streets? I contend that while the role of networked mobile technologies in contemporary worker organization is certainly significant, so is the possibility of meeting physically in public: worker propinquity should therefore be reappraised as another vital condition that is necessary (yet by itself insufficient) for labor organizing in the platform economy. But who gets to partake in such propinquity and who can (afford to) be visible in public space?

In the paper's third and final section, I reflect on this question, among others, and offer a heuristic typology which enables a more granular and differentiated approach to studying the possibilities for labor organizing in the platform/gig economy. This typology attends to six dimensions: 1) nature of the work; 2) platform business model; 3) platform design; 4) organization of labor process; 5) industry regulation; 6) socio-historical valuation of the work/industry. I conclude by reflecting on the implementation of this typology into my ERC-funded research project, in terms of its benefits and challenges.

## **Migration and Employment**

### **ROTUNDA**

### **Bidirectional Remittances Flows: The Experience of Romanian Students and Migrant Care Workers in the United Kingdom**

*Ciuriea, Andreea*

*(Northumbria University)*

The thesis investigates how do 'bidirectional' flows of remittances of Romanian students and migrant care workers contribute to a stable investment climate as well as provide informal social protection to households and families who supported the initial investment? Moreover, the thesis sets out to develop a new concept of 'bidirectional' flows of

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remittances facilitated by transnational social networks as part of a mutually beneficial contractual agreement between households and their youth as well as that between migrant care workers and their families, set within different welfare state arrangements given by migrant's origin and destination. The notion of bidirectional remittance flows evolved as part of the analysis of Romanian students and migrant care workers' narratives. A clear two-way remittance exchange pattern between the migrant and the household emerged from the interview analysis. It is remarkable that most migrant remittance literature and research focuses on one side of the spectrum or very recently on the reserve remittance patterns, but few discuss the asymmetrical cyclical nature of bidirectional migrant remittance flows. As such this thesis not only has the potential to contribute to the development of a new social concept that of 'bidirectional' remittances flows but it sheds light on two scarcely researched migrant groups from two completely different angles. Another puzzling as well as interesting fact about this case is that Romanian migration is a 'least likely' case for the rapid emergence of economic transnationalism. Mainly due to the fact that the former Romanian communist regime imposed one of the most repressive emigration systems in the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, I believe that using a rigorous qualitative research methodology this thesis might prove a valuable contribution to the study of remittance in social studies.

**EU Citizens Mobility Decisions in post-Brexit Britain**

*Baxter-Reid, Hazel*  
(University of Stirling)

The UK electorate's decision to leave the EU, and the ongoing Brexit negotiation process, has created political, economic and social uncertainty for EU citizens residing in the UK. As a result, there have been reports within the media of large numbers of EU migrant workers leaving the UK. Decisions to leave the UK are invariably conditioned by multiple overlapping factors, including employment opportunities, life-stage, family commitments, life-style, and access to financial resources. Within this context, it is worthwhile analysing the extent to which EU migrant workers are developing their mobility power to exit the UK (Smith, 2006). The strategies and tactics migrants employ to cope with potential alterations to their status are also of interest. Alberti (2014: 874) shows that migrant workers' ability to build and develop mobility opportunities is influenced by their 'migratory and employment status, their age, 'race', gender, educational background and the possibility of relying on local and transnational support networks'. Therefore, it is vital to explore these issues in more depth. Furthermore, Katz's (2004) resilience, reworking and resistance framework highlights different levels of mobility: from 'getting by', to navigating and reworking the labour market, and acts of reworking and resistance to challenge existing power relations (Berntsen, 2016). This paper presents the findings from the initial data collection of a longitudinal project. 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted with EU workers. The results show that EU workers utilised a wide range of resilience and reworking tactics and strategies in order to cope with the current period of uncertainty. Many people did not want to leave the UK, however potential alterations to their status influenced their desire to move. The ability and desire to strategize and develop mobility was dependent upon a complex interplay of personal and professional issues, such as family circumstances, time spent residing in the UK, English language skills, education and skill level.

**Imagining Migration on a Post-Brexit World: The Role of Institutional Actors Shaping Post-Brexit Labour Market Governance in the UK**

*Cutter, Jo, Gabriella Alberti, Zinovijus Ciupijus*  
(University of Leeds)

This paper presents early stage research around the theme of Brexit and the future of EU labour mobility through an analysis of institutional actors' responses to reshaping the regulation of labour migration. The uncertainties around Brexit affect not only migrant workers but a variety of other industrial relations stakeholders (Rolfe, 2016): employers, legal advisors, trade unions, civil society and faith groups and local, national and international authorities all have concerns around the implications of Brexit for their constituents. The positions and actions of these groups have potentially important implications for the changing socio-economic relationship between the UK and the EU and for the UK's own social model.

The paper considers how different institutional actors view the challenges of Brexit for labour mobility and seek to shape the post-Brexit employment landscape. Drawing on literatures in migration studies and employment relations, it offers an analysis of ongoing, shifting stakeholder positions, using data derived from interview and collaborative workshop settings the paper engages on a discursive level with migration policy developments related to Brexit. Two waves of interviews were conducted: firstly, in July 2017 with regional business and union representatives and, secondly, in September 2017 via roundtable discussions including business and union representatives, training providers and EU citizens groups. With the fault lines of Brexit still emerging (O'Reilly, 2016) the analysis looks at the putative post-Brexit migration regime in the UK, its implications for the rights of EU workers and the nature of ongoing social dialogue among these groups.

**Open Session**



## DUBLIN 2

### **Charting the Rise of In-Work Poverty: The Case of Care Workers in Yorkshire**

*Prowse, Peter, Julie Prowse, Jereme Snook  
(Sheffield Hallam University)*

Between 1985 to 2014 the number of people aged 85 and above doubled from 700,000 to 1.5 million (Keynote, 2016). For individuals requiring social care, most is now delivered by private companies whose workforce is projected to increase (Gardiner and Hussein, 2015). The Low Pay Commission expressed concern that Government reductions in Local Authority funding would affect paying the national minimum wage (Low Pay Commission, 2015:216). Estimates suggest an increase in the national minimum wage would affect 275,000 care workers and require additional funding of between £753 million to £1 billion (UKHCA, 2015) this paper presents findings examining employers' and unions' views of pay and working conditions in social care and more importantly, the lived experiences of care workers' working in Yorkshire.

#### Methodology: Three Phases

Phase I: A focus group examining funding the care workforce comprised of trade union, local authority commissioner for care homes and 3 care home managers.

Phase II: In-depth interviews conducted with two small, regional (for-profit) care home owners and a national care home Director and eight GMB union representatives recruiting in the care sector examining pay and working conditions in the care sector.

Phase III: Interviews with 29 care workers in 14 separate care homes exploring three areas. First, care workers' roles and work, second, issues of pay and conditions and finally, their experience and knowledge of low pay and conditions.

#### Findings

Employers acknowledged the need to increase wages and provide better working conditions, but argued financial constraints set by local government limited their capacity to improve pay and conditions. While a shortage of care workers and the challenges of funding the national minimum wage are key issues.

Union representatives note care workers' roles are expanding however; this additional responsibility was not reflected in their pay or conditions. The GMB is campaigning and targeting the care sector to raise the issue of the 'real' living wage recommended by the Living Wage Foundation to recruit and retain members (Prowse and Fells, 2016).

Care workers enjoy many aspects of their work, but undertake a wider range of tasks and roles and these continue to expand within an environment of staff reductions and workforce pressures. They felt low pay, limited promotion opportunities, fixed contracts and no opportunities to increase pay and conditions, despite undertaking additional training, are significant constraints to the job.

Disparity in pay rates is evident for young workers aged fewer than 25, and also for newly recruited care workers who are paid lower rates of pay and reduced conditions compared to existing care workers. Some care companies are now unilaterally varying terms and conditions for existing employees. The findings highlight an increasing trend towards in-work poverty (IWP) for care workers as pay and conditions are reducing.

### **Framing the Value of HRM in Annual Reports**

*Cushen, Jean, Freeny, Yseult  
(Maynooth University School of Business)*

'What is going on around people's world?' Is the question posed by Goffman in his 1974 work on social framing entitled 'Frame Analysis'. Framing theory offers a way to evaluate the power of a communicating text and illuminate the precise way a communicator is attempting to exert influence when transferring information. The act of framing involves selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular event definition, causal interpretation, and acceptance of a way forward (Entman, 1993:51).

In this paper, we use the sociological theory of framing to evaluate how HRM communicate their value to the investment community who have a track record of regarding HRM claims regarding firm adherence 'best practice' HRM de jour as meaningless (Krausert, 2017). The disconnect between HRM and the investment community, we argue, should be acknowledged as an existential threat to the HRM profession whose budgets are increasingly viewed as variable and optional operational expenditure within investment processes, capable of absorbing risk and reduced investment to yield returns thereby threatening models of sustainable employment.

We evaluate HRM claims of value by analysing the disclosures of the largest fifty companies in the United States, United Kingdom and Germany. Thirty-three distinct HRM practices across the 150 companies are identified and ranked by 'prominence'. The similarities across the three countries reflect the resource based view of how HRM can deliver a

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'rare', 'valuable' and 'inimitable' ability to create value (Barney, 2001) The most common prominent signals depicted HRM as addressing pertinent societal and organisational issues through cultivating a sustainable pipeline of diverse, uniquely developed, energised, healthy employees who were motivated to direct their rare skills to deliver the corporate strategy.

We then move on to analyse the most prominent disclosures through the prism of 'framing' as an acknowledged strength of combining content analysis with framing theory is that it avoids treating all communicated content as equally salient and influential (De Vreese, 2005). We identify four distinct frames underpinning the HRM disclosures namely 'aspirational', 'descriptive', 'embedded' and 'empirical'. We contend that the lack of certainty and conviction regarding HR's strategic contribution within firms leads HR to signal their value primarily in weak and convoluted 'aspirational' and 'descriptive' frames, which were predominant across the US and UK disclosures, rather than the more compelling definitive 'empirical' and 'embedded' frames which were more commonplace amongst German disclosures.

We conclude with recommendations for HRM practitioners and academics to research and establish a strategic communications agenda with capital market stakeholders who have no use for the current tendency of HRM to communicate their value in aspirational and descriptive frames, all of which results in downward pressure on HRM investment and threatens the HRM profession and sustainable employment models.

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## **Theorising Professional Work**

### **COPENHAGEN 1**

#### **Herbert Spencer and the Professions**

*Offer, John*

*(Ulster University)*

Back in 1995 Robert Dingwall and Michael D. King published an influential article in *Sociological Theory* called 'Herbert Spencer and the Professions: Occupational Ecology Reconsidered'. The article has lasted well, but nevertheless over 20 years have passed.

So is it not surprising are now radically new readings of Spencer available. This is particularly over what Spencer meant by the 'social organism' and central place in societies which he accorded to the spontaneous cooperation of social individuals, each possessing a sense of 'social self-consciousness', itself brought about the processes of social and psychological adaptation. This means we in turn need to reinterpret what Spencer says on changes in the professions - which mostly appeared in his *Principles of Sociology* (Vol 3) of 1896 - as more the action of innovative agents and less the result of reified 'functions'.

In this paper I am extending some ideas first aired in my 2010 Palgrave book *Herbert Spencer and Social Theory*, and to be further developed in a BSA paper of this year, 'Social solidarity and Herbert Spencer: Not the oxymoron that might be assumed'.

The themes of this Belfast conference provides an ideal opportunity to show up, in the context of new conceptual work on Spencer, relevant but now seldom appreciated key ideas in his sociology of the professions. This was indeed a substantive area he singled out for special attention. This reinterpretation of the processes which Spencer identified as accounting for changes in professional activities will thus readily repay fresh attention.

#### **Shapeshifters, Lifestylers and Refugees: The Many Selves of Knowledge Transfer staff**

*Lock, Deborah*

*(University of Lincoln)*

This paper presents a new typology for Knowledge Transfer (KT) staff in UK Higher Education which emerged from a PhD study that used a Bourdieuien framework to explore identity construction. The study explored the types of capital that KT staff bring to the Academy and the tensions that exist between individual and institutional recognition and (mis)recognition of its value. It considered the multiple interpretations of the KT field and identified the intersection where synergies and discords converge to define the space in which KT staff operate, and the positioning of KT practice as a multifaceted mechanism through which an individual's habitus (sense of being) converges with their everyday actions to create multiple KT identities.

The key push-drivers and pull-motivators for working in knowledge transfer were identified as being planned and unplanned moves (which included the differences between tactical and serendipitous moves into the KT field), connections and disconnections (which ranged from an extended family to a compromised working relationship model), and the attraction of being part of an avant-garde movement rather than a rear-garde one. The typology suggested five career similarities and characteristics amongst individuals which might be attracted to a KT role: Home Grown, Shape-Shifters, Refugees, Do-Gooders and Life-Stylers.

The findings of the study revealed struggles with issues of workplace credibility, validity and clarity of position, and were manifested in the plurality of roles that KT staffs' juggle as they restructure and reposition their identities in response to the shifting expectations and assumptions of KT antagonists and protagonists.

## **Education, Employment and Skills**

### **COPENHAGEN 2**

#### **Parental Class and Capital: The Effect on Children's Achievement and Aspiration for Economic Self-Sufficiency**

*Rainsford, Emily, Anna Wambach*

*(Newcastle University)*

This paper explores the effect parental class has on children's economic self-sufficiency and attitude to becoming self-sufficient. It also considers potential factors which moderate the influence of parental social class. The paper thereby follows Bourdieu's operationalisation of social class as dependent on cultural, social and economic capital.

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This paper adds to the existing body of research by nuancing the established finding that parental social class and access to capital is reproduced in the next generation: we not only explore whether and how parental capital influences young persons' economic self-sufficiency, but also its influence on the desire to become economically self-sufficient. In addition, we explore whether there are other factors that moderate the influence of parental social class, such as certain personality traits, parenting styles.

To explore these issues, we conducted semi-structured interviews with two generations within a family (child and parent). The young persons were either in employment, self-employed, employed in a family business, in education or unemployed. The families themselves varied regarding access to capital. Four groups of young people emerge, based on their economic self-sufficiency or desire to become so: Voluntary Dependents, Gradual Progressors, Ambitious and Entrepreneurs. The interviews revealed that access to capital had a mixed influence on young persons' economic self-sufficiency, which was further moderated by parenting style. Overall, in three of four groups we see that the parents are clearly facilitating the transition from school to work by providing primarily financial support, but this is also blocking the achievement of economic self-sufficiency.

**New Inequalities? The Exclusion of International Student Employability in Higher Education Discourses**

*Fakunle, Omolabake*  
(University of Edinburgh)

Longstanding discourses around inequalities rarely extend beyond national boundaries. This is not surprising as socio-culturally situated inequalities within a nation provide impetus for championing change, and action. The focus in this paper is the UK, where for example, national data on attainment gap and youth unemployment stimulate discourses on educational and social inequalities and the push for equal opportunities. This could be considered as a key rationale for government policy regarding the massification of higher education in the early 1990s. The related widening participation agenda aims to offer access to higher education to underrepresented groups. The government also strategically link access to higher education to human capital development. That is, higher education is expected to help individuals develop skills and competencies to gain access to the labour market and to contribute to society, otherwise described as graduate employability. This points to the connectedness of national discourses in three key areas; addressing inequalities, accessing higher education, and developing graduate employability as one of the outcomes of further study. The pressing issue is how can these important discourses emerging from addressing inequalities to developing graduate employability extend to the international student studying in UK higher education institutions?

Currently, the economic contribution of mobile international students is the dominant and the most visible aspect of internationalisation. In contrast, there is a dearth of research on international student employability. This is problematic as most if not all universities in the UK claim to 'produce' employable graduates. This is an incentive to attract and to recruit students from home and abroad. Yet, to date, available data on graduate employability in the UK exclude international students who are from non-EU countries. To exclude a group of students within the same institution within a country from policy discussion, data, and research on employability could be considered as a new form of inequality.

To contribute to the under researched area of international student employability, my paper proposal for the conference reports findings from my study on international student perceptions of developing their employability during a one-year UK masters-level programme. A sample of 19 masters-level students from 11 countries were recruited from four Schools; Education, Business, Social Sciences and Cultural Studies, at a Scottish university. A total of thirty-six semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants at two time-spots during their study. Emerging findings suggest that employability is important to the students. This is not surprising. My study, however, delves further to understand students' perceptions of employability development opportunities and support available at the institution. There were clear variations in the students' experiences depending on the level of embeddedness of employability in their programme. The variation in the student experience was further affected by their perceptions of the support facilities available at the university, for example, the central careers service. My findings show that in relation to employability, it is important to provide what I describe as generic and specialised support to the diverse student cohort in a 21st-century university campus. Arguably, to do otherwise likely entrenches new inequalities.

## **Job Insecurity**

### **GRAND 4 & 5**

**Digital Transformation and Subjective Job Insecurity in Germany**

*Gundert, Stefanie, Katharina Dengler*  
(Institute for Employment Research)

Debates on the economic and societal consequences of a new stage of technological change, the 4th industrial revolution, often revolve around the question of how digital transformation affects employment. On the one hand, it is

argued that computerization will contribute to making jobs redundant, as employment can increasingly be substituted by computers or robots (Frey & Osborne 2013). This argument is rooted in John Maynard Keynes' (1933) concept of technological unemployment. On the other hand, digital innovations can contribute to the creation of new jobs and occupations. Moreover, certain jobs are likely to persist as their task profiles will change.

It is therefore an open question to what extent workers are afraid of losing their jobs in the course of digital transformation processes. Evidence on the relationship between computerization and subjective job insecurity is scarce. From a sociological perspective, expanding our knowledge of the relationship between computerization and job insecurity is crucial with regard to its societal consequences, as subjective job insecurity has been shown to be detrimental to workers' mental and physical well-being (Lee et al. 2018).

In our study we seek to find out whether, on the individual level, subjective job insecurity intensifies as the degree of computerization in an occupation increases. In accordance with established theoretical job insecurity models (Anderson/Pontusson 2007, Huang et al. 2010, Hipp 2016), we distinguish between cognitive (i.e. the individual assessment of job loss probability) and affective job insecurity (i.e. the extent to which an individual worries about losing their job). We expect that occupation-specific computerization is positively related to affective job insecurity and assume this link to be mediated by cognitive insecurity and factors that affect individual chances in the labour market.

To test these assumptions, we analyse longitudinal data from four waves (2013-2016) of the German panel study 'Labour market and social security' (PASS). Computerisation is operationalised by the occupation-specific substitution potential, i.e. the extent to which an occupation could be substituted by computers or computer-controlled machines today (Dengler/Matthes 2018). We apply panel regression models to find out how changes in the substitution potential are related to changes in subjective insecurity.

Research has shown that subjective job insecurity is widespread among workers with low skills and unstable employment histories (Erlinghagen 2008, Berglund et al. 2014). Moreover, the potential of being substituted by computers is unequally distributed over different kinds of jobs and skill levels, with low-skilled tasks being particularly at risk (Dengler/Matthes 2018). In the empirical analysis we therefore compare workers of different skill levels to examine in what way digital technologies contribute to a reinforcement or reduction of social inequality.

### **Perceived Job Insecurity and Wage Distribution: A Semi-Parametric Decomposition Approach**

*Sergio Scicchitano, Biagetti, Marco, Antonio Chirumbolo University of Rome La Sapienza  
(INAPP Institute for the Analysis of Public Policies)*

Using the 2015 INAPP Survey on Quality of Work, this article employs a semi-parametric decomposition method to examine the relation between pay gap due and perceived job insecurity over the whole conditional wage distribution of a sample of Italian dependent workers. Results from counterfactual estimation highlight a mirror J-shaped pattern for the pay gap, with the lowest value around the 80th quantile: in other words, job insecurity seems to exert its negative effect particularly at the lowest quantiles, while it is milder for the quantiles soon and after the median. It starts increasing again at the highest quantiles. When the overall pattern is split into characteristics and coefficients effects, the former is found to be stronger than the latter, its relative percentage incidence on the overall effect being particularly high around the median (3/4 of the total).

### **Long-term Impacts of Unemployment on Subjective Job Insecurity of Employees in Germany**

*Rüdel, Julia  
(University of Duisburg-Essen)*

The consequences of unemployment are neither limited to the immediate situation, nor to the economic dimension. The impact of an unemployment experience reaches beyond the actual episode and impairs the individual decades after the unemployment experience. Furthermore, the impact crosses dimensions as unemployment not only affects the objective economic dimensions, but also subjective, social, psychological and political aspects of an individual's life.

Scar effects of unemployment are visible long-term impacts of unemployment on an individual's life persistent even after reemployment. While there is extensive research on economic as well as psychological scarring the long-term impacts of unemployment on the self-perceived job security of employees receive less attention: empirically the impact of unemployment on subjective job insecurity is only tested for as control variables and mostly restricted on cross-sectional data. Furthermore, a comprehensive theoretical approach is missing to explain why unemployment affects subjective job insecurity in the long-term.

Individuals with high levels of self-perceived job insecurity report reduced well-being and health, as well as personal and family problems. The feeling of being employed in an insecure job lowers the job motivation and commitment which leads to a decrease in productivity and therefore a lower outcome of companies and firms.

A dynamic theoretical model of stigmatization is developed by extending classical approaches to explain scar effects by the aspects of internalization of external ascriptions. The approach on established and outsiders of Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson, as well as the self-fulfilling prophecy of Robert K. Merton are the basis for expanding signal and human capital theory to explain the long lasting impact of job loss on the perception of the individual.

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Subsequently, a life-course perspective is used to conceptualize and test the impact of unemployment on subjective job insecurity of employees. The results based on data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) suggest a negative impact even after three years after reemployment, therefore a scarring effect, for employees from East Germany while West German employees experience a rather short-term 'scarring' regarding their self-perceived job security which lasts the year after reemployment.

## **Managing Health and Employment**

### **AMSTERDAM 1**

#### **Dogs at Work in Therapeutic University Settings**

*Wolkowitz, Carol, Nickie Charles*  
(University of Warwick)

This paper seeks to address the question of 'what work is', one of the WES Conference themes, by analysing the participation of pet dogs in university programmes that seek to reduce students' stress levels through interaction with dogs. Although there is a long tradition of distinguishing between 'working animals' and pets, the criteria used may not do justice to new roles for dogs, for instance dogs' engagement in therapeutic encounters, nor to new ways of understanding the boundaries between 'work' and 'life'. Our data comes from our study of visits by dogs and their human companions to a university library during 2015-16, organised by Pets as Therapy (PAT), a UK charity which coordinates visits by dogs and their humans to hospitals, residential homes, schools and, latterly, universities. In order to attend to the experiences of the dogs in these encounters, we observed the interactions between the dogs, their guardians, the students and university staff and recorded them through still photographs and video. We also conducted 16 interviews with the dogs' human companions, the staff who organised the visits and participating students. Our analysis explores how we can conceptualise the dogs' participation, especially what they do (and don't do) during these visits. Are they 'working' or simply being themselves, as some of our informants suggested? Do their activities and interactions with students involve a form of emotional labour? Asking whether the dogs are engaged in work may contribute to wider debates about the (changing) nature of work as well as key questions in the analysis of human-nonhuman animal relations.

#### **Biographical Disruption in the Context of Paid Employment During and after Treatment for Early Breast Cancer**

*Trusson, Diane, Clive Trusson*  
(University of Nottingham)

In this paper we bring together concepts from medical sociology and the sociology of work, to explore women's experiences of paid work during and after treatment for early breast cancer. The paper draws on Bury's (1982) theory of biographical disruption to offer a nuanced exploration of paid employment experiences reported by 22 women who were of working age when they were diagnosed with early breast cancer. Particular consideration is given to the disruption to their work identities and their interpersonal workplace relationships during and after breast cancer treatment.

While the study is theoretically framed around the concept of biographical disruption (Bury, 1982), aspects of sick role theory (Parsons, 1951) and social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) are also invoked in a supporting role. Through this theoretical lens we discuss the importance of paid work to a continuing sense of identity at a time of disruption to numerous aspects of the participants' lives.

The paper reports and discusses data from a larger study in which participants were encouraged to tell their 'cancer story' as a narrative in loosely structured interviews which ranged from 50 minutes to 4 hours. The average participant age was 47 at the time of diagnosis and 53 at the time of interview. Data were analysed using a combination of thematic and narrative analysis techniques. Unprompted, work emerged as a common theme across the interviews.

Multiple findings of the research are discussed in the paper, which is currently being prepared for publication. These findings include women describing a struggle to maintain their work identity while experiencing side-effects of treatment such as fatigue, that often continued long after formal treatments had ended.

We also discuss issues concerning the experience of returning to work after formal treatment. These included enforced reduction of hours and expectations from management and colleagues to resume their previous workloads without due consideration for the physical and mental changes resulting from their breast cancer treatment. Central to many reported experiences were relationships with managers and colleagues, where supportive relationships seemed to result in more satisfactory experiences of working through the treatment period and/or returning to work after treatment.

Finally, we discuss changes to work situations reported by women following breast cancer treatment. Sometimes participants were unable to resume their former work due to physical changes. In addition, some participants reported a change in attitude to paid work as a consequence of having had a life-threatening illness. This included apparent

changes in priorities, leading to a desire to reduce their hours or seek different work. Several participants expressed a desire to work supporting other women with similar experiences, including doing voluntary work. This indicated the continuing importance of work in the participants' lives and to their identities.

The paper contributes to the sociology of work and sociology of health and illness literatures by providing insights into the importance of work identity and workplace relationships at times of physical and psychological disruption.

### **The Last Taboo? Menopause and its Impact on the Working Lives of Women in the Police Force**

*Atkinson, Carol, Jo Duberley, Fiona Carmichael*  
(Manchester Metropolitan University)

This paper examines the impact of menopause on the working lives of older women. This is an important project as older women are an increasingly important part of an ageing UK workforce. The employment rate for women over 50 is currently 67.2% (ONS, 2018) and has been increasing year on year (from 58.3% in 2008). Given that the menopause typically occurs around age 52 and lasts four to eight years, a substantial number of these women will be menopausal. Whilst a recent government report (Brewis et al., 2017) bemoaned the lack of empirical evidence of women's experience of the menopause at work, the little evidence that does exist shows that the majority of women report a negative impact on their working lives (Griffiths et al., 2010).

As it has been argued that economic participation enables improved wellbeing, self-esteem and social support for older women (Griffiths et al., 2010), there is a strong case for supporting their continued employment. Our research is situated within a diversity and inclusion agenda and seeks to underpin improvements in quality of working lives by enabling a better understanding of women's experiences, raising awareness of menopause and challenging its status as a taboo subject (Chrisler, 2013). We explore both symptoms of and attitudes towards menopause transition in the workplace (Jack et al., 2016).

We have undertaken pilot studies with two police forces via an online survey collecting both quantitative data and qualitative open-format responses. We have analysed the 1087 survey completions and preliminary findings suggest:

- A substantial number of women experienced symptoms that they considered to be 'bothersome' e.g. among the peri/post menopausal sub-sample the mean score for 'sleep problems' was 4.42 and 68% (n=573) scored 5-6 on the 0-6 scale; the mean score for 'hot flushes' was 3.98 and 54.5% scored 5-6 (n=462);
- Factor analysis suggested the experience of symptoms fell into three groups and there were some significant relationship between these factors and measures of wellbeing and job satisfaction in the survey:
- Factor 1: Primary (physical health & emotional) symptoms e.g. hot flushes, sleep problems, fatigue, mood swings, low confidence
- Factor 2: Menstrual symptoms: heavy or irregular periods
- Factor 3: Secondary physical outcomes e.g. hair loss, brittle nails, allergies, digestive problems, muscle tension, osteoporosis
- There were concerns over the perceptions of managers and colleagues e.g. menopause means that managers/colleagues perceive women as less competent and this contributed to non-disclosure of menopausal status/symptoms.
- A sizeable minority of women are/were not prepared for/aware of menopause transition;
- Qualitative data was also powerful in revealing experiences of ridicule and hostility in male-dominated environments

Our preliminary findings promise to make an important contribution to diversity and inclusion research: they begin to build an empirical evidence base on menopause in the workplace, demonstrating that both symptoms and attitudes can be problematic. We are developing a full paper that explores this in detail and suggests support and interventions to improve the working lives of older women.

## **Rethinking Paid and Unpaid Work**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

### **Emerging Configurations of (Low) Paid and Unpaid Work: Revisiting Glucksmann's Total Social Organisation of Labour**

*Taylor, Rebecca*  
(University of Southampton)

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Glucksmann's 1995 article 'Why 'Work'? Gender and the 'Total Social Organization of Labour' represented a paradigm shift in the way work was theorised; an urgent call to witness at macro and micro levels the connections and (inter) relations between different forms of work (paid and unpaid, public and private, formal and informal), their history and their embeddedness in wider economic relations. As such it offered a conceptual framework for rethinking unpaid work in the public domain; voluntary work, for example, which at the time was ossified in a set of normative policy debates that were blind to the economic relations which defined it. Twenty years later in the context of a restructured labour market characterised by increasing insecurity the TSOL continues to provide a valuable lens through which to examine emergent forms and shifting boundaries between (low) paid and unpaid labour and new ways in which that labour is organised and configured at macro and micro levels. In this paper I draw on recent empirical studies to explore two specific cases: 1. Unpaid work in the public sector following a decade of neoliberal reform and austerity financing and 2. Emergent forms of paid and unpaid digital labour in the digital economy; blogging, hacking, click-work, and freelance gigs. These two cases viewed through the lens of the Total Social Organisation of labour provide insight into the proliferation, fragmentation and segmentation of forms of unpaid labour, the multiple configurations that exist in the relationship between low pay and no pay in different sectors and ultimately the invisibility of this work; disguised and misrecognised as not economic, not work and not productive even whilst it is all of those things.

### **Is the Two Fold Classification of Work as 'Paid' and 'Unpaid' Categories Obsolete? Reflection from India**

*Akram, Mohammed, Bazaz, R Y*

*(Aligarh Muslim University)*

#### Introduction

Industrial economy revolutionised the world of work not only by separating the 'house' and 'sites of work' but also creating the 'paid in cash' type of work. Paid in cash culture of work severely undermined the importance of 'paid in kind' and other types of works. The distinction becomes more damaging in the developing societies where the industrial economy promotes the knowledge economy but does not replace the agricultural economy. Seeing work only from monetary perspective severely undermine the importance of 'paid in kind', 'unpayable' and 'unpaid' works up to the extent that these get considered not only 'out of work force' but also 'out of labour force'. India is following such parameters in defining work which indeed promotes economic, social and political exclusion. This empirical study brings new insights on issues related to categorisation of work as 'paid' and 'unpaid' and suggests re-categorisation.

#### Methodology

Going beyond the conventional definitions of labour force, as practised by Census of India and National Sample Survey Office, this study considers all members of community, with the exception of students and dependent population, as part of the labour force and observes the conditions of employment, unemployment and work on the basis of field data. This study was conducted in Srinagar district of Jammu & Kashmir (India). Interview Schedule was used for collecting data from all 704 eligible respondents.

#### Findings

Out of 312 total female respondents, 198 (63.4%) are married and out of the later 115 (58%) are conventionally labelled as 'out of the labour force' as they are not engaged in any 'economic activity outside the household'. Out of these 115 women 49 (42.6%) are highly qualified (bachelors and above and /or professional degrees) and remaining have educational attainment varying between primary to senior secondary levels. These respondents are generally engaged in household level production and consumption of goods and services including care of family members, managing of economic resources, production of social and human capitals etc. Such social and cultural capital generating works are also having long term economic values. Hence labelling all such household based 'human development and care' work as 'unpaid' is unscientific and unethical also.

#### Conclusion

A two-fold classification of work i.e. paid and unpaid fails to recognise any work not done for immediate monetary gain as work and hence this is over simplification of work. There are several works which are 'unpayable' in monetary terms (such as child rearing or healthcare at family level and Do-it-Yourself works at corporate level) and the agency performing such works do not look at them from payment lens. So work needs to be divided in three categories, 'paid', 'unpayable' and 'unpaid'. The inclusion of unpayable category of work will be a recognition to not only human development and care work performed at family level but also to voluntary works performed at community level. This paper elaborates the sociological implications and benefits of this re-categorisation in terms of empowerment, dignity and long term social, cultural and human capital gains.

### **Work, Community, and Family Sources of Generative Feelings in Early Midlife**

*Krahn, Harvey, Jiawen Chen, Matthew D. Johnson*

*(University of Alberta)*



In his classic work *Childhood and Society*, Erik Erickson defined generativity as an individual's desire to leave a legacy through establishing and guiding the next generation and by engaging in creative and productive work that improves quality of life for others. Previous research has focused primarily on family life and community involvement as pathways to midlife generativity. This paper draws on sociological research by Mel Kohn and others that links participation in intrinsically rewarding work with long-term positive social and psychological outcomes to hypothesize that individuals employed in such jobs in midlife will experience a heightened sense of generativity, controlling on their civic engagement and family satisfaction. We theorize that intrinsically rewarding work can involve training less experienced workers to complete complex work tasks, inventing and building new products, organizational structures, or social programs that could benefit others, or providing useful services to appreciative customers and clients. In short, intrinsically rewarding jobs might allow workers to feel they are establishing and guiding the next generation, both in the workplace but also in society more broadly.

We analyze data ( $n = 373$  employed individuals) from the most recent wave of the longitudinal Edmonton Transitions Study (ETS) which has tracked a cohort of high school seniors (age 18 in 1985) for 25 years until they were 43 years of age in 2010. Generative concern, our dependent variable, is measured with a six item index derived from the Loyola Generativity Scale (e.g., 'others would say that you have made unique contributions to the society'; 'you have important skills you can pass along to others'; 'you like to teach things to people'). Self-reported intrinsic work rewards are measured with a three-variable scale containing widely used items ('the job lets me use my skills and abilities'; 'the work is interesting'; 'the job gives me a feeling of accomplishment'). Civic engagement is a five-item cumulative scale measuring participation (yes, no) in the past 12 months in five different types of community organizations, while family satisfaction is measured with two scales, a six item index of parenting success and a two-item index of troubles with children. Our analysis also controls on gender, respondents' educational attainment, family of origin social-economic status (educational attainment of respondents' parents), and concern with social issues at age 18 (a six item scale).

Preliminary findings show that, controlling on civic engagement and family satisfaction, as well as other control variables, involvement in intrinsically rewarding work is positively associated with feelings of generativity. Additional control variables (e.g., occupational status of current job) will be added to our model in planned further analyses. This study broadens the scope of research on generativity beyond the community and family domains, while highlighting the psychological and social value of intrinsically rewarding work.

## **Inequality**

### **BERLIN 1**

#### **A Qualitative Investigation into the Experiences of LGBT Workers in the Construction Sector**

*Barnard, Sarah, Andrew Dainty, Sian Lewis*  
(Loughborough University)

Annual surveys with construction workers have shown that lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people face a hostile working environment due to their sexual and gender identities (Ramchurn, 2015a; 2015b). A similar situation has also been highlighted in relation to women (e.g. Watts, 2009), ethnic minorities (Caplan et al., 2009) and minority groups including those with disabilities (Briscoe, 2005). This interdisciplinary study explores the experiences of minorities in the construction sector by conducting 20 in-depth qualitative interviews (data collection over halfway and will be completed by early summer 2018) with people who identify as LGBT. The paper draws on queer theory and looks specifically at career or identity overlap, organizational and human resources perspectives, discrimination Identity, and social issues and experiences (McFadden, 2015; Rumens 2013). Therefore, the interviews focus on experiences of identity, career and industry practices with a view to explore the differential experiences of lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender people. Our analysis will also consider how people, who are out or not at work, or work on site or in offices, may have different experiences.

The analysis identifies the performance of gender and sexuality and the challenging of heteronormative cultures in what is often seen as a sector unwelcoming to those who are not heterosexual white men. While LGBT are a small constituency (between 0.2-1% according to the Construction Industry Council's Diversity Report ,2015) the study of gender performativity that their consideration requires promises much in terms of challenging understandings of the sector and its workplace climate. Some of the findings will focus on examples of good practice in terms of construction organisations building more inclusive working cultures. In-depth research on the experiences of workers and the effectiveness of policies and actions to address issues around discrimination and inclusion is crucial if the sector is to successfully tackle these issues and benefit from a more diverse workforce. This paper fills a significant gap in the research landscape on equality and diversity in the construction sector that has previously focused more on the experiences of women as well as providing in-depth insights into the experiences of this less heard constituency.

#### **On Being Professional: LGB Employees Negotiating Professionalism and Sexuality in Cyprus**

*Christofidou, Andria, Christiana Ierodiakonou*

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*(University of Cyprus)*

This paper contributes to the growing body of work on LGB people in organisations (Ng and Rumens, 2017; Rumens and Kerfoot, 2009; Williams and Guiffre, 2011) by providing insights into LGB employees in Cyprus and the complexities which characterize the process of constructing and negotiating the self as professional. Cyprus is regarded a widely traditional and heteronormative context (Drydakis, 2014; Onoufriou, 2009). Likewise, the Cypriot employment field is conditioned through, and often reproduces, ideals, imageries and professional roles which legalize binary gender identities, and accordingly maintain heterosexuality as the normative sexuality. Heterosexuality in its turn contributes into the maintenance of dichotomous gender identities and oppositional, as well as hierarchical, relationships between femininity and masculinity, and men and women (Jackson, 1999).

This paper draws on a qualitative study which employs in-depth interviews with female and male employees identifying as lesbian, bisexual and gay in Cyprus. We analyse participants' understandings of what constitutes the 'professional self' and the processes through which they construct themselves, and others, as professionals. We ask who is considered a professional and who is not? What are the qualities which make one professional? Does, and if so how, (non-hetero)sexuality influence this process? We place particular attention on the negotiation of non-heterosexualities in the process of constructing themselves and others as professionals, and we thus engage with debates on agency and structure, performance and embodiment, transgressive acts, the consequences and limits of transgression.

We highlight the challenges LGB employees often face and the spaces they find to exercise agency and (re)negotiate prevailing notions around gender and (hetero)sexuality in organisations. We provide thus an analysis which deals with matters of structure and agency in organization cultures, gender and sexuality norms, and (the limits of) transgression. Like Rumens and Kerfoot (2009) we argue that despite the growing body of research on LGB employees and LGB people in organisational life, knowledge remains limited on how LGB individuals construct and negotiate their professional identities. We thus focus on LGB individuals and analyse the tactics they adopt in their professional lives and the ways organizational structures enable or restrict them.

**Death, Work, Inequality**

*Dean, Deborah*

*(University of Warwick)*

This paper develops a new way of understanding what underpins employment advantage and disadvantage in relation to age and gender. To do this it refines the concept of patriarchy. Qualitative and quantitative data on the labour process of professional actors in theatre, TV and film, collected over 15 years from 24 countries, indicate that class theories alone cannot explain why, in a longstanding gender-integrated occupation, women are concentrated in the younger age categories of actors, with fewer 'women's' roles (and remaining women workers) over 40, fewer leading roles, and with lower pay in the higher echelons. What emerged from the various projects was striking similarity in employment advantage and disadvantage across very different socio-political-legal contexts. Countries with institutional histories as diverse as post-communist Slovenia, the co-ordinated market economy exemplar Sweden, and the dominant Anglo-Saxon model of the US, exhibit the same patterns. The existence and persistence of these gendered (aged and racialized) employment outcomes across very different national contexts suggested a more fundamental explanation. As most acting roles are sex-typed (legally exempted), there is no clear general 'men's' interest in this constriction of access to work. There is however a discernible patriarchal impulse, if this impulse is understood to represent the drive towards dominion rather than a focus on gendered interest. Pollert (1996: 643), in line with a number of feminist critiques of patriarchy, argues that, in contrast to class: 'There is no intrinsic motor or dynamic within 'patriarchy' which can explain its self-perpetuation.' Therefore she and others see patriarchy as a descriptive rather than explanatory concept. However, the argument of this paper is that patriarchy does have an intrinsic dynamic: fear, and therefore denial, of death.

This idea builds on Becker's (1971) synthesis of philosophy, psychology, literature and social science on the human condition. To function, humans have to repress their awareness of mortality and Becker (1971) describes the 'hero projects' we create to achieve this denial (building businesses, raising families, waging wars) in an effort to overcome our 'creatureliness'. His discussion quotes Marx's phrase "I am nothing and should be everything" in underscoring the anxiety caused by our bodies' control of our fates. Becker's argument is that 'control of the anxiety this produces is obtained through attributing or withholding value to others.' In this paper I connect Becker's position to Hyman's (1978) discussion of ideology and occupational worth and the connections of both of these to gendered age disadvantage. Through examination the only workers paid to represent us to ourselves, I argue that intrinsic drive in patriarchy is projection of the fear of ageing and thus end of life, on to women. And that this apparently abstract and unexpressed fear results in the patterns of disadvantage with which all scholars of work are familiar.

## **Non for Profit and Voluntary Work**

### **BERLIN 2**

**Inter-organizational Collaboration and the Experience of Non-Profit Workers: The Case of Alliance Contracting***Currie, Denise, Martin McCracken**(Queen's University Belfast)*

A concerning picture is emerging about the experiences of non-profit workers when delivering public services under contract with statutory bodies. In the context of a challenging funding environment, it has been reported that some workers in the non-profit sector are subject to work intensification and poor terms and conditions, alongside what is perceived to be the exploitation of their goodwill, commitment and loyalty towards a social cause (Cunningham 2010, Venter et al. 2017). This picture is often attributed to a neo-liberal approach to the delivery of public services, under which non-profit organisations (NPOs) are commissioned by statutory bodies in hierarchical 'buyer-supplier' relationships characterised by uneven power dimensions, stringent performance monitoring and tight budgets. To address this picture, more equal relationships between parties have been widely articulated within the political discourses of successive governments, but up to now, this rhetoric has rarely arisen in reality (Davis, 2011). A more recent novel approach to contracting between various sectors for the delivery of public services is emerging in pilot studies in England. Alliance Contracting involves the adoption of formalised collaborations under which contractual arrangements are designed to allow for appropriate risk sharing and equal decision making (AVECO, 2015). Using a case study approach, this research explores how such an arrangement influences the experiences of those working for NPOs.

Few authors, with the exception of Milbourne (2013), have studied the impact that collaboration has on worker experiences. When considering collaborative arrangements, often characterised as informal and which promise to be equal and democratic, Milbourne (2013) notes that many non-profit workers were frustrated about their role and bemoaned that their influence is weak. Milbourne explains such experiences by exposing the risks of collaboration, noting how the increasing use of competitive tendering processes and reducing costs has affected collaboration in the non-profit sector. Power differentials between collaborators, the dominance of performance measures, lack of trust, competition for funds are cited as barriers to effective collaboration. However, although Milbourne's research offers insights into collaboration, it does not explicitly analyse the impact of Alliance Contracting for employees.

The paper sets out the framework for Alliance contracting, and demonstrates its potential for improving outcomes for public service delivery. Using the example of a Mental Health Alliance (MHA), it analyses how Alliance Contracting facilitated genuine collaboration amongst all levels of the partners involved. The findings suggest that the Alliance produced positive experiences for workers where their expertise was genuinely respected and they were able to challenge decision making because of a fairer distribution of power and risk. There also appeared to be greater scope for cross-fertilization of ideas and opportunities for learning and career development. However, a number of issues also emerged linked to pay parity issues and different working practices across organizations. These did not appear to fatally threaten the MHA, but the paper does explore how such issues may cause disruption should the Alliance be scaled up for the delivery of other services.

**'A double edged sword cuts both ways': Personalisation and the Employment Relations Impacts of Increasing Customer Control in Voluntary Sector Social Care***Young, Doug**(University of Strathclyde)*

Personalisation and Self-Directed Support (SDS) are premised on the notion of improving care by increasing choice, autonomy and control among service users (Glasby and Littlechild, 2016; Pearson et al., 2014). By effectively controlling their own finances, and choosing who provides their care and what form it should take, service users are, in a sense, newly positioned as 'customers' (Korczynski, 2002; Korczynski, Shire, Frenkel and Tam, 2000). For organisations and individual employees alike, a new requirement exists to satisfy customer-oriented norms, which has a considerable impact on the nature of work.

Personalisation is driven by a dual imperative of increasing quality while decreasing costs – in other words, providing more for less (Baines, Cunningham and Fraser, 2011). Where funding resources are not in place to sufficiently support care, the shortfall is made up by workers via factors such as donative labour (Becker et al., 2011) and unpaid overtime (Almond and Kendall, 2000). While these self-sacrificing behaviours have existed in the voluntary sector for some time (Baines and Cunningham, 2011), the accelerating uptake of SDS, combined with the deepening and worsening impacts of austerity, mean these coping mechanisms may no longer be adequate to ensure continuing service provision, or organisational survival. In the Scottish context, this is exacerbated by the fact that personalisation was introduced into the pre-existing context of austerity (Manthorpe et al., 2014), and is delivered via a differing model of government (Moffat, et al., 2012, Mooney and Poole, 2004).

The paper will report the findings from four case studies situated in care-providing voluntary sector organisations, comprising nearly 60 interviews, which examine the effect of changes to the employment relationship caused by personalisation within the context of austerity. The impacts of these pressures are examined in relation to notions of breach and violation of the psychological contract.

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The papers findings demonstrate that organisational attempts to accommodate lower funding have resulted in a reduction in terms and conditions of employment, including lack of wage rises, lower pension contribution, and an overall failure to keep pace with inflation. The need to be reactive to customer needs has resulted in attempts to entrench flexibility via managing sickness and absence more closely, the prevalence of short fixed-term contracts at the expense of permanent ones, and part-time and sessional contracts over full-time. The analysis which results shows that new and potentially untenable impacts on employment relations are resulting in breach and violation of the psychological contract, which manifest themselves collectively as explicit tensions in the social order. These tensions present themselves in observable factors such as employees working to contract, reduction in Organisational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB), growing union membership, and increasingly high turnover. Ultimately, while SDS improves the experience of care for service users, it also significantly intensifies the process of work, and escalating requirements for cost-cutting results in a degradation to terms and conditions of employment, which poses significant challenges to effective employment relations.

### **Learning from New Cross People's Library: Making Visible the Infrastructural Practices of Unpaid Public Library Workers in Austerity Britain**

*Corble, Alice*

*(Goldsmiths University of London)*

The widespread growing trend of replacing public-sector provision of statutory services with community or voluntary forms of organisation and provision signals the urgent importance of understanding the shifting dynamics of work within in this context. Read in the context of the impact of austerity, these trends and dynamics are ripe for scrutiny in the provisioning of public library services. Since 2010, 8,000 jobs in UK public libraries – approximately a quarter of the overall total – have disappeared, while over the same period 15,500 volunteers have been recruited to support or run library services (BBC FOI data, 2016). The nature and scope of these volunteer roles are largely not subject to monitoring or evaluation processes, which means they become not only invisible as working practices keeping services going, but also throws into uncertainty the sustainability of this form of provisioning. Drawing on a year-long ethnography conducted by the author as a volunteer in a New Cross Learning (NXL), an inner-city community-run library, this paper makes visible these hidden practices and labour relations, and asks: what do these unpaid workers do to keep both themselves and those who use the library service and space, moving and surviving, and how are these doings constituted infrastructurally?

This paper examines what happens when the public form of infrastructural supply is in effect 'switched off' or withdrawn, and another form replaces it through unpaid, improvised and collaborative forms of provisioning. I build on Miriam Glucksmann's and Rebecca Taylor's work (2005) on extending the conceptual boundaries of unpaid work by adding the novel dimension of conceiving of voluntary staff providing public library services as a form of 'people as infrastructure' - a platform providing for and reproducing life in the city (AbdouMaliq Simone, 2004). My data also shows how these infrastructural practices are allied with overlapping practices of social activism, thereby further complicating how we conceive of and theorise unpaid work. I argue that in current economic and governmental contexts, theories of volunteering and theories of social movements urgently need to be thought together As an entity that is both produced by and resistant to austerity and welfare reform, NXL leads a double life: in the daytime its publics are produced through the unpaid care and repair practices and provisions needed to survive everyday life; while after-hours, the library becomes a ganglion for politically organised practices that counter the powers that dictate and produce that reality. This paper reveals the power dynamics, tensions and contradictions that exist within under-theorised social relations between volunteering and social activism.

### **Targeting Volunteers' Productivity: Managing Unwaged Workers in a UK Charity**

*Read, Rosie*

In post-Fordist conditions, the boundaries between work and life are increasingly difficult to discern. In view of this, it is more important than ever that sociological concepts and theories of 'work' extend beyond the conventional focus on waged labour, to encompass a variety of unwaged activities which are continually harnessed by and aligned to the requirements, spaces and conditions of the waged labour market. This critical perspective underpins some recent studies of volunteering. Organised volunteering has conventionally been approached as public or civic participation, and therefore outside of 'work' proper. However, various recent studies have explored how possibilities for engagement in volunteering, as well as the experience and meaning of it for volunteers, is shaped in various ways by post-Fordist labour market conditions. These studies usually focus on volunteers' identities, i.e., how their social locations within waged work and wider economic structures (intersected by class, race and gender) constitute their orientation towards, and experience of, voluntary work.

This paper contributes new insights to this debate on volunteering as work. Instead of focusing on volunteers' identities, it will critically examine the logics by which volunteers' labour is coordinated, organised and disciplined – an area much less well researched. I will first review the ways in which human resource management strategies have been adopted within the UK voluntary sector, promising charitable and voluntary organisations new means of making their volunteers' contributions of work more efficient and productive. I then turn to empirical findings from a qualitative research project

which examined the implementation of new volunteer management practices at a UK charity providing telephone and online counselling. The setting of organisational productivity targets transformed the ways volunteers' contributions of time and effort were defined, supervised and disciplined. Ultimately, the work volunteers were expected to undertake significantly intensified, in ways which parallel work in commercial contact (call) centres. I conclude that greater critical attention to logics underpinning how voluntary work is practically coordinated and managed can shed new light on its complex alignments with waged work.

## **Agency and the Gig/Platform Economy**

### **DUBLIN 1**

#### **Self-marketization in the Gig Economy: A Study of Female Fitness Trainers**

*Tan, Scott, Yew Kwan Tong, Chia, Celeste En, Lim, Janet*  
(National University of Singapore)

##### **Overview**

An increasing proportion of the workforce have taken up a new form of on-demand employment in the so-called "gig economy" (Friedman, 2014). In this neoliberal schema of things, workers are not bounded to any supra level employment contract, but instead provide "just-in-time" work that is compensated by clients on a "pay-as-you-go" basis (Stefano, 2016).

Gig work inheres fragility into the economic security of its practitioners. Where business and livelihood continuity depend on service differentiation rather than commodification, a key success factor seems to rest on gig workers' competence in self-branding and marketization (Lair & Cheney, 2005). Our study looks at the special case of female fitness trainers operating in the gig economy (freelancers, independent contractors, or entrepreneurs) to examine the transformative space that foments emergence and development of the personal brand.

##### **Stage of research**

Our study is ongoing and in its exploratory phase to interview 10 female fitness trainers. We are sourcing them through personal contacts, social media solicitation, and snowballing. Interviewing has begun in earnest and our current schedule includes group trainers (e.g., Muay Thai and Tabata classes) as well as personal trainers (bodybuilding). Data collection is slated to conclude by end of March, which would allow ample time for dedicated analysis and paper writing.

##### **Anticipated themes and preliminary findings**

We conceived of the topic at the intersection of human capital development, marketing, and current trends in work fragmentation.

Human capital in management literature is commonly discussed as a collective organizational resource (Ployhart, 2015); in fitness trainers however, it is uniquely embodied, serving as fodder for self-branding and differentiation. Specifically, human capital in fitness trainers is evocative of both physical (e.g., body build, physical attractiveness) and intellectual capital (e.g., professional accreditation in personal training, knowledge of anatomy, nutrition and other relevant areas). We expect that fitness trainers would strategically apply aesthetic and emotional labor to accent their human capital (Harvey, Vachhani, & Williams, 2014), thus recommending themselves to clients, employers, partners, and stakeholder agencies in the fitness industry network.

Preliminary findings indicate that the personal brand emerges from a continuing labor of co-creation with clients (predominantly female) that is characterized by reflexivity, emotionality, and communality. The brand is interpreted and validated by clients in a reciprocal exchange charged with aesthetic representations – a test of its fitness for consumption – and conjoins with images propagated via the trainer's social media outlets. In their role as cultural intermediaries (Maguire, 2008), female fitness trainers appear to finely navigate aesthetic and presentation norms in the co-creation process.

We intend to pursue this "brand labor" as one potential theme in our paper, and to evaluate if feminine predisposition towards communality limits scalability of their personal brand.

#### **Self-organisation in the Gig Economy: Hidden Networks Against New Sources of Insecurity**

*Wood, Alex, Vili Lehdonvirta*  
(University of Oxford)

One and a half million adults in Britain participate in the 'gig economy' at least once a month (Lepanjuuri et al., 2018). The gig economy refers to people using online platforms to sell their labour (Taylor et al., 2017). Local gig economy workers in the food delivery (Deliveroo, UberEats, Foodora etc.), courier (AmazonFlex, City Sprint etc.) and transportation (Uber, Lyft etc.) sectors have attracted much public attention. However, around one-third of the gig economy consists of remote digital work usually undertaken in the home (Lepanjuuri et al., 2018). This platform-based digital work is growing rapidly and includes: data entry; admin; translation; transcription; internet marketing; content creation; online research; website design and programming; graphic design (Kässi and Lehdonvirta, 2016). Yet unlike the more visible strikes and protests in the local gig economy, little attention has been paid to collective action and

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organisation among remote gig economy workers. We seek to rectify this situation through a mixed method study of collective organisation in the remote gig economy. Data includes: scraped social media posts related to increased platform fees (N=1110); semi-structured interviews (total N=70) with remote gig economy workers in the US (N=20), UK (N=9), and Philippines (N=36), and with freelancer community advocates (N=5); and participant observation of freelancer community events (N=11).

We find that informal self-organisation via social media to be common. Although those in the remote gig economy often operated as part of a global workforce, their self-organisation tended to be fragmented along national and occupational lines. In fact, some workers were attempting to overcome the 'online' nature of their work by building face-to-face relations and developing organisations in their physical locality. We trace the desire for offline collective organisation and voice to hopes of reducing insecurity. In particular, these workers face, what we term, 'algorithmic insecurity' as a result of their reliance on platforms. Platform-based matching algorithms lie at the heart of the gig economy. Algorithmic matching is based-on reputation systems informed by a workers' platform work history; with client feedback being particularly important. Reputation systems thus locked some workers into using platforms which could unilaterally increase their fees in the knowledge that workers would be unable to take their platform reputation to a competitor platform. Moreover, negative client feedback was felt to significantly damage a workers' future earning ability. In some cases, workers refunded clients and provided their labour for free in order to avoid negative feedback. Fear of harsh feedback and changes to platforms were sources of considerable worry for workers. Another basis of insecurity was the exclusion of workers from social security protections. Workers also faced complex and uncertain taxation arrangements. Their unconventional relationship with the state was, therefore, another cause of worry. In this context the development of collective organisation was seen as a potential way to counter these sources of insecurity through increasing workers' voice vis-à-vis platforms and the state. The engagement of US remote gig workers in the Freelancers Union was a particularly clear example of the attempt to realise such hopes.

**Life and Work in the Platform Economy**

*Chris Forde, Joyce, Simon, Mark Stuart, Danat Valizade, Gabriella Alberti, Kate Hardy, Vera Trappmann*  
(Leeds University Business School)

The term 'Uberisation' has become a byword for recent and ongoing transformations of work. Yet, the significance of these developments remains contested. For some, Uberisation signals the end of the standard model of employment, part of a runaway race to the bottom. For others - especially, for platform companies and many state-level regulators - online technologies offer a new realm of freedom from the tyranny of regular working hours. Indeed, Uber has declared that its employment model 'creates opportunity for millions ... who are seeking greater control of their working lives', especially the 'unemployed', 'underemployed', 'seniors', 'those with childcare or other caring responsibilities', 'people with disabilities', and 'immigrants' (Uber 2018: 4).

More sceptical voices note the low pay and long hours, insecure contracts, heightened power imbalances, lack of employment rights and social protections, lack of training, increased health and safety risks, and continuing or heightened discrimination, which are commonplace within the platform economy (overview in Forde et al. 2017).

This paper adopts a critical but empirically-grounded approach. Despite growing research interest, there remains a significant shortage of systematic investigation into the life experiences of platform workers. Quantitative research has concentrated mainly on workers in online platforms such as Amazon Mechanical Turk (Berg 2016), while qualitative accounts often focus on relatively easy to reach groups such as Uber drivers in North America (Calo and Rosenblat 2017).

By contrast, we present findings from ongoing mixed methods research. We combine an original survey of 1200 online platform workers, a follow-up survey conducted twelve months later, and semi-structured interviews with 40 survey respondents. We examine quantitative data on working time and pay, job quality and wellbeing, together with qualitative evidence concerning the experiences of this hard to reach group. Our research features a longitudinal element, comparing the experiences of platform workers over a twelve-month period, examining paths into and out of Uberised work.

Consequently, we aim to shed light on the experience of workers in this latest iteration of home-working, including the complex intersections of domestic and public spheres - in what is effectively a 21st century version of the putting out system (Kenney and Zysman 2016).

## **Transnational Employment**

### **ROTUNDA**

**Posted Work Regime: Negotiating Ambiguous Labour Mobility and Institutional In-betweenness**

*Matyska, Anna*  
(KU Leuven)

In the consequence of global capitalist transformations, work has become increasingly transnationalized. In the European Union, posted work emerged as one of the politically more pronounced and controversial examples of politically stimulated transnationalization of labour and capital. In this paper, I will look at the phenomenon of posted work as a particular mobility and employment regime which creates politically legitimate spaces of exception and legal uncertainty (Lillie 2012) and investigate how they are negotiated on the ground by Polish workers – the leading group of posted workforce in the EU. I will draw on multi-sited fieldwork conducted in Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Poland in 2014-2017, consisting of interviews and participant observation among Polish posted workers in construction and shipyards, as well as complemented with the ethnographic analysis of online materials: discussion forums and online communities pertinent to posted work in Poland. I will show that to understand workers' negotiation of transnational in-betweenness and ambiguous location, one has to look at the entirety of workers' relationships' within the institutional landscape of posting, including their larger embeddedness within Polish labour diaspora, relationship with and loyalties to particular employers, interactions with trade unionists, state officials in Poland and destination countries as well as private service providers including accountants and lawyers. As I will argue, workers' practices are not just self-serving, but contribute to the incremental institutional change (Streeck and Thelen 2005), through the disambiguation of posted work rules and regulation and raised awareness of its particular advantages and drawbacks, and occasionally lead to larger collective action supported by trade unions. Thus, workers are not only negotiating the institutional ambiguity of posted work but also affect its institutional shape at the transnational level. In theoretical terms, the paper is developed in dialogue between sociology of work and industrial relations, social policy and anthropology of transnational mobility.

## **Life and Job Satisfaction**

### **DUBLIN 2**

#### **Can't get no (job) satisfaction: A Regression Analysis of Social Class Indicators and Attitudes to Decent Work**

*Burke, Ciaran, Vanessa Dodds*  
(University of Derby)

David Blustein's Psychology of Working Theory (2006) provides us with an inclusive approach to measure individuals' attitudes toward their working lives across the socio-economic scale. Of particular significance is his concept of decent work, which focuses on issues concerning access to benefits, complementary value systems and work-life balance. The labour market within a late modern context is characterised by increased volatility and insecurity (Charles and Jones, 2003; Hyman and Gumbrell-McCormick, 2017). As such, there are disparities between levels of decent work by various sectors, often mediated by social class background (Crompton, 2008; Atkinson, 2010, 2017). This paper will be framed through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the 'field of the possibles' (1984: 110), here he proposes that forms of capitals which individuals have access to will construct boundaries of aspirations and expectations across a range of fields, including the labour market. Taking this concept as our theoretical point of departure, the paper will examine the relationship between social class and job satisfaction across a range of employment sectors.

This paper is based on empirical findings from an ongoing international research project which is validating the measure of decent work for the UK context. Using purposive sampling techniques, the research recruited 357 respondents who were in work either on a part time or a full time basis. Data collection was facilitated by an online survey using the SurveyMonkey platform. Using linear modelling techniques, the paper will examine the relationship between four social class indicators including household income, self-reported social class, an indication of social class using the Macarthur scale of subjective status on job satisfaction and NS-SEC occupational classification and subjective interpretations of job satisfaction against objective measurements of decent work including job security, access to benefits and promotion opportunities.

#### **Human Capital, Job Satisfaction and Talent Retention**

*Li, Qian, Franco Cordaro, Claudia Senik*  
(University of Oxford)

This study investigates whether and how human capital affects employee' job satisfaction, and the knock-on impacts of these measures on talent retention, in China. More specifically, we explore the impact of human capital drivers (including corporate culture, prospect of upward mobility (POUM), trust in the firm, line manager effect), salary, job performance and job level on job satisfaction and talent retention.

In order to establish a representative sample of employees from a multinational company, we conducted an original questionnaire survey in Mars, Incorporated in China. After conducting a pilot face-to-face interviews with 23 Mars employees from various segments and functions, we sent the questionnaire to 1073 Mars employees in China. We received 487 effective responses (approximately 45.39% of the target). Among the responses, we excluded those that had finished the survey in less than 10 minutes, obtaining a final sample of 450 employees. In addition, we collected data on employee characteristics and job performance in the past five years, compiled by the human resources department.

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This paper adopts both theoretical and empirical research, building on mixed theories (strategic human resource management, talent management and resource-based theories) and empirical regression models. Based on a constructed human capital index, we investigate the drivers of heterogeneity in employees' human capital for two assigned groups using a paired t-test and a Wilcoxon signed-rank test. We then apply a multiple regression model to investigate the determinants of job satisfaction based on pre-designed independent variables and control variables. In addition, we employ a probit regression model with similar setting to examine the likelihood of employees to stay with Mars.

The initial empirical analysis shows that among the human capital drivers, line manager effect and POUM have stronger impact. We find that better learning and promotion opportunities and better line manager style are associated with improved job satisfaction and stronger willingness to stay with Mars. We find higher salary does not necessarily increase job satisfaction, while the progression of salary in the past five years has a positive impact on job satisfaction. Trust in the firm positively impacts on job satisfaction only, having no impact on talent retention. Corporate culture preferring flexibility and autonomy lead associates to reduced job satisfaction and less willingness to stay with Mars. Other factors including job performance and job level have no significant impact on job satisfaction and talent retention.

### **For Richer or Poorer, 'Til Career Us Do Part: Spousal Spill-Over Between Job and Life Satisfaction**

*Plagnol, Anke, Vanessa Gash, France S.M. Weil*  
(City, University of London)

Previous research suggests the existence of a spill-over effect of subjective well-being between partners, possibly due to assortative mating and sharing the same social environment. This has been explored mostly for life satisfaction (e.g., Guven, Senik, & Stichnoth, 2012; Powdthavee, 2009; Schimmack & Lucas, 2007; Wortman & Lucas, 2015).

Findings from the work-life balance/conflict literature demonstrate that working conditions may affect home life and vice versa. The extent to which work-family conflict is experienced partly varies by a couple's division of paid and unpaid work (Scott & Plagnol, 2012). These findings suggest that emotions stemming from the workplace do not simply spill over into different domains of life for the same person, but also affect the well-being of others. Indeed, if one partner experiences stress in the workplace, this tends to exacerbate the level of stress the other partner experiences at home (e.g., Jones & Fletcher, 1993).

The present study focuses on well-being spill-over effects from one spouse's work (as measured by their job satisfaction) to the life and job satisfaction of the other spouse. The analysis focuses on married couples who both report their subjective well-being in the UK Longitudinal Household Longitudinal Study (Understanding Society). We use all available waves of the UKHLS and employ ordinary least squares regressions with individual random effects (we obtained similar results with ordered probit regressions with random effects).

In the first part of the paper, we restrict the analysis to dual earner couples and investigate spousal correlations of job satisfaction, that is, to what extent the job satisfaction of one partner is associated with the job satisfaction of the other partner. We further investigate gender differences in the ways that a partner's job satisfaction and job characteristics (such as work hours and working overtime) are related to an individual's job satisfaction.

In the second part of the paper, we include all couples and analyse associations between a spouse's job satisfaction and an individual's life satisfaction. For this part of the analysis, we distinguish between five types of couples' division of paid labour: 1. dual career couples (both work 30 hours or more), 2. modified male breadwinner couples (the male works more than the female and the female works less than 30 hours), 3. modified female breadwinner couples, 4. male breadwinner couples (only the male works), and 5. female breadwinner couples.

While our analysis is still in the early stages, we have already found a number of interesting results and we aim to finish a working paper before the conference. With respect to spousal correlations of job satisfaction, we find for both genders a positive, significant association with the partner's job satisfaction which may suggest a form of assortative mating. The partner's job satisfaction is a more important predictor of life satisfaction than the spouse's work hours, suggesting that the potential emotional spill-over from work is of greater consequence than subjective working conditions. We also find differences depending on the couple's division of paid labour.

### **It'll All Come Out in the Wash: Changes in Life Satisfaction amongst Dual-Earner Couples in the UK**

*Gash, Vanessa, Anke C. Plagnol*  
(City, University of London)

New research on the partner-pay gap, that is the size of the difference in earned income between dual-earning couples, suggests that many dual-earning couples are characterized by men's economic dominance over their female partners. While we are becoming increasingly aware of the extent of the partner pay-gap, we don't fully understand the extent to which dual-earner couples are content with their working-earning arrangements. Our contribution therefore seeks to examine the impact of the partner-pay gap on dual-earning couples' life satisfaction, to see if women and men are equally content with a division of economic labour which sees most men as the primary earner within the household. The paper examines its research question using panel data allowing a test of how changes in one's relative earning power within the household effects one's life satisfaction. In so doing it offers interesting insights into the relationship between earning power, happiness and traditional gender norms. The paper uses all waves of the UK Longitudinal Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS, which spans a period from 2009 through to 2015) and applies change models



with lagged predictors to examine whether increases or decreases in economic position within the household is predictive of happiness. Our preliminary analysis suggests a differential effect of changes in economic position on happiness by gender. We find that if men exhibit a positive change in their earning status relative to their female working partners, their life satisfaction improves. Whereas we find no similar effect for women.

## **Global Perspectives on Value Chains**

### **COPENHAGEN 1**

#### **Transnational Labour Governance of Garment Supply Chains: A Review of What Works**

*Seely, Ashling*

*(Dublin City University)*

The garment sector is rich with transnational regulatory initiatives designed to improve standards in global production systems ill-famed by their exploitative working conditions. Yet surprisingly little is known about which forms of regulation are effective. This paper seeks to fill this gap, by providing a systematic review of conceptual and empirical studies focused on evaluating the impact of the interplay between transnational and national forms of regulations on global labour standards in MNC supply chains.

An initial review of the literature indicates that most studies have concentrated on the impact of transnational regulations such as codes of conduct on working conditions in global supply chains. The findings of a seminal study of Nike's own auditing data revealed that monitoring against code of conduct compliance was not improving labour standard compliance in Nike's supply chain (Locke, Qin, & Brause, 2007). Research indicates that the way in which domestic regulatory institutions and transnational private regulation interact is a significant factor for determining labour standard compliance (Rodríguez-Garavito, 2005; Locke, Rissing and Pal, 2013). Another strand of research concerns the role of workers and the impact on working conditions stemming from their involvement – or lack of involvement – in regulatory initiatives (Donaghey and Reinecke, 2017).

The inter-dependency of governance institutions is a common thread through much of the literature. It remains unclear, however, what forms of hybrid governance initiatives are most effective, and under what conditions they are most likely to have positive impact on labour standards in global production systems.

#### **Skill Formation along Fragmented Supply Chains: A Comparative Analysis of VET in Germany, Italy and UK**

*Benassi, Chiara, Niccolo Durazzi, Johann Fortwengel*

*(King's Business School, King's College London)*

Production processes are increasingly organised along fragmented supply chains as large firms externalize tasks and functions to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). The availability of appropriate skills along the supply chain is therefore of paramount importance to large employers and SMEs alike. Yet, the salience of this issue differs widely across countries. We take three distinct advanced market economies – Germany, the UK, and Italy – each belonging to a specific 'variety' of capitalism and with a distinct training regime and we seek to answer the following question: why has the availability of skills along the supply chain been a hugely salient issue in UK, while it has not in Germany and Italy?

We contend that different institutional arrangements enable large and small employers to deal with the challenge of production along an increasingly segmented supply chain differently. Where forms of non-market coordination prevail, relatively less powerful and less resourced small employers can access the skills they need and therefore the potential problem of the availability of skills along the supply chain does not emerge. In Italy, this is guaranteed by state coordination in the form of professional and technical schools providing skills that large employers and SMEs can access alike. In Germany, the availability of collective employer-led institutions (such as the *Verbundausbildung*) helps SMEs secure the skills they need even in the context of large employers adopting an increasingly 'segmentalist' position. In the UK, on the contrary, a heavily marketised system tips the power away from SMEs who are unable to secure the skills needed as (private) training providers have a strong incentive to satisfy large employers but not SMEs. In this context, the unavailability of skills to SMEs creates a problem that does not only affect SMEs themselves, but it also reverberates to large employers who may face quality and broader productivity issues, as suppliers struggle to meet targets. As a response, the latter have increasingly taken charge of organising training for themselves and their suppliers, establishing forms of hierarchical coordination.

The paper uncovers two broader (paradoxical) phenomena of interest to the comparative political literature: firstly, the Italian mixed market economy system appears to be the most effective of the three systems that we analysed, suggesting that state-led coordination can have an 'equalising' effect on actors with a varying degree of power; secondly, a typical feature of globalisation – namely the fragmentation of production – seems to be best dealt with through some forms of coordination, which we see emerging even in the least likely case of the UK. Notably, coordination takes different forms, ranging from state-led (macro) to network-based (meso) and firm-based (micro).

The paper builds on a variety of data sources in particular: interviews with large employers and SMEs in the manufacturing sector; interviews with representatives of employer associations; policy documents of governments and social partners; and descriptive statistics.

## Apprentishps and Skills COPENHAGEN 2

### **The Changing Institutional and Policy Environments of the English and German Apprenticeship Systems**

*Roberts, Maisie*

*(University of Leeds)*

The apprenticeship systems of England and Germany face change, yet the underlying causes and future implications of recent developments remain unclear. Apprenticeships are commonly considered a contributory driver of intermediate skills, national competitiveness, innovation and job creation (Finegold and Soskice, 1988), but such outcomes are highly variable across different advanced capitalist economies (Hall and Soskice, 2001). The 'dual' German system is seen as an exemplar of a coordinated approach, where both firms and vocational schools provide highly structured training (Bosch, 2010). Conversely, England's system is characterised as voluntarist and employer-led, with the flexibility of the economy and labour market given priority (Finegold and Soskice, 1988; Crouch et al, 1999). Hence conventional wisdom views the English and German apprenticeship systems as fixed ideal types and distinct polar opposites (Hall and Soskice, 2001).

Despite this, recent developments highlight a potential for convergence, with higher investment in apprenticeships forecast in England compared to an increasing provision and popularity of higher education in Germany (Bosch and Charest, 2008). Yet change in both countries derive from two very different state-driven initiatives. Firstly, in England, there has been a drive to increase apprenticeship participation through the recent implementation of an apprenticeship levy in 2017. An employer-led approach to apprenticeship design and delivery has also been instigated through the Government's 'Trailblazers' initiative where employer-led groups solely design apprenticeship standards. Secondly, in Germany, there is increased investment into higher education, particularly through the Bologna reforms, leading to shifting societal and industry aspirations and perceptions of apprenticeships that could damage their popularity. Alongside this, Germany is adapting its national skills strategy in line with its 'Industry 4.0' initiative, associated with knowledge-intensive technological change and the rise of industrial digitalisation and the so-called fourth industrial revolution.

Extant academic debates paint a somewhat contradictory picture of both systems. Many, for example, note the undoubted strengths of Germany's apprenticeship system, particularly drawing on its famous 'dual' structure (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2003; Grugulis, 2007) whilst others highlight its erosion and the so-called dualisation of the labour market, due to educational expansion and the rise of precarious non-standard employment (Thelen and Busemeyer, 2012). The English system, in comparison, is portrayed as a victim of training failure due to its market-led economy and the successive political upheaval of its apprenticeship system, yet little is known about the likely impact of recent reforms and the recently implemented apprenticeship levy.

This paper aims to fill these gaps and contributes to the above debates through analysis of 50 expert-led semi-structured interviews with key apprenticeship policy, training and industrial actors in both countries, highlighting how they are responding to increasing social, economic, demographic, technological and political pressures. Through this, the paper argues that both systems are not converging. Instead, adopting an institutional perspective is essential for progressing current and future policy developments in both systems.

### **Living with Precarious Work – The Case of Graduates in Denmark**

*Warring, Niels*

*(Roskilde University)*

Precarious work is a term often associated with increasingly insecure wage and work conditions for unskilled or lowskilled workers, vulnerable groups and migrant workers in the private sector. Reasons for that are obvious, since this is where the tendencies are first visible. However, among graduates there is a increasing amount of employees with temporary work contracts, declining income and generally more insecure work conditions. In fact, numbers show that precariousness is growing faster among graduates than among other groups on the labour market.

In Denmark the labour market is strongly regulated by collective agreements and influential labour market organisations. It is surrounded by the so-called flexicurity model combining a high level of flexibility with a high level of social security. However, during the last decades the balance between flexibility and security has tipped in favor of flexibility and it is becoming increasingly difficult to access social benefits. On a global level the increasing amount of precarious work must be seen related to the escalation of different forms of flexibility, postfordist deregulation and neoliberal governance.

In the paper we present selected findings from a Danish research project on graduates affected by precarity. Focus is on the subjective experiences with living with precarious work: How do the graduates interpret and respond to their conditions and how do they cope with the growing insecurity and unpredictability of their working life? In the first part of the paper it is discussed why and how precarity is spreading to a growing number of groups on the labour market and how precarity has increased among graduates. In the next part results from the qualitative study based on interviews

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with graduates from different fields are presented. Lastly, the paper discusses possible actions to be taken against precariousness, and a special attention will be given to the role of the unions.

**Social Capital in Skilled Migrants' careers: The Reasons for (dis)engagement**

*Kozhevnikov, Andrew*  
(Coventry University)

Social capital (SC) - 'the sum of actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit' (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998, p.243) - is a significant factor for individual careers. It can assist with job search (Granovetter, 1995), enhance professional reputation (Mazzanti et al., 2009) and transfer of knowledge (Makela, 2007). SC can be particularly useful in disadvantageous situations - ethnic minorities rely on social contacts to identify non-discriminatory employers (Mouw, 2002), whereas lower-skilled migrants often use close ethnic contacts to overcome conditions of poverty and deprivation (Aguilera and Massey, 2003).

Yet, not all careers benefit from SC. Women and ethnic minorities can be excluded from important networks in 'demographically skewed organizational settings' (Ibarra et al., 2005, p.365) dominated by (white) men. Besides, the outcomes of reliance upon SC are not inevitably positive. Social support from ethnic networks is often associated with precarious, underpaid, low-skilled and illegal or semi-legal jobs (e.g. Kloosterman et al., 1998). Consequently, some ethnic minority professionals shun participation in ethnic networks, perceiving them as worthless or even dangerous for their careers (e.g. Smith, 2005). Skilled migrants are a particularly interesting group to examine, as they are, arguably, in a double bind. Contacts with other migrants may be purposefully minimised as less useful, whereas access to more resource-rich indigenous networks is often problematic (Raghuram et al., 2010).

This suggests that understanding of the role SC plays in skilled migrants' careers requires insights into a range of agential and structural factors (mechanisms). This study utilises a critical realist approach to investigate why careers of some skilled migrants benefit from SC, whereas some others do not. Having conducted and analysed semi-structured interviews with 52 migrants and 18 indigenous workers (for the purpose of contrast and comparison), this paper suggests a tripartite model that explains the reasons for (dis)engagement with SC for career purposes. Each of the three components comprises mechanisms relevant to both structure and agency and disentangles the complex relationships between them.

(1) Necessity. Individuals have different career objectives and, therefore, need different career resources. The need for SC can be reduced by other sources of career support (organisational 'sponsorship', career advisers and agencies etc.).

(2) Availability. Not all networks are equally rich in resources and not all individuals are equally well-connected to people in possession of the valuable resources. Networking behaviour can facilitate establishing potentially useful connections, but opportunities for it are shaped by structural factors.

(3) Cost. Time and money are required to engage in networking and develop contacts. Further, cultural adjustments can be required to be classified as 'similar' and trustworthy enough to be granted access to resources. It is down to individuals' discretion whether they are willing to pay this price or not.

This study utilises this model to identify mechanisms specific for skilled migrants' careers. Yet, it can be applied to any careers, offering a significant theoretical advantage to our appreciation of SC and its impact upon individual careers.

## **Living Wage and Labour Standards**

### **GRAND 4 & 5**

**The Introduction of the Living Wage and the Unintended Consequences of the Re-Regulation of pay in Scottish Social Care**

*Cunningham, Ian, Alina Baluch, Philip James, Douglas Young, Anne-Marie Cullen*  
(University of Strathclyde)

the introduction of the Living Wage poses one of the largest challenges facing the adult social care sector. Social care providers compete within a funding and tendering landscape that extracts efficiency savings and prioritises market-driven behaviours, leading to work intensification and undermining of workers' terms and conditions. Low pay and the rise in zero hours contracts in social care are both the source and product of recruitment and retention difficulties, exacerbated by competing with other sectors for the same pool of labour and increasingly anti-social hours reflective of demands for greater flexibility from workers (Rubery et al, 2015).

This paper explores how a seemingly progressive policy to reregulate pay and conditions by the devolved Scottish government is creating a range of unintended consequences relating to pay and other conditions in the Scottish social

care sector. We position this issue within the literature on regulation that acknowledges that state re-regulation of employment represents a reconfiguration of regulatory roles, forms and relationships that alters the position of some (market-based) actors and reduces that of others (MacKenzie and Martinez-Lucio, 2004; 2005). In this paper, we explore how the Scottish government's policy alters the position of social care providers, local authorities and unions in determining pay, and the unintended consequences of that reregulation.

Employing a mixed-methods design that combines four years of survey data from Scottish social care providers with interviews of HR managers in these voluntary and independent sector organisations, we present longitudinal data of providers' and local authorities' experiences with introducing the Living Wage. Tracing developments over a four-year period reveals an underfunded policy being implemented diversely across multiple local authorities, leading to unintended consequences that threaten to undermine not only the spirit and letter of the policy, but also some basic employment protections. In-depth qualitative findings unearth the tensions in local authority-provider relationships with the former withholding additional Living Wage funding to extract greater efficiency savings from organisations that charge higher rates. Challenges for providers' ability to win contracts from local authorities arise from opting out of accreditation as Living Wage employers, which are linked to the prospect of subsequent pay rises and their impact on organisational viability.

Given the persistent erosion of pay differentials between new and more experienced staff and between line managers, front-line staff and workers in catering and domestic roles, we draw implications for worker roles, the division of tasks, career progression and retention. The sustainability of differentials points to a devaluing of the skills and management responsibilities between the front-line and supervisors. Further unintended consequences are evident around working time with the potential restructuring or reduction in the working week. Added to this are issues around the sustainability of overnight adult social care, the use of assistive technology and intended service redesign, which may perpetuate recruitment difficulties and threaten the safety and quality of services. This paper contributes to the literature on workers' precariousness and advances our understanding of efforts to introduce progressive policies on pay in social care, and other low pay sectors.

### **Exploring the Business Case for the Living Wage**

*Carson, Calum*

*(University of Leeds)*

The UK-centred campaign for the Living Wage, established in the East End of London in 2001 by a diverse movement of charities, academics and civil institutions, has attracted over 3,500 employers thus far to officially accredit themselves as 'Living Wage Employers', with each organisation voluntarily committing to paying their workers hourly salaries much higher than the legal minimum wage. The voluntary nature of the success of this campaign is a noteworthy example of the 'civil regulation' of the employment relationship (Heery, Nash, and Hann, 2017), with the Living Wage movement's establishment of self-imposed labour standards that a remarkable number of organisations have signed up to providing a prime means of exploring work and the labour process in the twenty first century (Williams et al, 2001).

The primary focus of this paper is on presenting preliminary findings exploring the reasoning for three UK-based case study organisations' adoption of Living Wage rates, and the impact and experiences on each since becoming accredited as 'Living Wage Employers'. In order to provide a framework for understanding the decision of each employer in adopting the Living Wage and the ramifications of doing so, a qualitative case study approach has been applied to help examine the ways in which implementation of Living Wage rates has impacted on three organisations in the retail, construction, and higher education sectors. In-depth interviews with both employers and employees have been conducted, with the use of photography utilised as a visual research method in helping to contextualise the findings of each (Sontag, ).

Each case has been chosen owing to their own unique circumstances that can help to contribute to a fuller understanding of the impact of implementation of the Living Wage, and contribute to the existing research gap surrounding the experiences of Living Wage employers in Britain today. Empirical research of this kind can help provide some important insights into a number of areas that merit further empirical and theoretical exploration, including the Living Wage's ability to bring about organisational change within a workplace, and what this can tell us in a broader sense about the links between higher wages and employee performance.

The research places a great emphasis on contrasting the symbolic existence of the Living Wage movement and its supporters in the public, private, and third sectors with the continued global trajectory towards ever-more precarious forms of work, with the continued proliferation of new and varied non-standard forms of employment challenging the traditional employment relationship (Prassl, 2015; ILO, 2016). It contends that the establishment and continued success of the Living Wage movement in persuading employers of all types to adhere to a voluntary code of civil regulation and wage rates presents a prime case of resistance in following the current trends of the 'gig economy' and its associated impact on stable and well-paid employment, and that the ongoing success of such a movement may provide in part a credible alternative and challenge to the current socioeconomic direction being pursued at national and international levels.

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**The UK National Living Wage and Workplace Practices in the Social Care Sector**

*Kornelakis, Andreas, Andreas Georgiadis*

*(King's College London)*

The National Living Wage (NLW) is considered as an important tool to address old and new inequalities and improve the wages of workers, especially in low-wage contexts, such as the social care sector. About 41% of residential care workers were paid below the NLW before it was introduced (Giupponi et al, 2017). However, employers may perceive the NLW as a burden, while the sector faces a number of challenges that increase the pressure on care providers and impact workers in the sector, including: i) increased costs of care arising partly by increased costs of "later-life illnesses" (NHS, 2016); ii) increased demand for services due to the recent demographic changes and ageing of the population (ONS, 2017); iii) inadequate funding by local authorities in the context of austerity policies (CQC, 2017); and iv) difficulties in recruitment and retention, particularly of migrant workers, following the EU referendum (Gardiner, 2016). In the context of these broader challenges, the social care sector presents an intriguing setting to examine how workplace adjustments, in terms of employers' strategies and practices, affect the care workforce.

The paper will present work in progress on this area. It will review existing research on the social care sector with a focus on workplace practices. Theoretically, we will follow the framework proposed by Osterman (2008) between 'low road' and 'high road' workplace practices. Low road strategies involve increased reliance on precarious, non-standard contracts and evidence suggests that a third of the workers are employed on zero hours or insecure contracts (Unison, 2017). Recent research emphasised that the use of agency workers in social care may have delivered cost savings, but resulted in less effective placement matching, rising line manager workloads and concerns about service quality (Hoque et al, 2011). The low road strategies will also involve reductions of investment in training. This adjustment strategy is in line with research that highlighted how the funding cuts and increased pressures in the sector have resulted in degradation of employment conditions, affecting pay, job security and skills (Broadbent, 2013; Cunningham, 2016). These strategies should manifest a lower retention rate and higher turnover. By contrast, 'high road' strategies will include investment in training to improve the skills of the workforce and achieve productivity gains that counter-balance the financial pressures in the sector. Another 'high road' strategy will be to increase earnings differentials to retain and motivate the workers and increase their productivity and thereby tackle some of the difficulties in recruitment and retention.

Our proposed investigation will take a mixed methods approach. The quantitative analysis will rely on the data available from the Skills for Care, National Minimum Dataset for Social Care (NMDS-SC). It will examine key outcomes including training, recruitment and retention, and pay setting especially for young people. Our qualitative approach will rely on case studies based on semi-structured interviews with employers in the sector from England. This analysis will aim to complement the quantitative analysis and throw light on the process of adjustment and clarify the motivation behind decisions.

**Private Regulation, the State and the Role of Worker Agency in Upholding Labour Standards: The Case of South African Wine**

*Hastings, Thomas*

*(Queen's University)*

The paper adds to the growing body of work focussed on the role of labour and state forces in developing global production networks (GPNs). Taking the case of wine production in South Africa, the article discusses labour's ability to encourage progressive labour institutions and the realisation of rights at the local level. This is achieved through a focus on labour's relational agency. Through campaigning at the international level, workers are shown to place associational pressure on both private and state regulators to deliver improved labour standards at the local level. In doing so the GPN framework is shown to provide not just a useful framework for exploring the agency of lead firms, but also the role of workers in improving access to institutions and working standards commonly denied by states and corporations.

## **Health Care Professionals: Emotional Labour, Social Support, Migration and Hybridisation**

**AMSTERDAM 1**

**Approved Mental Health Professionals: A Jack of all Trades and a Master on None? Professional Hybridisation within a Mental Health Occupation**

*Leah, Caroline*

*(Manchester Metropolitan University)*

This paper presents findings from the Hybrid Identities Project (HIP) that investigated the professional identities of ten multi-professional Approved Mental Health Professionals (AMHPs) from social work, nurse and occupational therapy

primary professional backgrounds as hybrid professionals. Hybrid professionals can be understood as professionals who are of a mixed origin and who work across several roles and areas of expertise within public services that are characterised by complex bureaucracies. AMHPs have a legal role within the Mental Health Act (MHA, 2007) in England to plan the assessment of individuals who require assessment for acute mental health presentations. A case study of professional identities was deployed within the HIP, with data generated through semi-structured interviews, over a period of two years examining professional hybridization and dialogical identities. Illuminative participant data focusing on hybridisation found that AMHPs enacted a spectrum of perspectives contextually in their relationships with other colleagues indicating epistemological hybridity, conceptualised through a new term of 'perspectives in use'. The HIP found that 'perspectives in use' crosscut into other professional's traditional schemas for understanding mental health presentations. The myriad responses AMHPs might make at any one time was selected from specific perspectives within the numerous ones available within a spectrum of medical, legal, social and psychological perspectives. The HIP illuminated AMHPs' professional biographies as enacted in the intersubjective realities of the workplace, and it contributes sociologically to empirical understandings of professional hybridisation.

### **International Migration of Health Care Professionals and its Impact on the National Health Care Systems in Light of Brexit: A Comparative Study of the UK and Hungary**

*Nordin, Patrik*

*(University of Tampere)*

Especially since the EU enlargement, there has been an increasing flow of health care professionals moving from new member states in the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) to the EU15. Even though health care professions are highly regulated, basic medical training and general practitioner training obtained in one EU country is automatically recognized entitling the health care professionals to work in any EU country. There have also been changes in both national and European public policy and regulations to both enhance and accommodate the increasing migration of health care professionals throughout Europe.

This paper delivers a public policy analysis of the migration of health care professionals and its impact on the national health care systems in the UK and Hungary in light of the EU enlargement and the looming Brexit from different stakeholders' perspective, combining institutionalism (public policy as institutional output), interest group theory (public policy as group equilibrium) and process (mobility chain approach) to study the implications of the migration of health care professionals on the health care system both from the perspective of the country of origin and country of destination.

In the UK the health care system has for long relied on foreign educated health care professionals because of the chronic shortage of national health care training and education. This has had a chain effect in accelerating health care professionals' migration from Hungary and other CEE countries, especially since their EU membership, leaving the national health care sector understaffed and the system facing financial problems.

### **Social Support at Work: The Influence and Content of Social Support from Colleagues and Management on Registered Nurses in a Norwegian Hospital**

*Kirchhoff, Jörg W.*

*(Østfold University College)*

Research have revealed that social support from colleagues and management have considerable impact on job satisfaction at the workplace. The aim of this paper is to explore registered nurses (RN) perception of social support on job satisfaction and its content in a hospital setting.

Findings base on a mixed method approach. To begin with, a cross-sectional study among registered nurses in a Norwegian hospital was utilised (401 RN's) and thereafter followed up with an ethnographic study at two wards in the same hospital. The ethnographic study was utilising participant observation and in-depth interviews of in total ten registered nurses in the same hospital.

Findings from the cross-sectional study revealed that a majority of the RN's (85 percent) perceived social support from colleagues and more than half of the RNs (60 percent) find that management is supportive at work. Regression analysis, displays that social support from colleagues influences job satisfaction more than from management.

The qualitative findings elaborate the quantitative results. The content of social support from colleagues at the workplace consisted of helping out, consoling each other, and discussions around difficulties they encounter at work. Furthermore, registered nurses utilised narratives in order to establish a supportive atmosphere at work. In addition, registered nurses provided social support through social media after work, by encouraging each other or giving positive feedback on Facebook. Social support from management on the other hand related foremost to employees as individuals, for example in situations when there were difficulties or for other personal reasons.

Social support from colleagues and management is vital to RNs job satisfaction at work. There are differences however in the strength of social support from colleagues and management on nurses' job satisfaction, and the content of social support provide from either colleagues or management.

## **Job Quality, Life-satisfaction and Policies shaping Work-life Balance**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

#### **Job Quality and Work-Life Balance of Formal Sector Employees in Sri Lanka**

*Premarathne, Priyadarshani*  
(University of Bremen)

Job quality and worker's well-being are interrelated and it affects the social development. Yet, very little empirical knowledge is observable in the labour market from developing countries in terms of job quality, work-life balance and overall quality of life of the employees. After three decades of civil war, Sri Lankan economy has experienced a transition from a predominantly rural agricultural economy towards a service sector economy. In particular, the literature mainly provides insights on decent work, precarious work and gender disparities of the labour market in Sri Lanka. Further, the past research demonstrated that in spite of free education policies and constitutional protection of equal rights among men and women, women still have the lowest labour force participation rate in the region (35% of 15+ population in 2015). Constraints on gender equality in employment levels are numerous, including traditional societal perception towards women's role as income earners, gender stereotypes, responsibilities for unpaid care and housework, limited occupational choices, lack of capacities to cope with available opportunities and lack of family-friendly employment policies (Gunathilake, 2013; ILO, 2016, Semasinghe, 2017). This PhD project addresses the question of whether and how job quality and working conditions contribute to the work-life balance of formal sector employees in Sri Lanka. Particularly by focusing on job demands and resource theory (JD-R), this study seeks to examine the relationship between various work demands and resources and household demands and resources and satisfaction with work-life balance in a sample of employees in manufacturing and service sector in Sri Lanka. To examine these relationships, a cross-sectional comprehensive survey is being conducted to collect data through a sample of 1500 employees from both public and the private sector in Sri Lanka representing different occupational categories. The multilevel regressions and structural equation modeling will be used to test the predicted relationships.

#### **Class Differences in the Predictors of the UK Gender Pay Gap**

*Gash, Vanessa, Olsen, Wendy, Kim, S., Zhang, M., Zwiener, N.*  
(City, University of London)

This paper offers an investigation of the ongoing sources of the gender pay gap (GPG), which despite considerable legislative change remain a feature of the UK labour market. We provide a detailed retrospective investigation of trends in the gender pay gap in the UK at the mean, and then distinguishes the effects of these trends by socio-economic group. In each case, in addition to controlling for standard variables of socio-economic status, we provide assessments of the effects of career and labour market history on the GPG spanning a period of up to 20 years using detailed panel data. The biggest drivers of the gender pay gap using the latest available data concern male-female differentials in labour market history, which are found to account for more than half of the drivers of the gender pay gap. Here we find that women's discontinuous careers, compared to men's tendency to work full-time continuously, is one of the biggest drivers of the gender pay gap in the UK. However, we also find differences in this tendency by socio-economic group. When we provide an investigation of the GPG by class, we find that labour market history is a stronger predictor of the gender pay gap among richer households than poorer households, who we conclude are some of the few who can afford female retreat from paid employment at the household level. Amongst poorer households, unexplained pay differentials associated with gender are one of the larger drivers of the GPG. This suggests strongly that policies need to be targeted differentially by income group. Finally, one of the biggest changes in predictors of the GPG in terms of labour market structures concerns declines in working-class men's access to the standard employment contract. This shift in male working-class employment has altered one of the key predictors of the gender pay gap at the mean. So, while in the past a history of part-time work increased the gender pay gap, with part-time work typically associated with poor working conditions compared with full-time employment, now, using the latest available data, we find prior exposure to part-time work to protect female pay and decrease the gender pay gap. We attribute this change to the rise in precarious and poorly paid male part-time employment, and, secondly, to increased proportions of female 'retention part-time workers'.

#### **Coliving as Work-life Integration Strategy: How Entrepreneurial Work Shapes Life**

*Musilek, Karel*  
(Durham University)

The paper presents findings of an ethnographic study of a coliving and explores how personal and collective life in coliving is organised around ideals of entrepreneurial work. Coliving is a type of communal living in which entrepreneurs live together to foster a lifestyle most conducive to success in the 'start up economy'. The paper draws on participant



observation and interviews conducted in a coliving establishment. It explores how personal and collective life in the coliving is shaped in relation to demands of entrepreneurial work characterised by long hours, unpredictability, and financial insecurity. It illustrates how coliving members strive to shape life to maintain a high commitment to work while also maintaining a degree of leisure and social life. Rather than striving to maintain a work-life balance, coliving presents a strategy to integrate work and life with the intention to maximise both enjoyment of social life and success in entrepreneurial work. More generally the paper argues for the importance of studying how personal life is shaped by work. Scholars argued that contemporary organisations increasingly incorporate 'life' (for example our personal traits, cultural tastes, and emotions). However, as this paper argues, it is equally important to explore what transformations we are observing in the sphere of personal life, how life outside work is shaped by demands of productivity and what are the implications for politics surrounding work, living conditions, and work-life balance.

## **Intersectional Perspectives on Gender Inequality**

### **BERLIN 1**

#### **Intersectionality, Identity Work and Migrant Progression from Low Paid Work: A Critical Realist Approach**

*Netto, Gina*

**Introduction and theoretical underpinnings:** This paper advances intersectionality theory and 'identity work' by drawing on critical realist theories (Archer, 2003, 2007) to highlight the complexity of intersections between structural factors and the agency of migrant workers seeking to progress from low-paid work. Predominantly, identity work research has been concerned with managers and professionals (Atewologun et al, 2016; Ibarra, 1999; Sveningsson and Alvesson, Watson, 2008), leaving a gap in understanding those on the lower levels of organisational hierarchy. The ground-breaking work of bringing intersectionality into identity work by Atewologun et al (2016) and Carrim and Nkomo (2016), provides an important conceptual bridge for our study. We follow this lead by taking an intersectional approach to the study of identity work, but extend it in two distinct ways that make a contribution. First, we focus on migrant employees at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy, in low-paid jobs where the majority are concentrated. We explore both the types of actions they take to progress to better work (their progression-oriented identity work) and the structural factors (in the form of constraints and enablements) they face. Our second development is to explore agency-structure dynamics by applying the critical realist approach of Archer (2003, 2007). Specifically, we draw on Archer's conceptualisation of constraints and enablements (structural factors) and explore the intersections between and within them, as well as their intersections with the agency (progression-oriented identity work) of migrants.

**Data sources and analysis:** We apply these theoretical underpinnings to analyse data generated from an empirical study of 31 migrants from EU and non-EU countries seeking to progress from low-paid work in five large organisations in three geographical locations in England and Scotland. Coding of migrants' identity work, constraints and enablements was supplemented by treating participants' biographies as instrumental case studies (Stake, 2000) to deepen understanding of their meaning making processes (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993).

**Findings:** The main forms of the identity work of migrants were efforts to acquire fluency in English, gain recognition of skills and positive work ethic and develop resilience to 'othering' processes. Salient aspects of identity, including gender, ethnicity, nationality and skin colour intertwined with each other to influence access to resources for advancement. Constraints interact with each other and the identity work of migrants at macro, meso and micro levels within the home and at the workplace to hinder progression from low-paid work. Conversely, in a few cases, enablements within the home and at work interact with each other and the identity work of individuals to facilitate advancement. Enablements in the form of the recognition of skills and experience of some individuals were found to be countered by othering processes towards the same individuals, hindering progression.

**Conclusions:** Studying the intersectionality of constraints and enablements with each other and migrant identity work helps us explain why the majority struggle to progress beyond low-paid work, while a small number succeed in doing so. They also reveal the nature of the structural changes required to alter the disproportionate representation of migrants in low-paid work.

#### **Clear as Mud: How the 'Transparency Agenda' Obscures Experiences of Inequality in Two English Universities**

*Pfefer, Emily,*

*(Queen Mary University of London)*

2017 was hailed as the year of the Conservative 'transparency agenda' to promote workplace equality in the United Kingdom, although these reforms stem from the Equality Act 2010 passed under the last Labour government. Mandatory company gender pay gap reporting requirements are at the centre of this 'agenda.' However, this veneer has been met with considerable scepticism by groups like the Women's Equality Party, who argue that perfunctory pay transparency is insufficient to address deeply embedded workplace inequality.

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Cause for their concern may lie in this paper's examination of an industry arguably already quite transparent on paper: academia in the UK. Various factors suggest that academic pay should be reasonably transparent, such as high trade union density, public sector regulations, and years of institutional level gender pay gap (GPG) reporting by the Times Higher Education. However, the industry continues to struggle with a persistent GPG, vertical segregation, and shockingly low representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) individuals in the professoriate.

A related lack of confidence in the connection between stated aims of equalities policies and their actual outcomes and cultural shifts surrounding racism in UK universities was expressed in Sara Ahmed's *On Being Included*. She illuminates how universities create equalities documents instead of doing equalities work—at best—and create equalities documents that actively obscure bad practice to preserve image—at worst.

UK universities were handed the opportunity to further implement the 'transparency agenda' when the Equality Act 2010 (Specific Duties and Public Authorities) Regulations 2017 came into force in March 2017. This expansion on the existing Public Sector Equality Duty requires governing bodies of English higher education institutions to publish annual gender pay gap details, the first deadline of which was March 30, 2018.

Influenced by Ahmed's work, this paper explores elements of the 'transparency agenda' being performed in two English university case studies, including the Athena SWAN award for gender equality good practice, professorial pay banding, promotion and the national pay spine. Through semi-structured interviews with remuneration policy shapers at the centre of the universities, union committee members, and academics, this paper uses Acker's inequality regime analytical framework to address a primary question. How does the 'transparency agenda' within UK universities serve to obscure and embed inequality in the advancement of women academics?

An emerging theme synergizing with the transparency agenda is what some call the unspoken rule that academia is 'beyond pay.' One should merely be grateful for presence in the academy; yet a professor cannot live by her citations alone. Somewhat ironic given the frequent emphasis on grant funding to succeed in promotion, this industry norm compounds with ingrained defensiveness of implementers of the 'transparency agenda.' As one professor put it, the university has created a transparent process for promotion so you cannot question the behaviour of the actors enacting that system. If one detects bias built into the system or if individual actors exhibit bias, both are defended from criticism by the establishment of a transparent system of promotions which cannot be questioned.

### **Occupational Sorting and Female Wage Penalties During the Greek Crisis**

*Monastiriotes, Vassilis, Rebekka Christopoulou*  
(London School of Economics)

We examine gender-based inequalities in the labour market using the case of the Greek crisis, which altered significantly labour market conditions in an otherwise traditional and largely gendered labour market. We document that the crisis coincided with a movement towards more gender-biased access to more gender-neutral work. On the one hand, wage and occupational sorting declined significantly, while occupational segregation subsided; on the other hand, it became increasingly unlikely for women to be employed, while evidence of a 'glass ceiling' emerged. Both results are consistent with the fierce contraction in labour demand, which motivates employers to make more efficient decisions with respect to the allocation and remuneration of workers, thus also softening occupational barriers and reducing wage-gaps associated with occupational segregation at other than the top tail of the distribution. But they also signify a revival of the 'male breadwinner' bias, i.e. the preferential treatment of married males by employers in their firing/hiring decisions.

## **Industrial Action in Britain, France and Germany**

### **BERLIN 2**

### **Class Formation or Class partition? The 2014-5 Strike Wave in the German Railway Sector**

*Gallas, Alexander*  
(University of Kassel)

In a classical Marxian framework, strikes are seen as contributing to class formation. The reality on the ground is more complicated, and the case study presented in my paper is a good illustration. In 2014-5, a strike wave took place in the German railway sector. The strike was remarkable in a number of ways: its long duration; the fact that it turned into a political statement concerning the right to strike; the economic cost that it incurred; the disruption in public and freight transport that it caused; the public attention that it attracted; and the fact that it ended in victory for the union that was responsible for it. Most of all, however, it stands out because of the hostility it encountered not just from right-wing political leaders and political commentators, but also from union leaders and 'centre-left' politicians: the main representatives of the member unions of the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB), the largest union umbrella in the country, condemned the strike, and so did the leading representatives of the Social Democratic Party. The key motive for their disdain was inter-union competition. Behind the strike was the Union of German Traindrivers (GDL), an occupational union that is not part of the DGB. The GDL is known for pairing a strong occupational identity with a

preparedness to engage in militant action – and this time, it demanded not just improvements to working conditions and wages for train drivers, but also the right to enter collective bargaining agreements on behalf of all of its members among train staff, among them conductors and on-board catering workers. With this demand, they sidelined a DGB-affiliated union called Railway and Traffic Union (EVG), which has far more members than GDL among people working in the railway sector, but not among train drivers, and generally takes a more accommodating stance towards employers. The dispute in the German railway sector is well-suited as a case study because the challenges of assessing the impact of strikes on class formation become very clear. Accordingly, I will assess whether the action was conducive to class partition because it fuelled union competition and sectionalism, or whether this outweighed by the fact that workers embraced militancy and learned that they can win against employers if they are prepared to use confrontational tactics.

### **Intersectionality as a Basis for Industrial Action – The British Airways Disputes of 2009-11**

*Moore, Sian, Phil Taylor*  
(University of Greenwich)

Intersectionality conceptualises how multiple categories of inequality interact to produce distinct experiences that cannot be captured by examining gender, race or other social categories separately (McBride et al., 2015; Mooney, 2016). Intersectionality has proven to be a particularly powerful methodological tool in qualitative research, since individual narratives are often constituted in terms which do not necessarily differentiate or disentangle class, gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexuality or disability and may be characterised by silence on one or all of these factors even though they construct lived experience and do not obviate structural disadvantage (Bowleg, 2008). While intersectionality can capture lived experience it is less clear how it forms the basis of workplace organisation or mobilisation of worker interest. One aspect is that an anti-categorical approach deconstructs (modernist) analytical categories, resonating with post-modern and post-structuralist accounts of the complexity of social relations (McCall, 2005). Similarly the literature on identity and consciousness focusses upon the fluidity, multiplicity and incoherence of social identity in self-presentations or 'performances' (Walker and Lynn, 2013; Cover, 2012; Rui & Stefanone 2012).

There are few contemporary accounts of the inter-relationship of gender, race, sexuality and class in industrial action, a surprising omission considering current preoccupation with identity and intersectional identities. One exception is Pearson et al.'s account of Asian women's leadership at Grunwick 1976-78 and Gate Gourmet in 2005. The latter explore how gender, ethnicity and class intersected 'to catalyse industrial action in each of these two workplaces' (2010, 409). This paper explores the interaction of gender, sexuality and ethnicity with class in the context of a major industrial dispute and through a unique source – a pro-union on-line forum that ran through the course of the 2009-2011 dispute between British Airways and the cabin crew union, BASSA. It follows individuals in their actions through three threads; one discussing the class identity of cabin crew; a second responding to fears about attending a first union meeting and a third sharing anxieties about going on strike. In its location in the gender politics of the contemporary airline industry, the focus on industrial action challenges the cultural politics and organizational implications of postfeminism and mobilisation of gendered subjectivities 'to affirm managerially desired meaning' that downplay 'collective experiences of discrimination and disadvantage' (Duffy et al, 2017). In this the re-articulation of 'class' to 'gender' that intersectionality implies, may allow for the mobilisation of collective interest.

The paper explores the relationship between individual subjectivity and collective consciousness. Analysis of the content, discourse, linguistic styles and practices of forum postings provide an opportunity to explore the role of social media in work-related identity construction. Whilst union activism assumes some form of implicit class identity (Hyman, 2001), BA cabin crew are characterised by intersectional identities. Analysis of the Forum explores how far cabin crew mobilised or sublimated different aspects of their identities during the dispute (Nash, 2008), but also the role of BASSA in providing the organisational and ideological resources to legitimate and prioritise worker interest (Taylor and Moore, 2015).

### **Trade Union Responses in the Context of Public Health Care Privatisation: Comparing England and France**

*Coderre-LaPalme, Genevieve*  
(University of Greenwich)

Both in France and in England, NPM mechanisms such as privatisation, marketisation and decentralisation have been an integral part of healthcare reforms in order to improve efficiency and cut costs. As a result, there has been an increased blurring of the division between the public and private sectors (Bach, 2000).

In the context of healthcare service delivery marketisation, local trade unions have had to turn various strategies in order to influence managerial decisions and defend the interests of their members. Responses to marketisation can range from opposition to support (Foster and Scott, 1998; Jalette and Hebdon, 2012; Cyr-Racine and Jalette, 2007). Jalette and Hebdon (2012) state that '(...) union responses to restructuring options including privatization were more strategic and substantive than a simple 'tooth and nail' opposition'. They also observed that unions frequently employed creative responses to negotiate and mitigate the adverse effects of marketisation. However, institutional theories such as VoC struggle to explain intra-national variation (Levesque and Murray 2005, Hansen and Lauridsen 2004). Indeed, research has found that, irrespective of national and international pressures, the way national reforms are implemented can differ locally (Levesque and Murray 2005, Hansen and Lauridsen 2004; Connolly and Darlington 2012).

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How to explain the variety of trade union responses to marketisation? A number of internal characteristics and resources appear to influence local trade union responses to marketisation. These include ideology and identity (Levesque and Murray 2010; Hodder and Edwards 2015; Hyman 2001), the framing process (Frege and Kelly 2003; Hodder and Edwards 2015), structure (Frege and Kelly 2003), and internal/external power resources (Levesque and Murray 2005; 2010). The local context can also present constraints and opportunities for unions. External factors, including social and economic change (such as New Public Management), the institutional context and state and employer strategies, can contribute in shaping union perceptions of the opportunities and threats in their environment (Frege and Kelly 2003; Jalette and Hebden 2012; Lucio and Stuart 2005).

This paper aims to identify the tactical choices made by local trade unions when competition is introduced to public health service. It compares case studies in England and France, to allow for a better understanding of the interactions between local and national influences which are specific to each country. Internal and external factors are expected to determine the local dynamics of trade union responses to the privatisation of health service delivery. Findings suggest that local politics and management attitudes, strategy and past experiences were particularly important in limiting or bolstering the trade union's power resources. However, while these do vary locally, it would seem that the legal framework and other institutional aspects are key in understanding the shaping of trade union responses.

## **Special Session: Circular Economy**

### **DUBLIN 1**

#### **The Toil of Saving the World: Exploring the Tensions of Work in the Circular Economy**

*Pettinger, Lynne, Bozkurt Ödül, Xheneti Mirela, Hielscher Sabine, Jaeger-Erben Melanie, Meissner Magdalena, O'Donovan Cian*  
(Warwick University)

The promise of the Circular Economy is increasingly embraced by policymakers, academics, industry actors and NGOs alike, with hopes raised that it can deliver green growth. It is supposed to close the loop of excess inherent in the linear economic model of 'make, use and dispose' by keeping resources in use longer, extracting maximum value from them once in use, and recovering and regenerating products and materials (WRAP 2017). As waste is designed out and reusability designed in, the damaging effects of economic activity on the environment should decrease and disappear. The emergence of a Circular Economy rests on many things, including support and legitimization through local, national and supranational policies and corporate social responsibility agendas; product and systems designs; and new ways of thinking about production and consumption. The transition to circularity puts some kinds of work at risk while promoting others.

This special session will interrogate what the current expectations, understandings and practices of a circular economy mean for work. It will probe the 'win-win' scenario that accompanies the prospects of a Circular Economy to acknowledge the tensions within as they relate to work: between paid and unpaid labour (including hobbies), opportunities for sustainable enterprise vs. self-sufficiency and community, and the creation, disappearance and resurrection of certain types of work. We ask about the experts: technocrats, designers and consultants who seek to shepherd in these new practices, and about the repairers and restorers, community groups and micro businesses who engage in bottom-up efforts. We ask whether work in the circular economy can transcend or will reproduce existing forms of social marginalisation, and about the changing materiality and sociality of work, as designing, making, repairing and reusing take on new resonances.

Ödül Bozkurt and Mirela Xheneti (Department of Business and Management, Sussex) will present research with entrepreneurs who either self-identify as Circular Economy adherents or seek to make the transition, in their small/micro-businesses. They will share observations both on the individual accounts of the entrepreneurs in relation to "circularity" and on the growing CE business network in the Brighton city-region.

Sabine Hielscher, Melanie Jaeger-Erben, Magdalena Meissner (Science Policy Research Unit, Sussex) have been studying practices of repair within community-based repairing initiatives. Over the last years, volunteers have set up local initiatives and associated networks all around the world. Sabine will reflect upon class and gender dimensions of the way care is being performed around objects in need of repair.

Cian O'Donovan (Science Policy Research Unit, Sussex) has recently been assessing the well-being afforded to the users of distributed digital manufacturing technologies in non-industrial settings (open workshops, makerspaces and Fab Labs). Cian will test claims that these technologies offer sustainable approaches to production and consumption that might fit logics of a circular economy.

# Opportunities, Marginalisation and Precariousness of Skilled Migrants

## ROTUNDA

### **Migrant Scholars' Labour Market Access: The Influence of Academic Disciplines**

*Pustelnikovaite, Toma*

*(Abertay University, Dundee Business School)*

Contemporary professions in developed countries are characterised by growing numbers of skilled immigrant workers who access national professional domains. A growing body of literature examines how migrants' access to destination labour markets is influenced by immigration policies (Cangiano & Walsh, 2014) or intermediaries (van den Broek et al, 2016; van den Broek & Groutsis, 2017). However, how professions themselves influence the labour market access of foreign incomers remains underresearched. This paper is interested in interrogating the body of knowledge around which professions coalesce. It specifically focuses on the academic profession, and examines what is the role of disciplinary differences in migrant scholars' labour market access.

According to HESA, in 2013/14 35-37% of scholars in hard science, 28-30% in social science and 33% in humanities disciplines were non-British. This number fell to 13% in design and 9% in education, showing that some disciplines are more international than others. Disciplines are communities of people who nourish and apply a common body of formal knowledge (Abbott, 1988; Becher & Trowler, 2011). However, the social understanding of what it means to competently practice a particular discipline may vary across borders (Clifford, 2012). On the one hand, science disciplines in different countries agree on the content and requirements of professional training, and work tasks are predictable (Lodahl & Gordon, 1972, 1973). On the other hand, social sciences and humanities share a contested epistemology whereby different schools of thought try to renegotiate professional standards (Karakayali, 2015). Social closure theory reminds that cognitive commonality is indispensable if a profession is to gain authority, achieve a strong(er) labour market control, and coalesce into an effective and powerful group (Larson, 1977; Freidson, 2001). Yet, how the limits to cognitive commonality across borders influence migrant scholars' labour market access remains unknown.

Semi-structured interviews on labour market entry experiences were conducted with 62 foreign-born academics working in 13 British universities, and a comparison between UK- and abroad-educated scholars in hard sciences, social sciences and humanities was carried out. Findings show that UK-educated academics across all disciplines were often relying on their local networks in order to gain access to jobs. However, discipline-based divisions emerged among the abroad-educated scholars. Academics from hard sciences were able to follow opportunities arising in other countries rather easily. By contrast, scholars in social sciences and humanities had to internationalise their approach to publishing in order to access opportunities abroad. In humanities, a requirement for UK-specific experience also emerged as a way of limiting the pool of immigrant scholars.

The paper contributes to the literature by showing how disciplinary differences influence the level of social closure in professions. Closure is operationalised globally where cognitive commonality is high, and nationally where there is less shared agreement over what constitutes a bona fide professional. Contemporarily, the paper highlights a paradox where the culture of excellence in academia hides employers' aversion to the risk(s) of employing someone too culturally distant. The growing number of foreign academics therefore seems to suggest numerical internationalisation rather than an inclusion of diverse career paths.

### **Transnational Professionals and their Experience of Global Work in Corporate 'Non-Places'**

*Skovgaard-Smith, Irene*

*(Anglia Ruskin University)*

High-skilled migration and mobility is increasingly attracting sociological interest and studies have demonstrated how transnational professionals create their own cultural universes and craft new forms of identity and belonging with local and global consequences (Colic-Peisker, 2010; Kennedy, 2004, 2010; Nowicka, 2006). However, their experiences of work in the transnational organizations that drive their mobility, and how these professionals in turn influence global work environments, has received less attention.

This paper investigates the closely intertwined experience of global work and mobility based on data from an ethnographic study of a community of high-skilled migrants working in headquarter offices of multinational corporations (MNCs) in Amsterdam. The paper draws on narrative interviews with 21 international managers and other professionals representing experiences from 30 different global organisations over the course of their careers. The participants come from 14 different countries and had an average of 9 years of international work experience. There is an almost equal distribution of women and men in the sample (10 women and 11 men).

Most of the research participants worked in foreign-based headquarter offices located in Amsterdam, such as regional or divisional headquarters of large MNCs. The findings show how their lived experience of global work, and the work environments where it is performed, centers on a sense of placelessness that resonates with, but also challenges,

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sociological conceptions of 'non-places' and mobilities (Augé, 2008; Bauman, 2000; Urry, 2007). These corporate 'non-places' tend to be located in faceless corporate office parks on the outskirts of Amsterdam and are inhabited by an international work force of mobile people with few local nationals amongst the staff and English as corporate language. Furthermore, the work of coordinating organizational globalization implies constant virtual and physical mobility and abstract dealings with distant places. 'Its like leaving the Netherlands when you go to work' as one participant echoed Bauman's (2000: 98) depiction of being transported to a 'completely other' world in shopping malls for instance. Only these professionals were talking about places of work that they inhabit on a daily basis and where social relations, networks and shared ways of interacting are formed. The latter involves ways of 'neutralizing' yourself and your 'culture', as they described it, while also objectifying and using perceived cultural differences as resources for work and sociality in relation to colleagues of different nationalities, different national markets and other parts of the transnational organization.

The paper aims to contribute to the study of transnational labour migration and mobility by investigating the non-placeness of global work and in particular the mutually constituting relationship between high-skilled migrants and the corporate 'non-places' where they spend their working lives. These work environments are both shaping and being shaped by an emerging class of transnational professionals who are living a particular form of placeless embeddedness that challenges our understandings of global 'non-places' and mobilities.

## **Meaningful Work**

### **DUBLIN 2**

#### **Absolute Autonomy, Recognition and Derived Dignity: Towards a Typology of Meaningful work**

*Laaser, Knut, Sharon Bolton*

*(Brandenburg Technische Universitaet Cottbus)*

Thinking about meaningful work is a political as well as normative undertaking. It is normative because it rests on the understanding that work can, and should, be a key source for people to exercise capabilities in order to flourish and experience life as meaningful (Breen, 2007; Marx, 1974; Yeoman, 2014). In this light, meaningful work is viewed as a key fundamental human need that determines to a significant extent whether a 'good life' can be achieved (Rosa, 2016; Rosso et al, 2010; Yeoman, 2014). Work, however, can also be a source of suffering and disadvantage if it denies people's need for applying and utilizing their capacities or if it is unjust (Bourdieu, 1998; Honneth, 2010; Gombert, 2007; Sayer, 2009). There is a widespread consensus in sociological and philosophical debates that meaningful work is a political matter as authors consider what work demands from people (Findlay and Thompson, 2017; Kalleberg, 2011); how meaningless work can result in rising levels of political and social apathy, and ultimately social disintegration, and how the contemporary political economy rests on a division of labour and growth in poor quality jobs (Budd, 2011; Marx, 1974; Polanyi, 1957; Standing, 2010). It has been widely argued that meaningful work is denied to the majority of labour market participants; creating contributive injustice and constraining the flourishing of large sections of the global workforce (Gombert, 2007; Lane, 1991; Sayer, 2009).

Wishing to continue and expand the discussion on meaningful work as a political and normative issue, this article offers a view of actors holding the capacity to experience, create or defend, to varying degrees and in different ways, meaning in and at work. That is, we do not define work as meaningful, or not, but seek to understand how people derive meaning; sometimes from apparently meaningless jobs. We review contemporary debates on meaningful work and explore the differing contributions showing how some emphasise the normative and others the political, and only recently are contributions capturing the multi-dimensional nature of meaningful work. Within this complex conceptual landscape, we offer a new analytical scaffold in the form of an approach that supports a typology of meaningful work that brings together moral economy (the normative) and a political economy approaches to the organisation of work (the political) to illustrate that workplaces are contested terrains in which meaning is created and defended in different ways by actors who are evaluative meaning makers and driven by a concern for their own and other's well-being (Archer, 2000; Author A and B; Karlsson, 2010; Sayer, 2011; Thompson, 1991). This theoretical scaffold frames the typology of the meaning of work that this article puts forward.

The proposed typology has three dimensions: absolute autonomy, recognition and derived dignity. The typology is derived from conceptual papers and empirical case studies published in work, employment and critical management journals.

#### **Beyond the Social Centrality of Work and Post-Work Conditions: Perceptions of Meaningful Employment in the Cultural and Creative Industries**

*Peirson-Smith, Anne*

*(City University of Hong Kong)*

The primary aim of this presentation is to advance an understanding of the changing social conditions and perceptions of work in the creative workforce of Hong Kong – an exemplary case of advanced capitalist and multicultural society – and to compare this to the state of creative labour globally. Following 50 in-depth interviews with Hong Kong creative labourers over the past twelve months, the study addressed the prevailing issues of individual workers' subjective experiences, reflections and resistance in terms of the perceptions of their working lives in the context of broader public issues and structural problems. The analytical focus is on the television, print media, public relations and advertising industries since they represent substantial economic worth and constitute a significant employment rate in Hong Kong. Beyond their significant economic contribution, these selected cultural and creative industries represent three different logics of production. In Hong Kong these industries appear to be the ones that have an incongruent image, while practitioners suffer from high vulnerability and precariousness of work where, for instance, the project-based contract nature of creative work provides limited security for workers. Yet, despite the fact that these industries seemingly make a significant contribution to the local economy, the project-based and contract nature of employment means that practitioners on an individual level often lack agency and experience work precarity as work hours and working conditions in general are unregulated and unprotected, whilst fringe benefits are non-existent. Theoretically, this paper will investigate an increasingly troubling contradiction between the persistent centrality of work in late capitalist society and the challenges to stable and satisfying employment in selected creative industries. In order to understand this situation, an exploratory ethnographic interview sample contained a mix of seniorities and job functions representing a range of job roles and contract status to observe and obtain situated narratives of working conditions in these sectors. Findings suggest that creative workers experience ambivalent working conditions in terms of long hours, relatively low pay and lack of security and consistent investment in their career progression resulting in a relatively high job turnover. Also, creative workers often buy into the mythic glamour of these industries and after investing time on creative education and gaining the job of their dreams find that the harsh working reality is far from their aspirations, yet often absorb this and in the absence of unionisation they start to accept this as the new normal. The lack of agency on the part of young creative workers means that they tend to have no loyalty for their organisation and often jump ship for a few dollars more. Also evidence emerged of small, independent and large-scale agencies attempting to accommodate their workers by creating a work life balance. Hence, the more traditional, hierarchical management approaches in these industries are changing and moving away from classical management principles to more progressive, flat organisational management styles in response to a new worker demographic and the digitisation of the communication landscape requiring faster response times in servicing client needs.

### **Work and Employment among Women in India: New Insights**

*Bazaz, Rabiya Yaseen., Akram, M.*

*(Aligarh Muslim University)*

#### **Introduction**

Sociological studies of women's employment and work largely uncover the mechanisms of gender inequality and the intersectionality of the socioeconomic and politico-cultural structures surrounding 'work'. The feminists reject the biological division of labour theory and argue that gender roles are culturally determined and inequality between the sexes results from socially constructed power relationship. However, within academic discourses, the definitions of work, labour force, and employment are still gendered and few have questioned their logic or rationalisation. Based on the empirical findings and sociological insights, this paper attempts to revisit some of these definitions and explores three important trends in work profile of women in India: feminisation of unpaid work, unemployment and labour.

#### **Methodology**

This study is conducted in district Srinagar of the state Jammu & Kashmir (India). Purposive sampling was used for selecting a heterogeneous population and census method was used for identifying the respondents. Interview Schedule was used for collecting data from all 704 eligible respondents available in the research area and some typical cases were also selected for case study.

#### **Findings**

It is observed that 97% of 392 males and 53% of 312 females are engaged in Economically Rewarding Activities (ERA) and conventionally defined as employed. In case of males, remaining three percent are defined as unemployed but in case of females, among those who are not engaged in ERA, only 17% are considered as unemployed and remaining 83% (married, divorced and widowed generally labelled as house wives) are not considered 'unemployed' and are assumed to exist outside the labour force. This is an erroneous convention as these women are engaged in human development and care giving work and should be considered part of the work force. These women report themselves as 'unemployed' and are willing to contribute in ERA along with their household work. This gender-biased definition of work, ERA and unemployment contributes to the statistical veil over women's work. Further, out of the total women outside the ERA, 47% are highly qualified and rest have educational attainment varying between primary to senior secondary levels. Among the employed women, about one third are working in formal sector and the rest are generally working either as low paid contractual teachers or daily wage skilled/ semi-skilled/ unskilled workers.

#### **Conclusion**

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This sociological study identifies several disturbing trends existing in the domain of 'women and work', some of which are: (i) the proportion of women who are officially considered as employed is low; (ii) the definition of employment is non-inclusive as it looks at work from the lens of ERA only; (iii) the definition of 'labour-force' is erroneous as it excludes people performing household and care giving work and; (iv) proportion of women in 'household and care giving work' is exceptionally high as males are rarely performing such 'unpayable' work; (v) women's representation is low in formal sectors of employment and high in informal labour. This paper addresses above mentioned issues of women's work as well as explores the social, cultural and economic factors structuring them.



## Assessing Working Conditions in Supply Chains COPENHAGEN 1

### **The Examination of Supply Chain Pressures in Job Quality: The Case of Scottish Spirits Industry**

*Mendonca, Pedro, Kirsty Newsome, Dora Scholarios*  
(Nottingham Trent University)

The aspiration for 'more and better jobs' throughout Europe has sparked much academic and policy debate (European Commission, 2001; Gallie, 2013; Leschke and Watt, 2008). In the UK, the focus on job quality has recently gained momentum with the Taylor Report (Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, 2017). However, to date the examination of job quality has been conducted mainly by looking at macroeconomic or micro/workplace levels (Sengupta et al., 2009). Currently, researchers are increasingly stressing the importance of examining sectoral and industry dynamics as key determinants in shaping job quality. For instance, by focusing on the service sector, Lloyd and Payne (2016) provided a thorough account of the ways in which product market forces shape skills and job quality in three different occupations. Similarly, Grimshaw and Lehndorff (2010) suggested that in order to better understand job quality, researchers need to examine the dynamics stemming from sectoral and product market contexts. In doing so, they demonstrated that job quality outcomes are contingent upon specific production and sectoral characteristics.

In response to such calls to broaden the analysis of factors influencing job quality, the present study examines the processes through which job quality is shaped in the context of supply chains. There is a growing acknowledgement that the decisions and strategies of one organisation can influence outcomes at the workplaces of other organisations in its supply chain (Wright and Kaine, 2015). For instance, research investigating retail supply chains, which are highly competitive and cost-driven, has demonstrated that suppliers become vulnerable to pressures by retailers to comply with specific supply chain requirements. As a result, management practices and labour processes are adjusted to keep unintended costs down and a smooth supply chain flow (Newsome et al., 2013; Raworth and Kidder, 2009; Wright and Lund, 2006). Therefore, this study is particularly concerned with the ways in which supply chain dynamics influence the labour process, and in turn three specific job quality dimensions – job security, working time, and skills.

Qualitative data was gathered in three workplaces which were involved in the same production network – SpiritsCo, MaltCo, and TranspCo. Thematic data analysis was based on 48 semi-structured interviews, three focus groups, document analysis, and hours of observation.

The findings demonstrate the processes through which the three different dimensions of job quality examined in this study were affected by supply chain pressures. First, the pressure for cost efficiency had pushed suppliers to adopt increasingly flexible working practices. Consequently, workers were experiencing higher job insecurity, as well as heightened pressure to accept nonstandard working hours, unexpected calls for overtime, and shift extensions. Second, the drive towards reliability and predictability of quality and quantity within the supply chain, resulted in the continuous implementation of technology, which deeply affected workers' skills and task discretion. The study contributes evidence in a seldom-studied area of job quality dynamics. We discuss theoretical implications, specifically with respect to conceptualising how management responses to supply chain pressures impact worker experiences of job quality.

### **Combining Global Value Chain Approach and Sociology of Work to Study Contemporary Labour Process and Industrial Relation: A Case Study in the Swiss Machinery Industry**

*Martinelli, Aris*  
(IDESO)

The study of the human collectivises which are constituted through work was the traditional object of study in the sociology of work (Friedmann & Naville, 1965). In this perspective work is a 'social act and fact' that include both the analysis of labour process at the firm level and the social and individuals conditions of work activity. In the 1950 years sociologists that done empirical inquiry were able to capture the essence of labour process inside a single company in which the working class was concentrated. Moreover, due to a relatively homogeneous working class that are organized through trades unions and parties, researches have focused on some issues such as collective action, social negotiation, workers identity and work alienation.

Since the end of the past century some socio-economic evolutions involve in a challenge to the sociology of work in order to understand the new issues of work. First, the functional and geographical fragmentation of production translates into the emergence of a Global Value Chains (GVCs) (Baldwin, 2013). The GVCs affect companies' structure as well as the classic forms of work subordination. Second, theses transformations affect the morphology (division of labour, contracts, sectors of activity, qualifications, age, gender ethnicity, etc.) and the form of being of the working class (i.e. the subjective-political-ideological dimension that influence their individual and collective action) (Antunes, 2015).

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In this context, labour process become more complex and embedded in a new global space characterized by news actors (multinational companies, NGOs, etc.) and institutions (supranational organization, international labour standards, etc.). Furthermore, the traditional workers organizations experiencing particular difficulty to organize a new working class in a changing world. Then some scholars produces theoretical and empirical research bases on a GVC framework. The globalisation is considered as the result of inter-firm dynamic depending on the characteristics of the firms that composed the value chain as well as the types of inter-firm relations (Gereffi, Humphrey, & Sturgeon, 2005; Hamilton & Gereffi, 2009). On the part of sociology of work some research are focused on the consequence of the globalization dynamic for a specific category of workers such as laid-off employees (Linhart, 2005, 2009) or the « surviving workers » (Bonvin & Simon, 2009; Pez  , 2008), the employment precariat (Appay & Jefferys, 2009; Perez, 2014) or the changes in social negotiation (Bonvin, Cianferoni, & Martinelli, 2016; Contrepois, 2010) and industrial relation (Drahokoupil, 2015; Fichter, 2015).

While theses researches contribute to understand some aspects of globalization, they do not be sufficient alone to understand the new issues of work. If the GVC approach is firm-centrist and neglect labour in the dynamic of globalization, the majority of the researches in sociology of work do not take into account the spatial and international division of labour. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to show the analytical and explanatory power of a combination of GVC approach and sociology of work methods for the study of firm and work transformations. Our theoretical contribution is based on a case study in the Swiss machinery industry.

## **School-work Transitions: Educational Credentials, Agencies and Migration**

### **COPENHAGEN 2**

#### **Degree Power: Educational Credentialism within Three Skilled Occupations**

*Tholen, Gerbrand*

*(City, University of London)*

The paper examines the role of educational credentials in accessing the occupations of laboratory-based scientists, software engineers and press officers. It explores how workers and employers understand the role of higher education in accessing the labour market and to what extent degrees serve as credentials within these occupations. It adopts a qualitative occupational comparative approach using interview data with workers and employers from a wider study on the UK graduate labour market. A total of 81 interviews were conducted. The majority of these were with graduate workers in the three occupations. In addition, employers, HR managers/recruiters, non-graduate workers and HE lecturers from relevant fields were interviewed.

Rather than functioning as either direct signs of work skills and knowledge, signals of trainability or as instruments of social closure, the study shows that higher education credentials serve multiple roles within the three occupations. These occupational-specific forms of credentialism shape the competition for jobs for university graduates. The paper reflects further on this multi-purpose nature of university degrees and argues for a renewed theoretical approach to educational credentialism. Sociologists need to reduce the reliance on economic theories such as human capital theory and mainstream signalling and screening theories, and to explore how credentials are socially constructed by workers, employers and others involved.

#### **Agency and Agencies: The Role of Intermediaries in Young People's Transitions into Employment**

*Purcell, Kate, Phil Mizen, Arlene Robertson, Charikleia Tzanakou*

*(University of Warwick)*

This paper derives from research undertaken between 2014 -17 as part of the ESRC-funded project Precarious Pathways to Employment for Young People? - an interdisciplinary research project investigating the operation of the youth labour market, focusing on changing opportunities for young people and the policies that determine and restrict access to employment. This paper draws on data from detailed interviews with two samples of young people who entered the labour market in the wake of the 2008-9 recession: graduates who completed degrees in 2009/10 and were Midlands domiciled before entering higher education, studied in the Midlands or were working in the Midlands in 2011/12, and Midlands-domiciled 16-22 year olds who made the transition directly from secondary education or FE colleges to employment around the same time.

In the case of the school and college leavers, focus groups were carried out in a number of schools, FE colleges and other organisations working with young people, to discuss their plans, aspirations and knowledge about the options available to them, and their experiences of making the transition from education to the labour market. A second objective was to obtain permission to proceed to interview a sub-sample them, some while still in education, and to follow them up 12-18 months later. In the case of the graduates, we conducted detailed telephone interviews with members of the

target group of respondents to the earlier HECSU-sponsored Futuretrack longitudinal survey that had followed higher education applicants from UCAS application in 2005/6 to graduation in 2009/10 and on until 2012, where we already had detailed socio-economic, educational and early career information to build upon.

For both groups, in investigating the impact of paid and unpaid work experience in the transition from education to paid work in early career development, it became clear that a range of labour market intermediaries had played important roles in labour market entry and early career experiences, with very different implications for young people in relation to their educational qualifications and socio-economic backgrounds. Which young people are constrained by or benefit from the increasing fragmentation of work and the growth of 'the gig economy'? Is ensuring that employers offer 'good conditions of employment' to their workers, as advocated by the recent Taylor Report, enough to safeguard young job-seekers and early career workers from exploitation and enable them to access sustainable opportunities? We explore the implications for our findings for young people, those who advise them in schools, colleges, universities and careers advisory organisations, policymakers and employers.

See: [www.warwick.ac.uk/paths2work](http://www.warwick.ac.uk/paths2work) and [www.warwick.ac.uk/Futuretrack](http://www.warwick.ac.uk/Futuretrack).

See also

Matthew Taylor, Good Work: the Taylor Review of Modern Working Practices July 2017 <https://www.gov.uk/.../good-work-the-taylor-review-of-modern-working-practices>

### **Double Disadvantage? Internal Graduate Migration, Gender and the Labor Market Outcome among Recent College Graduates in China**

*Zhao, Mengyao*

*(Bielefeld University)*

In international migration literature, immigrant women are found to be at a double disadvantage in labor market both of being immigrants and women. A similar phenomenon exists in China where the institutional context- the Household Registration (Hukou) system greatly constrains the job opportunities of female migrants in low-skilled labor market. With the reinstatement of Gaokao (a nationally standardized college entrance exam) in 1977, education has been characterized to be a fair solution to employment inequalities. Nevertheless, the question remains as to whether changing dynamics of China's higher education—the supposedly equalizing educational opportunities and fair competitions—are equally translated into individuals' chances in the labor market. Based on the data from a national representative survey, this paper examines how internal graduate migration interacts with gender and plays a key role in shaping inequality during employment-education transition. Results show that, on one hand, female graduate migrants are at a double disadvantage in access to state sector which offer higher monetary rewards as well as more fringe benefits. On the other hand, even though geographical mobility helps to increase graduates' income in general, the effect varies across employment sectors and female migrants who end up in non-state sector are economically disadvantaged twice. In summary, although graduate migrants are a highly selective group equipped with better human-capital endowment, female migrants still have difficulties to convert their educational success into labor market outcomes because of the existing barriers based on gender and hukou locality.

## **Precarity in International and Biographical Perspectives**

### **GRAND 4 & 5**

#### **Non-profit Workers and Employment in South Africa: Precarity and Employment Degradation in the Developmental State**

*Cunningham, Ian*

*(University of Strathclyde)*

South Africa's post-apartheid labour market involves an institutional framework containing structures that promote industry-wide bargaining and social dialogue at a national level, alongside a continuing influential trade union movement (Donnelly and Dunn, 2006). Moreover, legislation designed to eradicate racial discrimination and normalize employment relations swept away the legal basis for the apartheid labour market (Donnelly 1999). Yet post-apartheid South Africa remains deeply unequal, in terms of the distribution of income, partly because poverty remains extensive outside of those benefiting from formal employment, industry bargaining and trade union protection (Seekings, 2014). Notably there is a the mushrooming of underemployed among the urban poor (Davis, 2007)

Using a qualitative study, of three South African non-profit agencies, this paper explores the lived experience in this informal employment relations system using the South African voluntary sector social care workers sector. Patel (2012) found that the South African government saw the developmental potential of civil society to help the vulnerable and alleviate poverty in the post-apartheid state. Yet like other 'partnerships' between state and voluntary agencies, South African NGOs have suffered from variability and underfunding of their services by government (Patel, 2012). Public service delivery in South Africa is provided by the casually employed, informally employed and unemployed (Alexander,

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2010). Acknowledging Patel's (2012) variable forms of vulnerability among non-profits to the downside of state outsourcing in South Africa, our findings reveal how in circumstances of insecure funding leads to varying forms of degradation among non-profit workers and volunteers. These range from hunger to receiving wages below public sector counterparts and poor career prospects. Opportunities for voice and representation are also absent to relieve these problems. Combined these pressures raise doubts about the sustainability of the Developmental state in South Africa built on precarious employment.

**Perceptions of Precarity - Taking Social and Biographical Contexts into Account**

*Brandt, Stefan*

*(University of Hamburg)*

Against the background of precarisation (Castel 2002) and neoliberalization (Bourdieu 1998) as central developments in the process of modernization, changes in wage labour and the restructuring of western welfare states have been much discussed in the past two decades. To describe the social consequences of changes in wage labour the assumption of an interrelation between 'integration through work' and 'integration through networks' (Castel 2002) is crucial. Although the importance of this interrelation is repeatedly emphasized theoretically, it is hardly been analyzed empirically.

In a subjective sense precarity is based on perceptions and interpretations of individuals. Since these perceptions are shaped in accordance with the immediate environment of individuals they can be seen as relational. Therefore social support and social network structures affect perceptions of individuals twofold: positive and negative. Whereas stable networks and positive support can reduce negative perceptions of wage labour situations, 'not being able to keep up with one's immediate environment' (Marquardsen 2015) as well as a lack of reciprocity due to material hardship (Gefken 2017) and disenchanting support expectancies (Laireiter/Lettner 1993) can reinforce perceptions of wage labour situations as being precarious. Yet given that social relationships are 'lived histories of iterated interaction which constantly evolve as a function of continued interaction between parties' (Crossley 2010: 8) they can be seen as dynamic processes and should be analyzed as such.

Taking dynamics of social network structures and social support as well as biographical processes into consideration in this context serves as part of a complex comparative analysis that aims to disclose specific interrelations between 'integration through work' and 'integration through networks'.

**Less is Enough: Young Adults Struggling with Irregular Incomes and Working Hours**

*Anttila, Anu-Hanna., Soc.Sci Päivi Berg*

*(The Finnish Youth Research Society)*

Non-standard work has become more common in the Finnish labour market. The conditions for working and ways of income has been re-negotiated and working life has become more fragile during the last decades. This paper examines the 22–37-year-old Finns who work in part-time jobs or are self-employed in the economically declining industrial area in southeast Finland. In the case study of young adults (N=38), we have asked what does their livelihood comprise of? How do they manage their time? The one-week time-use diaries, interviews and ethnographic fieldwork have revealed e.g. flexible working culture and specific coping strategies. For example, a part-time salesperson or a freelancer are competing with irregular incomes 'less is enough' and working too long hours 'somehow I manage'. In general, one must learn how to navigate the labour market, which increasingly forces job seekers to employ themselves or work low-wage jobs.

## **Emotional Labour, Burnout and Employee Resilience**

### **AMSTERDAM 1**

**Understanding the Relationship Between Surface Acting in Emotional Labour, Burnout and Retention in Nursing**

*Theodosius, Catherine, Christina Koulougliotti, Paula Kersten, Zita Warren, Anita Clarke, Claire Rosten*

*(University of Brighton)*

This paper reports the findings of a study investigating the relationship between surface and deep acting in patient-focussed and collegial emotional labour, burnout and retention in newly qualified nurses (greater than 2 years' experience) and experienced nurses over the age of 55 (Less than 5 years' experience) carried out in an acute care NHS Trust in the South East of England. Retention in nursing is a pressing concern. NHS Digital (2018) reported 1:10 nurses were leaving the profession, with over half of them under the age of 40. Over the last 12 months the number of UK registrants leaving the profession has increased by 9% while the number of EU registrants leaving has increased by 67 % (NMC Nov 2017). It is known that burnout is linked to nurses choosing to leave the profession. In a European survey, 42% of UK nurses reported burnout compared to the European average of 28%. (HEE 2014). Stress, burnout

and turnover rates are particularly high in novice nurses throughout their first and second year post qualification (HEE 2014). The development of the Emotional Labour Scale (ELS) a reliable measurement of emotional labour (EL) and its key strategies of surface and deep acting alongside the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach et al 1996) has established a relationship between surface acting and burnout (Brotheridge & Lee 2002). There is an assumption however, that this is EL with patients rather than colleagues. Investigating this, using the ELS and MBI scales, our findings show that of all the participating nurses (N=111 with 51 novice nurses, & 60 experienced nurses), 52.3% (n=58) have thought of leaving their current job; 51.4% (n=57) have thought of leaving the organisation and 41.4% (n=46) have thought of leaving the nursing profession, irrespective of whether they are novice or experienced nurses. Further, surface acting was positively related to emotional exhaustion ( $r=0.398$ ,  $p=0.000$ ) and depersonalisation ( $r=0.373$ ,  $p=0.000$ ) and negatively to personal achievement ( $r=-0.297$ ,  $p=0.002$ ). The higher the emotional display of surface acting the higher the emotional exhaustion and feelings of depersonalization and lower the feelings of personal achievement. We looked whether there was a statistically significant difference in any of these variables and retention. We found that there were several statistically significant relationships: Those who said YES 'I am thinking of leaving my job' scored higher in emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation than those who said NO; Those who also said YES 'I am thinking of leaving my job' scored higher in surface acting (for patients and for colleagues) than those who said NO. Leaving the nursing profession was only related to burnout and not emotional labour. We found no difference between patient-focussed EL and collegial EL, suggesting that it is the act of surface acting that is significant, rather than the recipient. This contradicts Hochschild's (1983) belief that it was deep acting that caused alienation of self. Further, it is possible that developing strategies that reduce surface acting may prevent the development of emotional exhaustion and de-personalization providing a positive intervention for NHS organisations that results in increased nurse retention.

### **Towards a New Typology of Emotional Labour: How Institutional Logics Shape Emotional Labour**

Vedi, Priyanka

(University of Nottingham)

This paper considers the nature of emotional labour under multiple, often competing, institutional logics. Following Hochschild (1979, 1983), emotional labour refers to the notion that human feelings are managed during social interactions within the labour process, as shaped by the dictates of capitalism. Emotional labour has become an important, widespread and predominant feature of modern work and society. The concept of emotional labour has also become increasingly significant within psychological, sociological and organizational literatures – attracting the attention of several academics, and characterizing the dimensions of service work, healthcare environments, educational sectors and other workplace contexts. Although emotional labour has been explored through a variety of perspectives and within a number of different workplaces, analysis has not yet included consideration of how broader institutional forces drive the nature of emotional labour during interactions with both service users and colleagues. This paper argues, then, by connecting different levels of analysis (i.e. national, societal, organizational and individual), the influence of institutional forces on one's emotional work and management in the workplace becomes clearer. The interactions between and within these levels of analysis highlight the multifaceted ways in which emotional labour is carried out by workers in the workplace and the (mostly) collective ways in which emotions are managed with colleagues and others.

Following recent societal change, this paper argues that it is important to consider the influence of institutional theory on the performance of emotional labour in the new workplace. Specifically, changes to the political economy and associated public service reforms have brought conflicting institutional logics into the frontline of public service work. Given the rise of consumerism and the political focus on the efficiency of services, we argue that multiple, competing institutional logics are found to impinge on important aspects of emotional labour. In light of this, a new typology is presented in order to demonstrate how the nature of emotional labour is multifaceted and shaped by a number of contradictory logics. The institutional logics referred to herein are those of market rationality, professionalism, consumerism and community orientation. Following the societal changes outlined above, competing institutional logics are considered to influence different types of emotional labour during social interactions within the workplace. Accordingly, we argue that the institutional logics perspective offers clear and valuable insights into the means by which emotional labour is performed within various workplace contexts, and the implications that this may have for all of those involved in the process. We suggest that by exploring the nature of emotional labour through a lens provided by institutional theory, this will help to tease out the influences upon conducting emotional work, and the implications that this may have for individual workers, service users and colleagues in the workplace.

### **Toughing it out or figuring it out: Two Approaches to Employee Resilience**

Bardoel, Anne, Robert Drago

(Swinburne University of Technology)

Although employee resilience has been the subject of extensive study, it remains poorly theorized and understood. The present analysis offers and conceptualizes two different types of resilience: 'acceptance resilience' and 'strategic resilience.' Acceptance resilience is the process of responding to the immediate realities of an adverse event by positively adjusting to new constraints on behavior or resources resulting from that event. Strategic resilience is the process of understanding the realities of an adverse event and reflecting and acting upon present and future opportunities resulting from that event. This distinction is first described in terms of prior research, where it often appears

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implicitly. The distinction is then theoretically located in Conservation of Resources (COR) theory. From a COR perspective, the absence of resilience is reflected in self-harm in response to adversity, or unnecessary resource losses, which might include losses in terms of health or finances, employment, or family, friends, community and religious supports. Acceptance resilience involves striving to conserve existing resources in response to adversity, with strategic resilience involving resource investments likely to yield future resource gains. Resources such as optimism, realism, social supports, and self-esteem may be associated with both types of resilience, with differences including correlations between acceptance resilience and a present orientation, spirituality, gratitude, positive reframing, mindfulness, along with the personality trait of agreeableness, and emotion focused or cognitive restructuring coping skills, and low levels of general resources. Strategic resilience may instead be associated with resources including a future orientation, competence, autonomy, tolerance of ambiguity, problem-solving abilities, and courage, along with the personality trait of openness, problem focused or planning coping strategies, and higher levels of general resources.

All else equal, in the employment context, acceptance resilience offers relative advantages to employers facing adversity because it is associated with persistence, conformity, and obedience. In isolation, strategic resilience is likely associated with both employee voice and exit or quits because they engage in forward-looking problem-solving behavior. Employers can, however, shift strategic resilience towards what is labelled 'strategic employee resilience,' by facilitating both strategic resilience and Person-Organization (P-O) fit, most broadly through practices associated with high-performance work systems (HPWS). Employees exhibiting strategic employee resilience are committed to the employer.

The analysis also considers interpretations of existing resilience scales and employee resilience scales in light of the proposed conceptualization, and implications for future scale development. A discussion raises questions of how resilience research and training could be improved, along with questions raised but yet to be answered by the new approach.

## **Opportunities and Precarity of Older Workers**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

#### **Older Workers and Potentiality in the Knowledge Economy**

*den Outer, Birgit, Karen Handley*  
(Oxford Brookes University)

The notion of potentiality is normally associated with the young. It is argued (e.g. Taylor et al. 2010; Costea et al. 2012) that in the workplace potential of future performance, of what is possible, is valued over actual expertise or a track record of performance. This is problematic for current and future generations of workers in their fifties: sandwiched between younger and older generations of dependents their working lives are far from over at this particular age. Indeed, with a pensionable age pushed back to beyond 65 years of age, current workers in their fifties could be seen as 'mid-career' rather than as approaching retirement. But how do workers construct new and different meanings about having potential? To what extent do they feel they have potential? How do others make judgements about one's productive potential? How do they experience places of work where age seems to be so much more than just a number?

We conducted a qualitative study among 48-58 year-olds, employed in the so-called knowledge economy. We argue that policy and large-scale quantitative research tends to homogenize older workers; our narrative approach which included an imagination of future selves aimed to bring back complexity to workers' experiences. We interviewed 24 participants about their careers and career choices to date and their hopes and fears for their imagined futures, with interviews lasting from one to two-and-a-half hours. The project consisted of two stages. The first 15 interviewees were overwhelmingly recruited from the public sector. Here we looked at narratives that played out, as we interpreted them, between on the one hand pushing away at the 'dead end' of retirement, and on the other maintaining or creating a positive identity of an 'employable worker'. In the second stage, we recruited nine participants from the private sector. Here, in particular we looked at respondents' awareness of their own human capital, which possibilities they saw for its future use, and the ways in which they felt age was a constraining factor in bringing to the workplace what employers seem to want. We tentatively conclude that the promise of potentiality - 'a representation of the human subject as capable of becoming always more than what it is' (Costea et al. 2012, p. 31) - seems increasingly harder to deliver as one gets older. Routes of agency for our respondents to mitigate the lack of potentiality associated with age included projection of potential to employers; reinvention; and making age an invisible attribute, i.e. becoming age-less. As one of our participants comments: 'you can't keep doing what you've always done, you've got to produce more, every employer wants more so you've got to find something special that only you can do or something that they haven't thought of that they realise they need, and that gets harder to do'. We discuss the implications of age for potentiality, the limited possibilities of reinvention and the problematic stereotypes of older workers of this baby boomer generation.

#### **'Rubber Knees': Surveillance and Resistance in Operator Services**

*Marks, Abigail, Robert MacKenzie, Gordon Jack*  
(Heriot-Watt University)

Call centre work became the epitome of the degradation of employment in the late 20th century, offering work that was typically low skilled, monotonous, with high degrees of surveillance and little prospect of career development. Parallels were drawn with previous forms of centralised, mechanised, low-skill and often brutal employment regimes of the past as call centres were famously branded the contemporary equivalent of 'dark satanic mills'.

Yet, this partial picture ignores the more direct historical antecedents to call centres represented by telephonists working in the telephone exchanges of national telecoms providers such as BT, or its predecessor the GPO. At its height BT/GPO employed tens-of-thousands telephonists within its Operator Services function. Predominantly (although interestingly, not exclusively) young women worked in ranks of switchboards, physically connecting plug-in wires to direct phone-calls or answering customer inquiries for services ranging from requests for telephone numbers, to weather and traffic reports. Workers were subject to high levels of surveillance, in terms of the call monitoring that would later be cited as the basis of the electronic panopticon, the public displays of calls taken and more direct means of physical surveillance by the feared and respected supervisors - the matriarchs of the exchanges. There was a strict regime of workplace discipline, reflecting the historic civil service and military influence over the organisation, which manifest in everything from dress-code to a draconian system for visiting the toilet.

Yet this strict regime coincided with a surprising level of autonomy over the reorganisation of shifts, allowing workers to arrange between themselves to swap shifts. Moreover, unlike call centre work, rather than being seen as the epitome of a 'dead-end' job, employment as a GPO telephonist afforded a degree of social and geographic mobility, employment stability, career progression and status. Employment as BT/GPO telephonist was regarded as a respectable - especially for young women - and sought-after job. These workers were unionised and had enviable pension arrangements. Plus the work provided a transferable skill that afforded career mobility if required: at a time when telephony skills were a necessary and valued part of many large organisations, there was a cache attached to GPO training and experience.

By the 1990s, Operator Services had been decimated in terms of numbers. Much of traditional telephonist role had been incorporated within new generations of switching technology. Unpopular moves to new work environments and new desk-top technology made the work more monotonous, less engaging and less demanding. That work in a BT call centre no longer requires months of training reflects the culmination of a long process of deskilling and occupational downgrading, but surveillance and control has always been part of the workplace experience.

This paper is based on interviews with 25 individuals (predominantly women) who worked for the GPO/BT in the 1960s/70 and 80s and explores the relationship that these individuals had with the technology with which they worked and how the organisation of work and associated surveillance impacted on them but also how it serves and the precursor to contemporary work.

## **Intersectionality and Organisational Diversity**

### **BERLIN 1**

#### **Why do Indian Women Leave the ICT Sector During Mid-Careers? An Intersectional Approach**

*Venkatesan, Aparna*  
(University of Sussex)

Research shows that globally women are less represented compared with men in the ICT workforce (Trauth, 2006) and particularly they account only for 2.3% of senior technical positions such as CIO on the global Fortune 500 companies list (Catalyst, 2014). While literature has documented varied patterns of social, structural and individual barriers for women's underrepresentation in top management in ICT's around the world (Ahuja, 2002; Arun and Arun, 2002; Trauth, 2006); recent research notes that retaining women in the ICT workforce is just as problematic as attracting them in the first place (Adam et al., 2006). For instance, studies in the USA point women's decision in voluntarily 'opting out' of careers in late stages to be one of the important reasons for their under-representation in top management positions (Belkin, 2003). Similarly, studies involving a majority of countries within Asia show women's decision in opting out during the later stages of their ICT careers to be one of the main reasons for their underrepresentation in senior technical roles (Gender diversity benchmark for Asia, 2011). However, research on India suggests that Indian women may decide to exit very early, i.e. during their junior to mid-career transition in the ICT sector (Gender diversity benchmark for Asia, 2011; NASCOM, 2017) and that this may be one of the main reasons for their underrepresentation in senior technical roles. Despite the fact that most of the countries in the Asian region are seen to lose on their technical women potential only during later stages of their careers, we find significant differences within this region, yielding the need for further investigation on India to understand its unique pattern of women careers in the ICT sector. It should be noted that while low proportion of women in technical careers has been attributed to the scarcity of female students choosing to graduate with computing degrees in the western societies (Pau et al., 2011; Wadhwa, 2014), it is not clear that this fully accounts for the scarcity of women working in technical roles in India owing to the increasing percentage of women participating in computing education (Gupta, 2015; Catalyst, 2014) and entering technical careers (NASCOM, 2017). Therefore, this study finds India as a unique case to study. While Ahuja (2002) has noted that social and structural factors influence

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women's decision to stay or quit ICT careers during career persistence stage (mid-stage); I argue that the applicability of such a model is in question considering the fact that women's lives are differently shaped by the intersection of race, class and ethnicity across geographical contexts (Kabeer, 2008). Thus, rather treating women as a homogeneous population, stratifying the population in a more nuanced manner, such as by gender within ethnic and class group will provide valuable insights into the lived experiences of women in ICT careers (Kvasny et al., 2009; Trauth, 2012). This paper aims to address this gap in the literature by addressing the influence of intersectionalities with gender in shaping women's career decisions in Indian ICT workforce.

**Using Intersectionality to Understand Farm Women's Complex Work Lives**

*Machum, Susan*

*(St. Thomas University)*

Research on farm women has long recognized women's hidden, but critical, contribution to agriculture. Early research on farm women sought to understand the multiple and varied ways that women participate on family farms and in food production systems. The emphasis on 'farm women's work' led to extensive discussions of both farm women's roles in the family farm business and the day-to-day work activities of women in farm production, the family farm household, paid employment (on and off-the-farm), and in community activities. In their efforts to understand farm women's work, researchers often treated farm women as an homogenous group, whose identity — and work life — could be captured and distinguished from other women's by the simple descriptor 'farm'.

However, 'farms' are complicated and so are the individual socio-economic characteristics of individual women. This paper argues researching, discussing and presenting 'farm women' as a cohesive entity undermines knowledge of who these women are and the impact particular policy directions have on women engaged in agriculture. The paper draws on Julie MacMullin's (2010) intersectionality framework to understand how farm women's identities and work experiences have been influenced by the particular 'CAGE's their lives are embedded in. MacMullin (2010) argues our physical bodies and individual lives need to be understood in terms of how class, age, gender and ethnicity (i.e. the 'CAGE' within which we live our lives) intersect. This paper illustrates how using an intersectionality framework makes it possible to better appreciate and recognize how complex and diverse farm women are as a social group. It argues that when studying the agricultural community it would be more useful to expand MacMullin's CAGE acronym to CA2G2E in order to recognize class, age and able-bodiedness, gender and geography, and ethnicity to understand how these dynamics overlap and intertwine in farm women's lives and work.

In order to illustrate the value of intersectionality as a theoretical framework for understanding women's contributions to agriculture, past and present, the paper briefly reviews the historical literature on farm women's roles in agriculture and farm women's work activities. In addition it draws on interview data collected from case studies conducted over three decades exploring women's contributions to agriculture in New Brunswick, Canada. What emerges from the literature and interview data is an appreciation of how diverse farm women's identities and interests are. By illustrating the value of intersectionality for studying farm women's contributions to agriculture, this original research article contributes to theoretical advances in feminist food studies.

## **Injustice, Union Representation and Union Resistance**

### **BERLIN 2**

**Gamification from Below: Drawing out Emerging Political Imaginaries of Industrial Action Through Playful Inquiry**

*Brown, Gareth, Keir Milburn*

*(University of Leicester)*

Over the last few years we have seen a renewed interest in the practice of Workers' Inquiry (Woodcock 2017, Haider and Mohandesi 2013, Roggero 2014). Originally proposed by Marx and developed by groups such as the Johnson-Forest tendency and Socialisme ou Barbarie, Workers' Inquiry reaches its fullest expression with the development of class composition analysis within the Operaist (workerist) movement of 1960s Italy. The key intuition of this tradition is that class is an iterative process of decomposition and recomposition. The drive to maximize profitability forces capital to restructure in order to disrupt forms of working class power. In response workers seek forms of struggle and organization adequate to this new composition in order to reassert their interests. The key analytical distinction of the tradition is made between the technical composition of the class, which is shaped by changes in technology, management and the organization of the work process, and the political composition of the class, which refers to the forms of political organization and struggle through which the drive to working class autonomy is expressed. These categories allow analysis of the ways in which changes in the former alter the affordances for the later. Workers Inquiries have been used as a method to examine this relation. However, in practice the inquiry works in the reverse direction of the proposed causation. It is the appearance of new forms of struggle or the decline in the effectiveness of established



forms of struggle, that provides clues as to which elements of the changing class composition are proving most politically important and therefore worthy of further investigation. With these new forms of struggle come corresponding shifts in the political imagination about what it means to exercise collective power, to strike, to take action.

Implicit in this is the idea that as class composition changes so should the method taken by Workers' Inquiry. In this light, and following the call by Woodcock and Johnson (2017) for a 'gamification from below' we have designed a tabletop, iterative scenario-planning game which has been played with groups of workers around the UK and elsewhere. The game is intended to draw out emerging political imaginaries of contemporary industrial action, common conditions of labour and points of leverage against capital. In this paper we present both our methodology and our initial findings and preliminary analysis from this still-ongoing empirical work.

### **How do Workers Cope with Injustice in the Workplace? Perceptions of Social (In)Justice and Dispositions for Change in Chile**

*Gerber, Monica, Moya, C.*  
(Universidad Diego Portales)

How do people react to situations of injustice in the workplace? Two dimensions of justice have been shown to be relevant: distributive justice (fairness in the allocation of goods and opportunities) and procedural justice (fairness in treatment and decision making). In this study we explore how worker's perceptions of distributive and procedural inequalities within their workplace matter for explaining their reactions to perceived injustices. Particularly, we examine situations where workers prefer to withhold from action and other situations where they are willing to take action to fight distributive or procedural injustices (either through individual or collective means; either using normative or non-normative actions). In doing so, we contribute to a growing literature on the relationships between social justice perceptions, organizational justice and social movements. We present findings from eight focus groups conducted among male and female workers of different social classes and occupational groups in Santiago, Chile.

Overall, workers reported different forms of occupation-specific situations of distributive and procedural injustice in the workplace. The extent to which they perceived that treatment and procedures were fair within the workplace seemed to be as relevant -or even more relevant- than their perceptions of justice in the allocation of salaries. While most participants reasoned that everyone was entitled to a fair treatment in the workplace, differences in treatment were tolerated when they reflected differences in job performance. Finally, strategies to respond to injustices varied greatly depending on social class and occupation. Albeit workers in general distrusted non-normative collective action -because it was perceived as being non-efficacious and damaging to themselves and the company-, they valued normative collective actions as an important resource for tackling injustices. In general, individual strategies (such as talking to the supervisor) were perceived as more useful to achieve change. Yet, most workers were reluctant to act to achieve social change: acceptance and inaction or exit strategies (changing jobs when possible) were among the most frequent strategies mentioned by workers to deal with injustice.

We finish by arguing that situations of injustice in treatment and procedures have two conflicting effects on the strategies adopted by workers to change them: on the one hand, situations of procedural injustice stimulate the search for change in their situation; on the other hand, procedural injustice signals to workers that change through normative actions within the organization is not viable (hence, leading to inaction, exit strategies or non-normative action). We conclude discussing the relevance of considering both distributive and procedural (in)justice to understand people's dispositions and practices aimed to change work-related injustice.

### **'Non-workers' and Trade Unions: Why are People Joining Unite Community?**

*Holgate, Jane*  
(University of Leeds)

In 2011, not long after Unite's new general secretary, Len McClusky, had been elected the union announced that it was introducing community membership. Unite Community, as it is known, is aimed at encouraging people who do not currently belong to a trade union -because they are unemployed persons, retirees, and students - to become members of the 'Unite family'. The rationale is to provide an organising space for those members of society who, in this period of austerity and neoliberalism, do not have voice to articulate their concerns. Benefits cuts to people with disabilities and the 'taxing' of welfare claimants who have 'spare' bedrooms have seen some of the most vulnerable in society being hit hardest by austerity measures. To date, over 70 Unite community branches have been established and over 8000 'non-workers' members have joined the union.

This research explores the factors motivating 'non-workers' to join a trade union and investigates what campaigning and organising activity is taking place, as well as how the newly established Unite Community branches are functioning in different locations across the UK. The research has been designed to understand more clearly the way that collective identities are constructed among individuals who are not in employment in distinct and different ways and explores what impact this has on their ability to provide support for each other and to campaign to protect vulnerable people from the effect of austerity.

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The research is underpinned by the theoretical framework of mobilisation theory (Kelly, 1998, McAdam, 1988, Tilly, 1978), which articulates a process by which individuals acquire a collective definition of their self-interest in response to injustice. Mobilisation theory takes us through a number of stages: how people come to see their interests as a common concern; how they generate a collective feeling of injustice, the extent to which these thoughts are powerful enough to move an individual reaction to a collective response; and the sense that there is a decision maker responsible for the perceived injustice.

Within this theoretical approach, the complex social relations of actors are explored, and collective action explained by studying the inter-relationship of a set of analytical categories: organisation, injustice, leadership, and opportunity. While many studies of worker organisation (Darlington, 2007, Gall, 2000, 2003, Kelly and Badignannavar, 2005) have used Kelly's mobilisation framework, only few have tested the theory empirically (see for instance Taylor and Moore, 2014), and none in relation to those outside organised labour. This research does this through a multi-method study including four complimentary strands of research, each adding different levels of depth.

## **Digital Labour and the Changing White Collar Workplace**

### **DUBLIN 1**

#### **Challenges to Global Outsourcing and the Software Industry in the City of Bengaluru**

*Raghunath, Nilanjan*

*(Singapore University of Technology and Design)*

The city of Bangalore has immensely benefitted from the software industry and global outsourcing since the 1980s. The mantra being cheap and highly skilled labor, with many employees boasting engineering and computer science degrees, and work experience in large multinational firms. The educated Indian middle class benefitted hugely from global outsourcing, and so has the city of Bengaluru with a steady stream of migrants, infrastructure upgrades and start ups. The city became a Tech hub competing with Hyderabad. Despite the dip in software outsourcing to India due to the global financial crises, reduction in H1B visas for Indian software engineers and loss of business due to machine learning and changes to the value of chain of software making, the city continues to be the major hub for innovative firms. There have however been major socio-economic consequences that have lead to downward mobility for many employees due to layoffs by big firms. This paper argues that unless big firms and individuals invest heavily in disruption and upskilling, it might prove a major challenge to move up the value chain of coding, automation and machine learning. Automation and machine learning may indeed see the death of cheap labor.

#### **Digital Forensics: Professional Dynamics in a Rapidly Developing Field**

*Wilson-Kovacs, Dana*

*(University of Exeter)*

The exponential growth in the application of digital forensics in policing signals key changes to how forensic investigation is carried out and to the skills of those who perform it. This paper argues that as forensic applications expand to the digital domain, there is urgent need to capture the plight of the professionals working in this field and the challenges they face. Despite an enduring academic, practitioner and policy interest in the contribution of forensics to the investigation of crime, the position of the forensic examiner (digital or otherwise) affiliated to police forces has rarely been scrutinised. While subsumed to police work, the work of forensic practitioners must be understood not only in its wider context and implications - as captured by extant science and technology studies scholarship and its focus on surveillance, privacy and the development of genetic technologies - but also in its current settings. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in progress and interviews with digital forensic practitioners across four police forces, the analysis focuses on the uptake and integration of digital forensics skills within existing knowledge structures and practices and reflects on the complex organisational and occupational contexts of digital forensics, and the technological, technical and regulatory challenges this rapidly evolving area faces.

#### **Building Digital Literacies: Changing Skills of the Museum Professional in a Postdigital Museum**

*Barnes, Sally-Anne., Erika Kispeter, Ross Parry and Doris Ruth Eikhof*

*(Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick)*

With the implementation of technology and digital technology, visitors' expectations and the way they experience museums has transformed. Whilst there is much research on the implementation of technology and digital technology in the museum sector (see for example Drotner & Schröder, 2013; Kouper, 2016; Parry, 2005, 2007; Tallon & Walker, 2008), a shift in the discourse is challenging the way it is viewed in the sector. This shift is marked by a discourse on the 'postdigital'; where digital is viewed as an inherent part of museum work pervading all roles and activities (Parry, 2013; Edmundson, 2015; Kelly, 2016). However, recent evidence suggests that over a third of museums in England feel

they do not have in-house digital skills (Nesta, 2014; AHRC and Arts Council England, 2015) and broader digital literacies (NMC, 2016) to fully benefit from, and drive these changes, remains a challenge.

Deploying a skills ecosystem approach (Finegold, 1999; Buchanan et al., 2001), this paper analyses how the skills and the occupational profile of the museum professional is changing within the postdigital museum paradigm and draws recommendations for how a postdigital museums sector might be supported in the articulation and use of digital skills and literacies. The paper firstly analyses how digital skills in the museum sector are being demanded and supplied, deployed and developed. In so doing, it provides new and better understandings of the shift from digital skills to digital literacies and the contexts and conditions that occasion, shape and support this shift. Secondly, the paper discusses how a self-sustaining skills ecosystem for the postdigital museum can be encouraged and maintained. The paper, thus, provides new insights into a key occupational shift in the cultural sector and into the practice and policy work necessary for the museum workforce to be adaptable and take advantage of technology and digital technology.

The paper is based on a mixed methods study combining a desk review and case study research in six UK museums. This study is the first phase of a 2.5-year research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. A total of 50 semi-structured interviews were undertaken with museums professionals employed in a range of roles – from front of house staff, to digital content officers, to curators and collections managers, to directors. The interviews focused on gaining an in-depth understanding of museum staff skills, roles and responsibilities, and how these have changed as a result of technology and digital technology implemented within their museum. As part of these interviews, participants were asked to reflect upon the impact of technology on the museum sector, what the sector might look like in the future and what skills would be needed. From the non-participant observation within the case study museums, insights were gained into their operation, technology implementation, and how technology was being used not only as part of displaying objects, but also in interactives in the exhibitions. Importantly the role of digital as part of the visitor experience was experienced first-hand.

## **Experiencing Unemployment**

### **DUBLIN 2**

#### **Surface Acting or Stigma Management? The Emotion Management Practices of Employed and Unemployed People**

*Patulny, Roger, Michelle Peterie, Gaby Ramia, Greg Marston*  
(University of Wollongong)

Unemployment has been associated with a range of negative emotions including fear, frustration and anger, and has been implicated in mental health concerns ranging from low self-esteem, depression and anxiety, to self-harm and suicide (Kokko et al 2000; Smith 1985; Wanberg 2012). However, few studies have considered how unemployed individuals use emotion management strategies to cope with these risks of unemployment, and none have compared the emotion management practices of employed and unemployed individuals using large, representative datasets.

This paper presents preliminary findings from a mixed-methods study using surveys and interviews of a large cohort of unemployed people, and contrasts this with a national sample of employed persons. The survey data highlights important differences in the emotional experiences of unemployed and employed persons. Employed people were more likely to report a positive emotion – in particular happiness – as their 'most common' emotion in experienced in the last week. By contrast, unemployed people were more likely to report a negative emotion – in particular, depression – as their most common emotion.

The study also highlights key differences in the management of emotions. Unemployed people are less likely to feel positive emotions 'naturally', but are more likely to hide or 'surface act' negative emotions, which is itself a potentially debilitating form of emotion work (Naring et al 2006). However, they are also more likely to actively evoke or 'up-manage' positive emotions, which suggests a degree of previously unrecognised resilience amongst unemployed people. Qualitative interview data draws attention to the role of unemployment-related stigma and shame in motivating emotion management efforts, and implies that the high of degree of surface acting visible amongst unemployed persons – with its associated potential long-term negative effects – may be due to their perceived experience of stigma, and that efforts at stigma reduction may be effective in reducing the mental health consequences of unemployment.

#### **Becoming 'real': Investigating Meaningful Work for Juvenile Delinquents in a Case Study of the Skill Mill Social Enterprise**

*Oswald, Rebecca*  
(Northumbria University)

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There exists in both the fields of organisational psychology and sociology a substantial body of literature detailing the value of 'meaningful work'. Experiencing meaning gives one the feeling that their life has purpose, significance and coherence. Therefore, meaningful work is important for both employee engagement and personal fulfilment. Scholarship categorises certain elements of employment as meaningful, however such conclusions are based upon studies with adult professionals. This project investigates meaningful employment with a very different group to those previously surveyed: what do young offenders consider to be meaningful work? In the research surrounding stopping offending or 'desistance' there are mixed findings as to whether engaging in employment can help. Indeed the consensus appears to be that only a certain 'type' of employment might aid desistance. This project explores whether engagement in meaningful employment can aid desistance for young offenders.

I am conducting a case study of the 'Skill Mill' social enterprise to collect data on these topics. This organisation provides outdoor employment for young people (aged 16 to 18 years) who have completed their sentences with the Youth Offending Team (YOT). Much of the work the Skill Mill organisation provides meets the criteria for meaningful employment specified in the existing literature, making it a particularly suitable case study for this project. All attendees of the Skill Mill receive six months paid employment and support to progress into permanent employment. I am collecting data for this project by conducting participant observations and semi-structured interviews with 20 Skill Mill youths. I am also analysing their YOT records and official offending records. The latter allows me to map offending trajectories for each young person.

I am approximately mid-way through data collection. Initial findings demonstrate that engagement in the Skill Mill work programme aids desistance from the most serious offences. Yet involvement in low-level offending, such as cannabis use and handling of stolen goods continues. Skill Mill youths report that elements of their work, such as 'doing good for others', 'achieving/learning' and 'having fun' made their employment meaningful. These mirror the findings with adult professionals. However, the young participants also report that feeling they are doing 'real work' is important to experiences of meaningfulness. This was because only though engagement in real work could they envisage themselves having a legitimate role in society, and form the necessary 'pro-social' identity required for desistance. Young people describe 'real work' as work that is stable, pays a living wage and society values; it is a worthwhile occupation. The workplace social group is also very important to young offenders. Forming meaningful bonds with co-workers (and particularly other desisting offenders) aided their pro-social identity reconstruction and desistance.

### **Stigma and Constrained Choices; Exploring why Male Neets are 'Excluded' from Welfare Provisions**

*Devany, Chris*

*(Sheffield Hallam University)*

This paper addresses the significant gap in knowledge around the experiences and conditions for young men who are NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training), whilst not accessing welfare. Data suggests this problem is substantial, with 59.7% of NEETs not accessing Jobseeker's Allowance (Learning and Work Institute, 2016). Termed as 'hidden NEETs' (Brooks, 2014), 'hidden' denotes how this group is obscured within labour market statistics and unsupported by state support structures.

Drawing on data from the first qualitative research project of its kind I present compelling findings which detail the reasons why significant numbers of unemployed young men exclude themselves from welfare, and how they navigate their lives in the absence of state support and employment. To achieve this I draw upon the work of Tyler (2013) to examine the governmentality of welfare stigma and the key concepts of Bourdieu to assess the role of capital and habitus in the development and utilisation of coping mechanisms in the face of precarity. In doing so, I argue that government discipline and punishment through the degradation and stigmatisation of NEETs forces many young men into being reliant upon their individual resources to get by.

## Entrepreneurial Identity: Astisans, Community, Intersectionality COPENHAGEN 1

### On the Margins of Entrepreneurship: Community and Entrepreneurial Identity

*Marsh, Dorota, Wright, Adrian, Gemma Wibberley*

*(University of Central Lancashire)*

The mainstream discourse of entrepreneurship, tends to romanticise and normalise self-employment as fulfilling and liberating, offering a readily accessible narrative for shaping the identity of entrepreneurs. However, for precarious entrepreneurs on the margins of entrepreneurship, the clichéd narratives are far away from lived experiences of working for low returns accompanied by anxieties, isolation and individualisation. In the absence of traditional structures, work arrangements and attachments to strong organisational contexts, entrepreneurs' work identity is especially ambiguous. Dealing with the fragmented nature of self-employment, fluidity, uncertainty and a lack of work based social relations, individuals face challenges in mediating conflicting influences to construct coherent self-narratives outside of the traditional organisational contexts.

The aim of this paper is to understand how entrepreneurs maintain, repair and revise their identities by seeking participation in a community of entrepreneurs. Drawing on concept of 'self' we advance a notion of identity as derived from social relationships, connections with others and community. Using in depth interviews and ethnography this paper examines how the rituals and activities of leadership programme, positioned at creative and digital entrepreneurs, help shape and frame the understanding the cohort has of their work and the expression of entrepreneurial identities. The papers also explores the importance of participation in this community not only for dealing with precarious work, but also for mediating those dimensions of their entrepreneurial identity, which were inadequately sustained outside this community.

## Navigating the Graduate Labour Market, Employability and STEM Careers COPENHAGEN 2

### Students' Readings of 'Employability' in Graduate Websites, and the Role of Gamification in the Construction of the Ideal Graduate

*Handley, Karen, Birgit den Outer*

*(Oxford Brookes Business School)*

'Employability' is an ideologically-charged concept in debates about the purpose of higher education. Whilst acknowledging its contested nature, we also recognise that graduating students want to understand how potential employers assess this quality of employability. This is because many students have only their educational qualifications, student-job experience and their labour potential to offer employers. To project that potential requires an understanding of what employers want, so that students can demonstrate that they have what is required.

'What employers want' from graduates is difficult for students to discern. An important source of insights is communication from employers themselves, including their graduate careers websites. Building on the authors' discourse analysis of organisations' graduate careers websites (WES, 2017), this study explores the perspective of a key audience of the employers' graduate careers websites: final-year University students. The study investigates how students 'read' these websites, and how they interpret the meaning of employability. The study draws on methods used in critical media studies and sociology, epitomised in research monographs such as *Reading Women's Magazines* (1995) and *Making Sense of Men's Magazines* (2001). These monographs gave a voice to the magazines' readers, and the diverse ways in which they accepted, resisted, and responded to the magazines' content.

Conceptually, our understanding of response includes the possibility that recruitment communications shape students' subjectivity - their sense of who they are, and who they 'should' become. This changing sense of self is fundamental to critical theories of socialisation, and to processes whereby newcomers learn and consent to (or resist) normalised assumptions about the role and behaviour of a graduate employee. Our theoretical perspective draws on ideas of subjectivity and governmentality from Michel Foucault (1978) and Nikolas Rose (1992 and 1999).

Currently, interviews and focus groups are being conducted (Winter 2017 - Spring 2018) to investigate final-year students' interpretations of employability messages, how students position themselves in relation to discourses of graduate employability, and actions taken to 'become' employable. The sample is recruited from all faculties in a UK post-1992 University.

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Findings indicate multiple readings of graduate recruitment websites. Participants are drawn to organisations portraying what they describe as 'someone like me'. They notice identity markers such as ethnicity and gender, are attracted to images of smiling people enjoying their work, and tend to warm to cartographic imagery indicating the organisation's global reach. However, participants also dismiss these glossy-brochure websites because the generic portrayal of graduate work makes organisations indistinguishable from one another. This interpretive void makes students open to alternative means to 'know' the organisation, what the organisation wants from graduates, and how to assess one's candidacy. One alternative method involves the gamification of 'hints and tips' guidance and psychometric testing, which is either embedded in the websites or pushed out in an endless stream to those who've signed up for employability advice. Students scorn the lack of appropriateness of some of the guidance and testing, yet seem to crave and become addicted to the promise of the 'answer' to the question of what they should become.

**Navigating the Graduate Labour Market: Self-Regulation, Self-Doubt and Social Exclusion**

*Burke, Ciaran, Tracy Scurry*  
(University of Derby)

The current UK graduate labour market is one characterised by a general over-supply of graduates. Through the 'opening up' of UK higher education following the 1992 Higher Education Bill, the UK has witnessed a significant increase in the percentage of the population holding a university degree; the ONS reports that the proportion having graduated from university more than doubled from 17% of the population in 1992 to 38% of population in 2012. However, in contrast to the human capital narrative, which is partly responsible for such an increase in higher education participation, a university degree has not seamlessly translated into a graduate occupation and increased/secured life chances. The disjunction between higher education and employment has led some to proclaim the 'death of human capital' (Lauder, 2015); the ringing of this particular death knell is troubling for the social justice agenda, as, in the absence of human capital, those who succeed in the graduate labour market are those who can rely on a priori capitals, often reserved for the middle class (Burke, 2015; Bathmaker, et al., 2016).

In an effort to frame graduate employment trajectories as a social issue rather than a personal trouble, this paper will provide a sociological discussion of the structural barriers 'non-traditional' graduates face when entering and navigating a volatile graduate labour market. In particular, this paper will examine the internalisation of structural barriers and their consequences on graduates' employment trajectories. Framed through a Bourdieusian theoretical lens (1984), the paper will consider the role of capitals and hysteresis of habitus on (self) regulating levels of confidence/expectations and diluting graduate resilience in an increasingly competitive labour market.

This paper will be supported by empirical findings from two distinct research projects. The first project examined experiences and attitudes of university graduates who had graduated between two and ten years before the research had been carried out. The second project examined current undergraduate students' attitudes to the labour market, including the value of a degree and their future plans after graduation. Bringing these two research projects together provides an opportunity to demonstrate the role of capitals and hysteresis of habitus on attitudes toward future career trajectories. In particular, the paper will discuss an overreliance of working class students and graduates on educational capital, classed levels of expectations toward the labour market and experiences upon graduation. The combination of these two research projects illustrates the durability of self-regulation and the consequences such processes have on graduate resilience.

**UCU Special Session: Reflections on the USS Strike**  
**GRAND 4 & 5**

A session that allows us to share our intellectual and emotional experiences of being involved in the USS strike, the biggest industrial action seen in our sector. Short contributions, addressing the boundaries of the academic, political and personal will be invited from WES participants. This will be followed by space for contributions and reflections.

**Precarious Work – Temporary Jobs, Irregularity and Industrial Collapse**  
**AMSTERDAM 1**

**Does Temporary Jobs = Low Income? On the Link Between Temporary Employment Contracts and Household Income in Australia**

*Lass, Inga, Wooden, M.*  
(University of Melbourne)

In OECD comparisons, Australia stands out as a country with a particularly high incidence of temporary forms of employment, including casual work, fixed-term contracts and temporary agency work. While the literature has focused on the immediate consequences of these employment types for wages, very little is known about whether and, if yes, how temporary employment translates into income disadvantages at the household level. This is surprising given households pool and share their various income sources, and it is thus the financial situation of the household, rather than individual earnings, that is of most importance for the life chances and well-being of individual household members.

This paper analyses the association between temporary employment and (annual) household income, with a special emphasis on the factors explaining this relationship. It compares the relative importance of four groups of factors: (i) workers' current employment (especially their hourly wage and usual weekly hours of work), (ii) their employment participation across the entire year, (iii) other sources of individual income, and (iv) the role of other household members. Fixed-effects regression and Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition analyses are applied to a nationally representative sample of Australian workers from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey (for the period 2001 to 2016).

The results show that, relative to permanent workers, workers in casual and temporary agency employment (but not those on fixed-term contracts) live in households with lower incomes. More significantly, this is primarily due to the fewer hours worked by this group. In the case of casual workers, the relatively lower level of individual earnings is partly offset by higher incomes of other household members. This compensatory effect, however, is relatively modest in size – the income gap with permanent workers remains substantial. The results thus suggest a need for policy initiatives that improve the financial situation of temporary workers, and in particular policies combatting underemployment.

### **Varieties of Precarity**

*Healy, Amy, Sean O Riain*

*(Mary Immaculate College, UL & Maynooth University, NUIM)*

Much of the public debate around new forms of employment poses a clear-cut distinction between permanent and precarious employment. Research in the area has investigated various forms of precarity, including increasing insecurity of formally permanent employment, forms of bogus and other self-employment, and more. Nonetheless, much research on the determinants of precarity falls back on the binary distinction between permanency and precarity – in part because these distinctions are built into key datasets such as the EU Labour Force Survey. We explore this issue by comparing the EU Labour Force to two other cross national surveys, the European Social Survey (2002-2016) and the European Survey of Working Conditions (2000-2015).

First, using these surveys, we compare the different combinations of permanent/unlimited contracts, temporary contracts (including agency work) and 'no contract' workers across Europe since 2000. We find three 'clusters' of countries with different 'menus' of precarity: the highly casualised labour markets of Mediterranean economies, the 'structured flexibility' of most Christian and Social Democratic economies, with significant proportions of workers on formal temporary contracts; and a distinctive group of Ireland, the UK and, to a lesser extent, Denmark which has a large proportion of workers on 'no contract', but who often see themselves as permanent.

Second, we explore the meaning of these different combinations of precarious employment by using the ESS of 2004 and 2010 to analyse how workers in each contract status in each country perceive their level of job security and their employer's perception of their employment relationship.

Third, we assess the consequences of these different forms of precarity in their national contexts by analysing the association between forms of precarity and income stress, learning at work, access to training, tiredness and work/family stress.

Our analysis suggests that research that relies on a simple distinction between permanent and precarious employment is likely to either underestimate or, more likely, confuse the effects of precarity on economic and social well-being.

## **Extending Employment – Experiences of Older Workers**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

### **Articulating Processual Sociology and Sociology of Employment. An Empirical Perspective Looking at the Transition from Work to Retirement in England**

*Wels, Jacques*

*(University of Cambridge)*

A considerable amount of research looks at the impact of the transition from work to retirement on the health of the older workers using principally panel data with the aim of assessing the impact of a selected type of sequence on several aspects of health such as self-perceived health, depression or quality of life. However, the type of transition analyzed such as the type of health indicator selected are often not well defined. This paper argues that epidemiological studies

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would gain in taking into consideration a theoretical background nourished by sociology of employment. This assertion is clarified in two different sections. The first section aims at stating a non-exhaustive list of what sociology of employment would bring to the knowledge of labour market dynamics. Mentioning particularly to work of Emile Durkheim, Martin Kohli and Andrew Abbott, it brings a general framework for understanding both what are employment 'statuses' and how to investigate the change in statuses over time in a processual way. Taking an empirical perspective, the second section analyses the association between change in working time and self-perceived health in late career. Even though public policies aiming at supporting working time reduction in late career were implemented in the United Kingdom such as in many European countries over the past two decades, little is known about the specific impact of these arrangements on health. Using the English Longitudinal Survey of Ageing (ELSA), the association between the different types of changes in working time (keeping the same working time, increasing working time, working time reduction and leaving the labour market) and change in self-reported health (negative and positive/null) is analysed. The model controls for financial wealth, qualification, gender, age and self-reported health at baseline and is run controlling for attrition and non-responses - using multiple imputations - and using weighted and non-weighted data. Results show that people reducing working time are more likely to experience a negative change in self-reported health compared with people leaving the labour market. Conversely, people increasing working time or keeping the same working time are more likely to experience a positive or null change in self-reported health compared with people leaving the labour market. The conclusion of the paper underlines three key-elements in the understanding of how sociology of employment might be relevant in the analyse of employment-related transitions over the life course. First, it shows that the notion of statuses is particularly relevant in a world characterised by the overlap between different positions in the labour market. Second, it emphasises the necessity to understand the key role played by social regulations in explaining employment transitions, rather than understanding transitions as an individual choice. Finally, it raises new methodological questions that would lead to further research about this matter.

**Persuading Employers: Challenges and Opportunities around an Ageing Workforce**

*Parry, Jane, Zoe Young  
(Southampton Solent)*

Legislative drive can be key in achieving critical mass around employers' responses to addressing disadvantage in the labour market. This can be seen in the relative lag between legislation and good practice around age (covered in the 2010 Equality Act), compared to gender (1975 Sex Discrimination Act) and ethnicity (1965 Race Relations Act). Yet as current demographic change shifts the age profile of the workforce, employers who have been slow to address age bias in workforce practice will imminently find themselves under new pressure to engage with how they can retain older workers for longer in order to continue to meet the demands of their business.

This paper looks at how age has been conceptualised as problematic by employers, and how resistant employers can be persuaded of the business case for age diversity and responding to the workforce challenges of the future. We engage with the currency of perspectives around intersectionality (McBride et al., 2015; Rodriguez et al., 2016) to incorporate age, as well as leading debate on issues other than workforce demographics to change employer attitudes around age. For example, dialogue around flexible work (Richman et al., 2008; Smeaton and Ray, 2014) or intergenerational teams (Boehm et al., 2013; Kunze et al., 2011) can focus on positive outcomes such as enhanced creativity and improved performance to reinforce mutual workforce-employer benefits. We draw upon the results of our recent mixed methods research on age-friendly workplaces in responding to these issues.

## **International Perspectives on Women in Leadership**

### **BERLIN 1**

**'It's a hard slog being a female GP': Turnover Intentions of Australian Female General Practitioners**

*Mayson, Susan, E.A. Bardoel, G. Russell, J. Advocat, M. Kay  
(Monash University)*

General medical practice is an increasingly feminized profession as more young women move into general practice, seeing it as an attractive career option within the medical profession (Brooks et al., 2003; LeFevre, et al., 2010). However, there continues to be predicted shortages of general practitioners (GPs) (Brett et al., 2009). In Australia, while women are entering general practice in greater numbers, there is recent evidence of unintended turnover, particularly among young female general practitioners (Bardoel, et al., 2016). Analysis of data drawn from the Medicine in Australia: Balancing Employment and Life (MABEL) longitudinal survey shows that while commonly identified factors such as maternity, child care and long hours impact women's participation in general practice, the reasons for turnover is complex and requires a more fine-grained analysis of female GPs' working experiences and decision to move out of general practice (Bardoel et al., 2016). Understanding the causes of turnover of medical practitioners is crucially important due to high costs of training and recruiting GPs and the social and economic costs of an under-staffed direct care health system (Geffen, 2014). This paper reports on a study designed to identify individual and workplace factors



implicated in GP turnover by capturing the 'lived experience' of female doctors working in general practice in Australia. Reporting on analysis of interviews conducted with a sample of female general practitioners (n=24) and drawing on literature on the 'gendered organization' (Acker, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1989) and the concept of embodied work (Acker, 1990; Tyler and Cohen, 2010) our paper explores the ways in which gendered organizational processes, particularly the arrangement and use of time (Bailey and Madden, 2017) and gendered occupational identities shape doctors' work satisfaction and intentions to leave general practice. We find that female medical practitioners experience feelings of burnout and stress that arises from the temporal ordering of work (time to do medicine within timed consultation slots, time demanded by patients, time spent worrying about patients after consulting times) in general practice and which impacts their self-identity as caring doctors. This is particularly the case for young GPs. A gendered division of labour exists in general practices that exploits GPs' 'caring' role while at the same time the time bound nature of their work reduces their earnings, exacerbating their dissatisfaction with general practice. Dissatisfaction with general practice leads to personal distress and for many, the decision to remove themselves from clinical practice, and in some cases, to leaving medicine entirely. By exploring the impact of gender on female medical professionals, this work contributes to the ongoing project of bringing to light underlying gendered organizational structures that continue to occlude gendered power relations that create gendered employment outcomes amongst highly educated and seemingly powerful professional women.

### **Reaching for the Top: Gender Imbalance in Senior Civil Service Positions in Ireland**

*Grotti, Raffaele, Helen Russell, Emer Smyth, Selina McCoy*  
(Economic and Social Research Institute)

Gender inequality in access to higher-level occupations has important individual and societal implications. At the individual level, occupational segregation disadvantages women in terms of wages, opportunities for skills development and career prospects. At the societal level, it raises normative issues of social justice, as well as efficiency issues in terms of (under)utilisation of human resources. Gender equality in senior civil service positions is also important for public confidence in policy-making and the institutions of government.

In this paper we investigate gender imbalance in the top positions of the Irish civil service. We adopt a mixed-methods approach, drawing on a combination of administrative data, secondary analysis of an employee engagement survey conducted among 11,000 civil service employees, in-depth work history interviews with 50 senior civil servants (female and male) across four government departments and 11 interviews with personnel managers. The paper draws on theoretical insights from the literature on gender segregation (Kanter, 1976, 1977; Charles & Grusky, 2004) and organisational culture (O'Connor, 1996; Cahusac & Kanji, 2014).

While women make up almost two thirds of those employed in the Irish civil service, they occupy less than one fifth of the most senior positions, where key policy and operational decisions are taken. The paper also identifies a range of barriers and processes that are associated with gender inequalities.

Interviews highlighted that the lack of flexible working options in middle and senior management positions and a 'long hours' culture were crucial issues, highlighting the tension between paid and unpaid work. Administrative data showed that the use of flexible work varied across Department suggesting that organisational culture plays a role. Interviewees also emphasised gender differences in self-confidence, in the timing of women's applications for promotion.

The lack of a structured handover or period of induction for those newly promoted to senior roles discouraged both men and women, but given gender differences in self-confidence and work pressure is likely to be a greater deterrent to female applicants.

Promotion chances are seen as being enhanced by having certain kinds of experience, e.g. policy roles, 'acting up' opportunities, and contact with Ministers. These opportunities were not equally distributed by gender or geographical location. The survey showed that women at quite senior levels are more likely than men at the same grade to be involved in service delivery or corporate support, roles that lack visibility.

In line with predictions of Kanter's theory, a greater share of senior women within departments was positively associated with women's perceived opportunities for promotion, though not for training and managerial support.

Our results highlight that both structural and cultural forces within the organization contribute to the structuring and reproduction of gender inequality. We add to the existing literature by providing new evidence of gender inequality in the labour market. Moreover, we contribute to existing research by using a mixed-methods approach which permitted us first to quantify the phenomenon and to identify its main correlates, and second to deepen our understanding of inequality reproduction by studying the personal experiences of female and male workers.

### **Women's Advancement and Empowerment in the Global Economy: A Comparative Study Between Sweden and Japan**

*Ishiguro, Kuniko*  
(Tokyo International University)

In the international society, women's advancement and empowerment have been most important issues regardless of the size or the extent of the country's economic development. Leaders in the developed countries, including European countries and the United States, have emphasized this repeatedly. It is also the case in Japan, but the situation in the

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country is not positive at all. Its ranking in the Gender Gap Report published by the World Economic Forum has stagnated, falling to 114th among 144 countries in 2017. Among the four indicators used in the report, it scored especially poorly on Economic Participation & Opportunity (114th) and Political empowerment (123th).

The author has been conducting an international comparative study between Japan and European countries including France, Netherlands, and Sweden in order to identify breakthroughs for Japan. The methods used in the research are: 1) case studies of women's career development in companies / organizations derived from interviews employing life-history approach, 2) analysis of corporate management practices, and 3) changes in governmental policies in relation to the changes in political economy in each country.

The research is at the data-collection stage, and the presentation is based on the part dealing with comparative analysis between Sweden and Japan of changes in governmental policies in relation to the changes in political economy, to identify the motivations and impetus of the government that have actualized women's advancement in the country's advancement in the economic sphere.

Needless to say, Sweden has been one of the top countries in terms of advancement of gender-equality - in the same Global Gender Gap Report in 2017, Sweden ranked 5th among the 144 countries (Economic Participation and Opportunity 12th and Political Empowerment 8th). How has this gulf between Sweden and Japan developed?

As explanatory factors, Ikeda (2017) identifies: 1) tax system with separation of couples, and abolishment of deductions for spouse, and 2) provision of a good working environment and sufficient child-care provisions including various allowances and holidays for parents, principles of comparative worth and flexible work hours. Estevez-Abe (2011) also emphasizes that establishment of the social infrastructure for a public childcare system could have mobilized married women into the employment market since the 1960s. Ogi (2012) asserts that links among employment market - financial market - tax/finance/social/security systems have been key to the success of the 'Scandinavian System' through mobilization of both genders into the labour market, and firm support for personnel.

These policies and systems introduced in response to changes in the political economy are the key lessons regarding promotion of women's advancement and empowerment that Japan could learn. These findings can be the basis for further analysis of case studies of women and management systems in business organizations, and for finding possible solutions for Japan, as well as countries that are struggling to make breakthroughs on gender equality in society in an age of global economy.

### **The Power and the Glory? Aesthetic Labour, Gender and Performance – The Media Representation of Celebrity Academic Women**

*Richards, Joanna*

*(University of Birmingham)*

A critical discourse analysis (CDA), using a Foucauldian CDA method (developed by Jager and Maier 2016) is carried out on four Daily Mail Online articles, that feature four selected academics, two men and two women.

The research questions are:

- How are female celebrity academics portrayed in the media?
- Why might they be portrayed in this way?
- Is their portrayal different and in what ways is it different from male celebrity academics?

The CDA reveals that the written text in the four articles is remarkably different in its tone. The vocabulary for the male academics is more serious and reflects the subjects of technology, industry, battles and expert knowledge. By contrast the vocabulary used for the female academics is lighter and more frivolous. This was chiefly evident for the younger academic where there was a focus on personal information, relationships and family. As an older woman, Professor Mary Beard's position is more ambiguous. She is neither treated as seriously as the male academics but does not receive the personal interest given to the younger academic. This is consistent with the view of older women in society, who are regarded as neither men nor women (Whelehan and Gwynne 2014). The critique that she is 'outspoken' (which appears in the headline of the article) implies that she ought to be silent. By focusing on the younger academic's 'femininity' rather than her intellectualism, she is also silenced.

When analysing the illustrations which accompany the four articles the younger female academic, Dr Janina Ramirez, is presented as a fashion model. There is no picture of the younger male academic Dr Michael Scott, in the article on his work. The illustrations serve to highlight his academic expertise. Two of the three pictures used in the article on Professor Mary Beard are close pictures of her face, which illustrate her age. By contrast the article of the older academic Professor Michael Wood features only one distant picture of him and ten that refer to his academic story. The discourse in the articles is of a fixed gender distinction between men and women. Despite the advances women have made in academia, the knowledge presented in the articles is that the women are female first and academics second. The younger academic women become neoliberal subjects controlling their self-image in a way that younger academic men

are not required to do. The older male academic is given a gravitas that is not awarded to Mary Beard as an older female, feeding into a discourse of misogyny.

It is my contention that the presentation of gender in these articles results in the operation of power, which serves to diminish academic women's achievements. This is being performed through the re-presentation of the female academic as a neoliberal feminist with education as just another commodity and lifestyle choice, alongside fashion and appearance. The female academic is required to undergo aesthetic labour. This does not appear to be the case for male celebrity academics.

## **Industrial Democracy? Union Revitalisation and Union Substitution**

### **BERLIN 2**

#### **Emergent IR Frameworks, Industrial Democracy and Citizenship**

*Preminger, Jonathan, Assaf Bondy*  
(Cardiff Business School)

A key concern of union revitalisation scholars is the potential within new union strategies and frameworks for facilitating worker participation and voice, and augmenting their political and social inclusion. Some of these frameworks have emerged from inside the corporatist industrial relations system, but embody a pluralist conception of interest representation that rejects the privileged status granted to labour within corporatism. The result is a hybrid industrial relations (IR) system, in which vestigial corporatist structures favour certain groups of workers while new IR actors represent those excluded or ejected from corporatism through decentralized pluralist frameworks.

Analysing an innovative IR 'enforcement committee' in the Israeli construction sector, this paper explores the relationship between the two parts of this hybrid IR system, in particular the balance between liberal and corporatist logics and the implications of shifts in this balance for workers who lack formal citizenship. It combines socio-historical analysis of the IR system with political analysis of the inclusion of non-citizen Palestinian workers via the Israeli labour market, and thus contributes to both industrial relations and citizenship research, offering significant insights from a synthesis of the two research areas.

The 'enforcement committee', established by the corporatist social partners, enables individuals to submit claims regarding violations of workers' rights. It is particularly significant for non-citizen Palestinian workers: denied political inclusion by the state, these workers were also excluded from the frameworks of industrial citizenship and the rights granted within the framework of collective IR. The paper asserts that the committee is a significant development in including non-citizen workers previously denied the benefits of the corporatist IR system. On one hand, by undermining the inherent inequality between citizen and non-citizen workers, the committee is acting in accordance with the liberal logic of universal human rights. The newly included workers participate as individuals, unable to contribute to the collective logic of corporatist social partnership or shore up corporatist frameworks. On the other hand, the committee functions under the auspices of the social partners as a mediating rather than judicial framework, thus facilitating the resolution of individual labour disputes without blocking further judicial action.

We argue that workers' access to dialogical dispute resolution grants them agency within the IR system and thus political agency. This emergent IR framework facilitates the practical implementation of liberal citizenship but also opens the way to participation and thus to social and political citizenship. Viewing citizenship as a dynamic struggle, we conclude by emphasizing the importance of contention in shaping IR institutions and the continued significance of such institutions as arenas for making citizenship-related claims.

The research presented here is part of a much broader research project into the role of organised labour in Israel, and the changing nature of the industrial relations system. Findings are drawn from document analysis (including labour court documents, government reports and collective agreements), interviews of key IR actors, and the authors' first-hand experience of unionising in Israel.

#### **Re-examining the Union Substitution Effect of HRM Practices in Britain**

*Veliziotis, Michail*  
(University of Southampton)

The hypothesis that 'positive HR practices' (Fiorito, 2001) can have a union substitution effect has been around for quite some time in the industrial relations literature. While both the early and more recent studies based on US data (Kochan et al., 1986; Fiorito et al., 1987; Fiorito, 2001) tend to find evidence consistent with the hypothesis, studies based on British data do not (Wood, 1996; Belfield and Heywood, 2004; Machin and Wood, 2005; Wood and Bryson, 2009). In particular, the most authoritative study using British data to date concludes that 'our empirical investigation (...) uncovers no evidence to support the hypothesis of HRM/union substitution, at least operating in the commonly accepted and frequently stated way, with HRM replacing unions' (Machin and Wood, 2005: 214).

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The aim of this paper is to re-examine the union substitution hypothesis in Britain and contribute to the relevant debate in three ways. First, the British studies are closely investigated and are found wanting in one important respect: the empirical tests employed are not adequate in examining the main hypothesis; thus, little can be inferred concerning union substitution from the obtained results. Second, a series of appropriate tests are proposed and presented in detail. Third, these tests are implemented using WERS data, aiming at a re-examination of the union substitution effect of HRM practices in Britain. The whole discussion and analysis is theoretically informed by the relevant debates in topics such as the adoption of HRM practices by employers and the individual decision to unionise.

## **The Future of Work: Artificial Intelligence, Robotics, Machine Intelligence**

### **DUBLIN 1**

#### **Behind the Scenes of Artificial Intelligence: Micro-work in France**

*Casilli, Antonio, Marion Coville, Paola Tubaro*  
(Telecom ParisTech)

The rise of micro-work is a by-product of cutting-edge, data-intensive business models: the functioning of smart equipment, driverless cars, computer vision and virtual assistants is predicated on huge amounts of datasets, whose production is crowdsourced to myriad human providers through specialized platforms. Workers are needed to annotate, label, qualify, or otherwise augment raw data, and to perform quality checks on algorithmic outputs. The tasks they perform are so simple and standardized that they require few qualifications, and attract remunerations as low as one or two cents.

Micro-work departs from salaried employment in that it is typically framed as piecework, and workers spend a significant amount of their time searching and bidding for tasks. As the size of this atypical workforce grows (with estimates ranging between 40 and over 100 million worldwide), concerns about income volatility and job insecurity arise. Yet as of today, little is known of the concrete working conditions, daily life, personal experience and long-term professional trajectories of micro-workers – not to mention opportunities for self-organization and collective voice.

Our proposed contribution aims to fill this gap, looking at the specific case of France – where the phenomenon of micro-work has remained particularly understudied so far, partly because it escapes the country's traditionally strong commitment to social welfare and high employment protection. We report the results of a qualitative study consisting in systematic mapping of the several micro-work platforms based and/or operating in France, and in-depth interviews with a few of their owners and most importantly, with a diverse sample of micro-workers.

Our results enable to draw a typology of platforms, distinguishing them on the basis of their business model, the way they contractually frame labor, and the extent to which they avail themselves of cheaper offshore micro-workers, mostly located in French-speaking former colonies overseas. We can on this basis elaborate on the subtle transformations of work that datafication of the economy is bringing about: even if automation does not entirely crowd out jobs, unprotected, unstable and almost-invisible forms of work are gaining ground while opportunities for traditional employment are shrinking.

We also draw a typology of workers, to understand how different life conditions (full time job vs. pension or unemployment; married vs. single; urban vs. rural, etc.) may lead to engage with different types of micro-work (computer-based vs smartphone-based; requiring physical presence in a place vs. fully online, etc.). We also discuss the specific, often tacit skills that micro-workers develop to cope with the requirements of platforms and requesters, the forms of stress they sometimes experience, and the role of their personal networks in supporting them in this activity.

#### **How Robotics and Automation Influence Managers' Decisions on Workers' Skills? An Empirical Study in Taiwanese Electrical and Electronic Sector**

*Lee, Bo-Yi*  
(King's College London)

Whether the deployment of technology leads to deskilling or upskilling has been debated for a long time. Mechanization aided by Taylorism required managers to gather production knowledge and skills possessed by workers, which resulted in the separation of conception from execution, the centralization of knowledge in a planning department, and increased managers' power of controls (Braverman, 1974). Studies (Felstead et al., 2002; Gallie, 1996; Hirschhorn, 1984) conversely reveal that there are practices upgrading workers' skills (upskilling), because workers must learn new skills to manage new technology. Researchers also argue that it has to do with occupations: Milkman and Pullman (1991) find that skilled workers experienced upskilling, whereas workers on the production lines were confronted with deskilling in a car assembly plant in the U.S..

We could shed lights on this issue if we 'fully address the culturally and politically shaped, context-dependent decision-making processes of real managers in real organizations' (Vidal, 2013: 588), because how technological deployment influences workers depends partially on managerial choices (Findlay et al., 2016). In this study, we investigate how robotics and automation influence managerial decisions on workers' skills by interviewing managers in Taiwanese electrical and electronic sector, because this sector has been identified by International Labour Organization (ILO) as highly susceptible to this technology and showing significant growth in robotic implementation (ILO, 2016). Our study can contribute empirically to understand how managers perceive and make decisions on employment-related issues with the introduction of technology and theoretically to test the deskilling/upskilling argument.

## **Contemporary Economic Theory**

### **ROTUNDA**

#### **Hobbes and the Cyclone: Do we live in a Vacuum?**

*David, Matthew*  
(Durham University)

On February 5th 2002, 800 workers at the Dyson factory in the English town of Malmesbury were informed that they were to be made redundant. Production of the company's vacuum cleaners was relocated to Malaysia later that year. This article explores the sociological problem of order, specifically the social construction of regulation and deregulation within global network capitalism. Thomas Hobbes ('of Malmesbury') asserted that social order is required to fend off the 'state of nature', a moral vacuum, in which life is 'nasty, brutish and short'. Is such a moral vacuum a 'matter of fact'? Does a deregulated labour market compel or only afford flight to low cost alternative locations, and to what extent is such a matter of fact fabricated anyway? Globalisation is presented as a deregulating matter of fact for workers. Yet, globalisation is represented as equally necessarily about increased regulation over the intellectual property rights (IPRs) of those outsourcing production. However, as Thomas Hobbes observed in his critique of Robert Boyle's air pump experiments in the 1660s, all structures, designed to regulate the space in which a vacuum might be made, leak. Fear of IPR leakage resulting from global production outsourcing explains, in part, why more people now work for Dyson in Malmesbury than did in 2002. Using Malmesbury's two dominant myths, that of Eilmer the 11th century inventor and 'flying' monk, who tried flight but found his feet stuck in the ground; and Hannah Twynnoy, a barmaid who was allegedly eaten by a tiger in Malmesbury in 1703, this paper explores the contradictions of globalisation and offers a sociological reformulation of 'thing theory', an account of how social processes are misrepresented as external constraints in disputes over choices and actions, in this case over planning applications and the decision to relocate a factory.

#### **Hegemony and Despotism in the Contemporary Labour Process**

*Purcell, Christina*  
(Manchester Metropolitan University)

Thirty years ago Michael Burawoy identified the emergence of a new labour control regime, hegemonic despotism, the features of which have since become entrenched throughout western economies. In recent years the concept of hegemonic despotism has gained more ground as an analytical frame of reference for situating the playing out of managerial control practices and employee acquiescence or resistance within broader changes to the political economy of work. Analytically, attention has been drawn to various elements of what Burawoy termed the political apparatuses of production that shape the labour process, such as sectoral restructuring, e.g. lean and hierarchical supply chains, the changing nature of employment relationships, and the weakening of the social wage. Much of the focus of this research has been on establishing how managerial control has shifted towards more coercive 'despotic' forms of control. However, the concept of hegemonic despotism encompasses not only coercive control, but also consent though hegemonic ideologies and practices. Taking temporary agency labour as an exemplar of a workforce labouring under a regime of hegemonic despotism (Burawoy, 1985), the paper examines how worker subjectivities are constructed by multiple 'kaleidoscopic' social forces. Whilst research has addressed how hegemony functions to elicit consent and internalise new norms of employment using Burawoy's frames of reference, the theoretical implications have not been sufficiently drawn out. The incorporation of Gramscian and Foucauldian concepts of hegemony into the political apparatus of production provides the basis of a more integrated account of contemporary production regimes and, by extension, contemporary labour processes. The reconceptualisation of Burawoy's production regimes to include the construction of worker subjectivities outside of the workplace, allows for a more comprehensive appreciation of the dynamics of contemporary labour process and the multifarious factors which influence the experience of work and managerial control.

#### **Critical Assessment of Social Impact Bonds**

*Schneider, Nina*  
(University of Applied Sciences Vorarlberg)

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Altruistic ambitions and making profits are usually presented as a dichotomy. Companies are often seen as solely being interested in generating profits, whereas non-profit organizations and public entities are considered being responsible for projects and programs that lead to a more socially-just and more sustainable system. Social impact bonds (SIB) aim at bridging these two perceived opposites. SIBs are often presented as an attractive alternative and a win-win option for all stakeholders involved. So far, however, the application and implementation of social impact bonds lack an in-depth analysis of possible risks and limitations.

Social impact bonds describe an outcome-based financing method, which is used to address social challenges such as youth unemployment or ageing population by testing new approaches, while enabling a cost reduction for the state and allowing more flexibility in the service provision. Against the background of increasing public indebtedness and austerity programs, states are looking for alternative financing methods and thus, SIBs were implemented in many different countries.

The aim of this paper is a comprehensive analysis of the benefits and limitations SIBs face in Continental Europe by the means of a qualitative literature review, the analysis of already existing SIBs and semi-structured expert interviews. On the basis of this analysis, necessary structural elements, which foster positive results of SIBs, are identified.

A social impact bond usually consists of a private-sector investor, the public sector (usually the government), service providers, an intermediary, an evaluator and the group of people in need. The intermediary fulfills a critical role being responsible for structuring the contract and for finding investors. The private investor or the private investors guarantee the provision of funding for the project upfront. The financial risk lies often solely by the private investor. The service providers are responsible for the operational implementation of the new approach. The state agrees to reimburse the costs and pays a revenue in case of successfully finishing the project. Success is measured in terms of the social impact the approach has and it has to be confirmed by an external and independent evaluation. Impact measurement is thus, a key aspect of SIBs and requires a thorough examination.

Through the analysis of the potential benefits and shortcomings, useful conclusions can be drawn that provide guidelines for structuring SIBs, while avoiding possible adverse effects.

## **Identities, Experience & Environment of Work**

### **DUBLIN 2**

#### **Material Environment and Consumption of Work**

*Jaju, Garima*

*(University of Oxford)*

Much ethnography of work in the growing service sector has focused on the body and emotions at work – prominently, 'embodied labor' and 'managed emotions'. I argue that the worker's relationship with the material environment of work has been underexplored. Drawing on fieldwork, I focus on a fast-growing optical retail company manufacturing 'first copies' of international eyewear brands in New Delhi, India. Aspirational middle-class men and women working as salespersons, optometrists and store managers in its retail outlets express deep disdain for its *naklee maal*, i.e. fake eyewear products and low-quality eye-testing equipment. They do so not as imagined buyers, but as workers selling the products and operating the equipment. Their poor assessment of their 'cheap' material environment results in anxiety concerning the quality of the 'brand' of the worker, a poor 'rating' of the employer company and 'shopping' for better work. I discuss how the materiality of the products sold and equipment used mediates the experience of work in a way that work itself comes to be viewed as a product for consumption, and the worker as a consumer of work. I relate this to the pervasiveness of contemporary consumer culture, which, I argue, results not just in an increased desire to competitively consume and display goods, but also creates particular kinds of subjectivities and selfhoods through which to experience social life – prominently, work. In so doing, I advance critical anthropological thought by challenging the assumed separation between the two anthropological sub-fields of work and consumption.

#### **An Analysis of Gabonese Foresters' Perceptions in Work Situations**

*Bourel, Etienne*

*(University Lumière)*

This communication will be based on an ethnographic survey carried out as part of an anthropological doctorate related to the life of forestry workers in Gabon, in a context where this economic sector is undergoing major transformations according to sustainable development. The survey was carried out on a logging site of an Indian multinational company based in Singapore and according to the conventional conditions of the ethnographic fieldwork (extended presence, observations, interviews, collection of documents, local reviews).

In his book *Anthropology of the forest*, Paulin Kialo modelled the human-environment relations in Gabon according to a division between 'pro-forest' populations (the ethnolinguistic group *Pové*) and 'anti-forest' populations (European

foresters). According to him, Gabonese forestry workers are at the interface between these two methods, in a hybrid situation. The aim will therefore be to better understand the action of forestry workers in working situations.

To this end, various tensions that can be detected and interwoven among foresters will be addressed:

1. The forest as a world of existing. The forest is very regularly described by the workers as a group of spirits, geniuses, mermaids that can be found in trees (the biggest ones in particular), places (certain rocks or landscape features) or elements (water, in particular). In addition, virtually all workers agree on the importance of performing a ritual at the beginning of forest exploitation, a propitiatory ritual consisting of drinks and food libations, as well as requests addressed to ancestors and local entities.
2. The influence of the Churches, which are overwhelmingly Christian and, among them, Catholic and increasingly Protestant in acts of work. A large majority of workers pray prayers before going to work or performing dangerous activities, such as cutting down a solid tree. If these prayers are often personal and discreet, it is possible to observe signatures quite regularly. These churches carry out symbolic work aimed at re-qualifying and re-enacting the conceptions discussed in the preceding point in a complex but binary universe fundamentally marked by a struggle between good and evil.
3. One cannot approach the work carried out by foresters without placing it within the formal framework that allows it, namely capitalist activity and reading in terms of the economic value and yield of the forest stand. Different forms of profit-sharing invite each worker, in different ways depending on the position held, to evaluate quantitatively the trees with which they interact.
4. Finally, and consequently, knowledge of the forest ecosystem enables workers to benefit from the therapeutic benefits of the forest, which was then considered to be a 'nourishing forest'. In addition to the nutritional aspects already mentioned, Gabonese pharmacopoeia is at work here and it is common for samples to be taken during a walk, depending on the saponary, anti-inflammatory, diuretic or purgative qualities of such and such plants.

### **Volunteering Identities: The Role of Volunteering in Creating, Maintaining and Developing Identities**

*Venter, Katharine*

*(University of Leicester)*

#### **Introduction**

Over recent decades, successive UK governments have outsourced more and more public service delivery to the voluntary sector (Aiken & Harris, 2017; Cunningham & James, 2009; Davies, 2011; Egdell & Dutton, 2017). The delivery of public services now takes place within an increasingly competitive funding environment (Baines et al., 2011; Egdell & Dutton, 2017). For many non-profit organizations the role of volunteers has become critical to organizational survival as organizations respond to demands to provide more and more for less and less (Venter et al., 2017). Volunteering is defined as 'any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group or cause' (Wilson, 2000:215). Much of our understanding of volunteering stems from an organizational resourcing perspective driven by organisations' need to identify and tap into sources of volunteers. This has often resulted in a focus on individual choice and motivation that over emphasises the role of agency and overlooks the complexity of the social structures and relationships that are critical to a meaningful understanding of volunteering. Based on findings from a two year study funded by the British Academy this paper draws on the concept of 'thick volunteering' (O'Toole & Grey, 2016) to move beyond a focus on individual choice towards a more meaningful understanding of experiences of volunteering.

#### **Methodology**

Over a period of two years compressed ethnographies were undertaken in six non-profit organisations delivering health and social care services. Data collected included more than 90 hours of qualitative interviews (with volunteers, trustees, paid staff and senior managers) audio and visual notes, and data collected from social media feeds, organizational websites and organizational documentation. Data was analysed using NVivo 11.

#### **Findings**

Based on early findings this paper suggests that volunteering plays an important role in shaping volunteers' identity. For some, volunteering served as a means of creating, developing or maintaining identities during periods of transition related to life stage. This included, for example during transitions into, out of and through paid employment, e.g. into retirement, or transitions related to the loss of care roles due for example to bereavement or resulting from those cared for following gradual trajectory to independence). Secondly for other volunteers volunteering served as tangible demonstration and confirmation of their identity in terms of a commitment to a particular social ethic (e.g. that associated with faith).

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These findings are important because they demonstrate that volunteering is embedded within a complex web of social networks and relationships that need to be understood in order to gain a meaningful understanding of experiences of volunteering. The research highlights that a resource based view of volunteering based on individual choice fails to illuminate the complexities of meaning encapsulated within volunteering. Using O'Toole and Grey's concept of 'thick volunteering' this paper highlights how the complex interaction of structure and agency are crucial for understanding the meanings that surround volunteering. Additionally based on these findings this paper illustrates the ways in which volunteering reflects and reproduces existing divisions of class, gender, ethnicity and generation.



## Masculinities and Body Work

### COPENHAGEN 1

#### **Cosmetic Change? Habitus and the Negotiation of Masculinity in a Feminized Occupation**

*Linstead, Stephen, Garance Marechal, Vijayta Doshi*

*(University of York)*

We explore the ways in which young lower-middle class men brought up in rural Indian villages negotiate the challenges to their masculinity of working in a traditionally feminized urban occupation. Drawing on a study carried out in cosmetics counters located inside urban retail malls in three Indian cities we investigate how being male intersects with complex situational dynamics, allegiances and multiple identities, producing a conflicted and contradictory habitus. We build upon and advance Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus, using it in a distinctive contemporary work setting, and developing a new theoretical lens for exploring men's experiences in a feminized organizational context by highlighting the fragility of the capital developed as part of their professional practice and the ambivalence, resistance and negotiation that constitute the process of developing a new habitus. We emphasize the difficulty of incorporating, valuing and legitimizing embodied experience as male into one's subjective history and trajectory.

Masculinities in rural Indian villages have previously been studied (Pradhan and Ram, 2010), but when men move from rural to urban settings, the dynamics are different. India's level of urbanization is increasing due to internal migration from rural to urban locations, is service-sector dominated, yet more common amongst males than females and is most common amongst educable or employable youth. Moving out of the villages in a hope of making extra money by laboring in the cities, men end up living in dilapidated conditions yet paradoxically not wanting to return to agricultural village life

Chopra (2006) explored how men working in lower class feminine work as domestic labourers use effeminate male veiling practices. in 'feminine' domestic work. Qayum and Ray (2010) studied male servants and uncovered the idea of 'failed patriarchy': stigmatized for being unable to provide a proper living for their families. Ahmed (2006), studied men working in male beauty parlours concluding that whilst 'the same work situation ... may prove an arena of a variety of masculinities .... other divides - provincial town, urban metropolis, caste-class, and so on—are critical in framing the gender divisions of work' (Ahmed 2006: 168).

Previous studies considering the experiences of men working in feminized labour have not generally engaged with intersectionality so broadly as Ahmed to include class, age, sexuality and socio-cultural mobility, yet these are clearly relevant to Bourdieu's concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). We investigate how masculinity, class habitus and different forms of capital associated with various intersecting fields, produce conflicting identities as men develop sometimes precarious strategies to engage with working in cosmetic counters whilst collating fractured trajectories and increasingly divergent life histories. The different forms of capital coming into play in the life trajectories of these men undergo a precarious process of accumulation as they fail to produce symbolic forms of capital that gain legitimacy both within and beyond this distinctive and feminized field of professional practice as a result of a lack of convertibility, and in relation to one's multiple and fractured habitus (Bourdieu, 1991).

#### **My Body, My Business: Image and Performance Enhancing Drugs and Work**

*Turnock, Luke*

*(University of Winchester)*

Performance and image-enhancing drugs have for some years been utilised as a means of handling the stresses of 'frontline', physical employment, such as policing, door-work, and firemen. Here, drugs are employed both as a means of increasing strength and endurance, and in some instances for the pure intimidatory factor (body capital) their effects convey.

In recent years, however, a culture of image-enhancement has become increasingly normalised, with young men now frequently obsessing over how 'buff' or 'ripped' their bodies are. This cultural shift has occurred in parallel with the rise of social media, with many personalities basing successful online businesses off their physiques, through Instagram and YouTube followings, or similar.

As this culture becomes ever more 'mainstream', the potential for the 'body as business' grows exponentially, and between the rise of Personal Trainers both in 'commercial' gyms, and offering online services, combined with 'representatives' selling supplements in gyms and stores, a new generation of online fitness 'models', or amateur bodybuilders, and finally the men who sell all these actors their drugs, an entirely new body-oriented economy has emerged.

This paper will analyse these varying 'new body economy' jobs, and explore the occupants' positions relative to normative expectations of employment, in addition to how a new understanding of masculinity informs this increasingly

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popular form of 'work'. It shall also explore how the role of illicit enhancement drugs, still marginalised by elements of normative culture, has nonetheless been normalised within this economy, and the implication of this.

**Deskilling of the Cleaning Work Labour Process: Tacit Skills and Intersection Between Class and Gender**

*Boccardo, Giorgio, Moya C., Ratto N., Ruiz F.*

*(University of Chile)*

This article draws on a mixed-methods design to describe the deskilling of the outsourced cleaning labour process in two Chilean universities in relation to tacit skills and skills associated with the intersection between social class and gender. This article argues that in cleaning labour both type of skills are required and central for deskilling the labour process.

Previous research posed that labour deskilling is conducted by means of tacit and invisible skills exploited in the labour process. To understand how tacit skills, as well as class and gender skills, are related to the deskilling of labour process and the partial invisibility of skills, a typical working-class and feminised occupation was chosen as case study: the cleaning labour in universities, which is almost entirely outsourced.

The study used an exploratory mixed methods research design, carried out in two phases between March 2015 and September 2016. In the first phase, 17 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to workers and key informants in charge of the management of outsourced cleaning labour in University 1. In University 2, subsequently, 24 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with workers and key informants in charge of the management of outsourced cleaning labour, plus a closed-ended questionnaire to a simple random sample of outsourced cleaning workers (N=476) of University 2 (n=263).

On the one hand, tacit skills acquired informally through working experience contribute to underestimate the labour complexity. On the other hand, skills related to being both working-class and woman are naturalised, thus allowing cleaning companies to benefit from the exploitation of this sociodemographic profile. The article argues that the deskilling occurs when the employer (or the main company) does not recognise the skills that these workers require in order to adequately perform their work. Additionally, it proposes that the intersection between class and gender sheds light on why some women cope with the physical and moral burden of cleaning labour while having the necessary skills to perform it.

The social trajectory of female workers displays how they incorporate social structures during their experience in working-class homes and as women, which also qualifies them as proficient workers for cleaning tasks. Specifically, emotional skills linked to 'obsequiousness', as well as characteristics associated with being a housewife are required in cleaning tasks in the university. These 'feminine' and 'low' class skills are fundamental for carrying out the cleaning work labour process (and are sought by employers), however being naturalised as they are neither recognised or rewarded.

The results show that: (1) working-class women are mostly selected because they are considered better prepared for the cleaning labour, (2) informal learning and tacit skills which are fundamental for the cleaning labour are unrecognised and not rewarded by employers, (3) class and gender dispositions such as trustworthiness and obsequiousness are central for the execution of the cleaning labour in universities, and (4) cleaning labour deskilling shapes a work relationship where reproduction mechanisms and invisibility of class and gender inequalities are necessary and reinforced.

## **Unsustainable Working Conditions – Burnout, Turnover, Exit**

### **COPENHAGEN 2**

**I love my job but I am leaving**

*Wang, Wen*

*(University of Wolverhampton)*

These days, many organizations have undergone dramatic changes due to technological advancement, economic conditions or political reforms at the sector or national level. In general, employees have experienced high job insecurity, pay reduction and worsen working condition (Wang and Seifert, 2017). The general wisdom is that increased job demand cause job exhaustion; employees tend to withdraw from in-and extra-roles (organizational citizenship behavior) (Bakker, Demerouti & Verbeke, 2004) and exhibit high level of turnover intention. Researchers in management science have constantly emphasized the importance to contextualize our understanding of employment experience within nation and sector (Theodorakopoulos & Budhwar, 2015), while sociology study show 'the erosion of career calling' in the public sector (Cohen, Duberley, & Smith, 2018). The present study intends to contribute to our understanding on the impact of sector-wide changes on employment experience in the voluntary sector.

Since 1997 in the UK, the statutory funding in the voluntary sector has diminished; however, employment has increased with 853,000 people in June 2016, represented 37% increase since 2004 (NCVO, 2017). This has been achieved through considerate businesslike transformation to secure funding to provide public service. In this process, a number of charities have closed for lack of competences, some have drifted away from its initial missions to survive mode; those remain in the sector have experienced a general 'doing more with less' norms of operation. Researchers have called for more empirical study to examine the impact of businesslike operation on charitable organisation, employees and service users (Conway, Kiefer, Hartley, & Briner, 2014; Maier, Meyer, & Steinbereithner, 2016). The nature of project-based employment indicates that employees face great job insecurity and constrained resource (Cunningham, 2010; Bains and Cunningham, 2011). This may be further torn emotionally between professionalism to help the service users and the limited or no resource available (Venter, Currie, & McCracken, 2017).

The NPV sector attracts highly committed individuals, many of whom live their values and define their identity through work (Cunningham, 2010). Staff shares social goals of organization they tend to go extra mile (Stride & Higgs, 2014). It has been well-documented that staff is prepared to work more than required and exhibited self-perpetuating commitment despite of low wages and working conditions (Baines, 2010; Nickson, Warhurst, Dutton and Hurrell, 2008). Funding cut is generally responded by freezing salaries, reducing pay or failing to adjust for inflation. Even worse, that reduction in pay is coupled with growing job demands (Baluch, 2017). Meanwhile, reduced job satisfaction and high staff turnover were reported in the charitable sector in the UK (CIPD, 2016), and the recruitment has been a challenge in the past decade (Nickson, Warhurst, Dutton & Hurrell, 2008). It is therefore valuable to understand issues matters to the current staff. By doing so, this study explored employment experience of staff in a branch of a global leading charity.

### **The Effect of Perceived Work-Related Stress on Job Search Behavior of Employees. Evidence from Longitudinal Survey Data**

*Achatz, Juliane*

*(Institute for Employment Research of the Federal Employment Agency)*

Against the background of an increased competitive pressure triggered by economic globalization, changes in employment conditions and their consequences for employees are important subjects of interdisciplinary employment research. Research has shown that work intensification and job insecurity have become more widespread in recent years. These issues are considered to be among the major sources of work-related stress which in turn entails risks for employee health, well-being and early retirement (Siegrist/Wahrendorf 2016).

This paper enlarges the focus on possible consequences of adverse working conditions by analyzing the association of perceived work-related stress and job search. We apply the effort-reward imbalance model (ERI) to identify stressful features of the work context (Siegrist et al. 2004). Referring to exchange theory (Gouldner 1960), the ERI model is based on the assumption of reciprocity expectations that are assumed to be an inherent part of work contracts. Reciprocity is given if obligations and work effort in exchange for rewards like salary, career opportunities, job security and social recognition are perceived as equivalent. The key hypothesis of this approach claims that perceived lack of reciprocity in the form of high effort in exchange for low rewards fosters negative emotions and stress responses. While research so far focuses on the relationship of effort-reward imbalance and health, much less attention has been directed at examining different coping behavior. Workers may for example scale down their expectations, temporarily accept the experience to improve career options at a later stage or decide to look for a job that better matches their expectations. This paper focuses on the decision to switch jobs, assuming that workers who receive low rewards in exchange for high levels of effort are likely to actively search for another job than those for whom the effort-reward balance is more favorable.

The analysis is based on information from the panel study "Labour Market and Social Security" (PASS) of the German Institute for Employment Research for the period 2015 – 2017. The data set provides representative information of approximately 10.000 households surveyed on a yearly basis. It contains comprehensive information on employment status, job-related characteristics and the socio-economic position of individuals and their households. The sample consists of working-age employees and the dependent variable is active job search. Effort-reward imbalance, the key independent variable, was measured by a validated short version of the ERI-scale according to Siegrist et al. (2009). To examine the relationship of effort-reward imbalance and active job search a hybrid random effects model is applied, that enables to estimate within-person variation as well as between-person variation within one model, thereby making use of the advantages of fixed effects and random effects models.

As hypothesized, the study finds evidence that perceived effort-reward imbalance increases the probability for on-the-job search. Currently, we conduct further analyses to find out, whether the effect of effort-reward imbalance on job search behavior varies according to occupational status and individual assessment of job opportunities.

### **Privileges and Penalties in the Legal Profession: An Intersectional Analysis of Career Progression**

*Charlwood, Andy, Sundeep Aulakh, Daniel Muzio, Jennifer Tomlinson, Danat Valizade*

*(University of Leeds)*

Intersectionality theory is concerned with integrating social characteristics to better understand complex human relations and inequalities in organizations and societies (McCall 2005). Intersectionality research has taken a categorical and

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quantitative turn as scholars critically adopt but retain existing social categories to explain differences in labour market outcomes. A key contention is that social categories carry penalties or privileges and their intersection promotes or hinders the life chances of groups and individuals. An emergent debate is whether the intersection of disadvantaged characteristics (such as female gender and minority ethnic status) produce penalties that are additive, multiplicative or ameliorative. Existing research is inconclusive. Drawing on administrative records for individuals qualified as solicitors in England and Wales, collected by the Solicitors Regulation Authority (SRA), combined with aggregated workforce data and firm characteristics of their law firms, we undertake a statistical analysis of the intersection of gender and ethnicity in the profession with a degree of precision and nuance not previously possible. The original contribution of our study is twofold. First, we establish statistically different profiles of law firms, showing how the solicitors' profession is stratified by gender, ethnicity and socio-economic background, as well as the type of legal work undertaken by developing a model of the socio-economic stratification in the profession. Second, we demonstrate that while penalties tend to be broadly additive this varies significantly by the profiles of law firms and in some situations the effect is ameliorative.

### **What about the Workers? Staff Attrition and Churn in the Cash-strapped NHS**

*Yates, Edward, Nolan, Peter, Reka Plugor, Debbie Roy, Andrew Weyman*  
(University of Leicester)

The paper examines three interrelated issues: the challenges presented by an ageing workforce in the NHS; patterns of staff exit and retirement; and the conditions that lie behind current headline stories of significant and mounting problems in the recruitment and retention of frontline staff. It addresses these questions against the backdrop of recent changes in the state pension age, the alignment of the NHS pension scheme to these changes, and linked initiatives by NHS employers to promote longer working lives. The research was funded by the cross-research council (MRC/ESRC) Lifelong Health and Wellbeing programme.

Focusing on three frontline staff groups (doctors, nurses/ midwives, and paramedics), the paper offers fresh insights into the medical labour process and staff working conditions at a time of fast rising demands on the NHS. It brings forward evidence of the rates at which frontline staff are exiting the service and reporting 'burn-out' as the proximate cause. Two primary sources underpin the analysis: 350 face-to-face staff interviews at six NHS Trusts in England; and a UK wide survey of NHS employees (all ages, occupations and grades).

The analysis highlights tighter resource constraints, intensified labour conditions, and widespread feelings of 'unfairness' as prominent factors in staff decisions to leave the service, either for another job or through early retirement. Feelings of being under-valued and over-managed were common. While many staff expressed deep attachment to the founding principles of the NHS, many also reported that their recent experiences at work – long hours, staff shortages, relentless pressures to deliver – had eroded their commitment to the service. Traditionally high levels of job attachment were found to be under threat.

The paper examines how prevailing resource constraints, staff shortages and more intense working patterns - exacerbated by tighter quantifiable targets and performance metrics - have contributed to staff demoralisation and rising levels of early retirement and exit. It provides the first quantitative assessment of the ranking by staff of the hierarchy of causes that are driving them to leave. The problems highlighted may not be new, but they have assumed a new and amplified significance after years of funding constraints since austerity became the guiding principle of public sector finance after 2010. Cash constraints have combined with creeping privatisation as the key drivers of NHS staff disaffection.

## **Work and Wellbeing**

### **GRAND 4 & 5**

### **Emotional Labour in the ED: Feeling Rules, Gender Stereotypes and Emotional Stoicism**

*Kirk, Kate, Laurie Cohen, Alison Edgley, Stephen Timmons*  
(University of Nottingham Business School)

The National Health Service (NHS) in England is under significant pressure. Sources of this include the changing demographics of the patient population, significant advances to medical treatments and intervention, and a shift in expectation from the public regarding the standard of care they receive (Ham, 2015). Additionally, there is now an emphasis for NHS services, and public services more generally, to be accountable to the public (Ham, 2015).

An area of care which is under considerable strain, is that of emergency care. Emergency Departments (ED's - as they are now known), are struggling to meet patient demand. There has been an upward trajectory of patient attendance since the 1970's (Jones, 2008). Furthermore, governmental targets, and organisational pressures such as the '4-hour wait' increase the challenges for those working within emergency care (Mortimore and Cooper, 2007).

It is perhaps undeniable that the challenges facing the NHS have implications for those staff tasked with delivering care. In 2009, The Boorman Report on the Health and Well-being of NHS Staff (Boorman, 2009), found significant problems with high rates of poor well-being, this also had a direct, negative impact on the quality of care that patients received. Financial implications are also significant, estimated cost savings in reducing absenteeism are predicted at £555 million (Boorman, 2009).

In examining the well-being of the nursing workforce specifically, English nurses also fare poorly when compared on an international perspective (Aiken et al, 2012). The rates of stress, burnout, and the intention to leave are amongst the highest against other European countries, and America (Aiken et al, 2012). Aiken et al (2012) also found a strong relationship between nurse well-being and the standard of care that is delivered to patients.

Despite the strong evidence showing the importance of positive nurse well-being, the emotional component of the nurse's role, a great influencer in well-being (Warren, 2016; Johnson and Spector, 2007), is overlooked in clinical practice (Smith, 2012, Theodosius, 2008). Emphasis is given to the physical nursing tasks, with little value allocated to those which are less visible, and as such, less quantifiable (Philips, 1996; Bone, 2002). As a consequence, a significant component of the role is left unsupported and depreciated (Sawbridge and Hewison, 2011), described as the emotional labour of nursing.

This paper therefore, utilising an ethnographic approach, aims to theoretically and empirically explore the concepts of emotional labour, emotion management and emotion work. This will be done through the case study setting of the highly charged ED, where arguably services are at their most stretched. A significant theoretical contribution and advancement to the existing emotional labour literature will be made. This will focus specifically on the 'feeling rules' of the ED, and the likely diverse factors which instrument the frequency, ease and intensity of the emotional labour undertaken by emergency department nurses. Within this, it will unpack and explore how the environmental and institutional factors, organisational dynamics, gender customs, patient population and their expectations influence the emotional labour done by staff within this environment.

#### **HIV and Employment: Positive Changes?**

*Dalton, Drew*

*(University of Sunderland)*

This paper will address the stigma faced by people living with HIV in employment within the United Kingdom. It will outline the key barriers faced by those living with the condition and it will explain how the wider 'silencing' of HIV in society (Dalton, 2017) has contributed to the silencing of HIV status within employment. In turn, this has impacted upon those living with the condition and of employers own knowledge of HIV and the legalities in place as set out by the Equality Act (2010). There is an emerging tension between the law recognising HIV as a disability in the UK and this being seen as progressive, but the wider silencing of HIV discourse is due to the increased medicalization of the topic which often negates this advancement of HIV being discussed within the public realm. The talk will present the outcome and impact of my own research which developed the world's first ever charter mark (Positive Allies) for employers to show that they are 'HIV friendly' toward their employees which it is hoped will raise the discussion of HIV in places of employment.

This talk was from my own research project into the life histories of people living with HIV in the North East of England (Dalton, 2015), which presented a snapshot of the wider experiences of people living with the virus within the UK today. This biographical piece highlighted the increased invisibility felt by people living with HIV in their places of work.

## **Organisational Culture, Employment Conditions and Corporate Wellness**

### **AMSTERDAM 1**

#### **Logos and Labour Rights: The Role of Private Standards in Promoting Good Employment Practice in Global Supply Chains**

*Timms, Jill, David Bek*

*(Coventry University)*

As global supply chains become ever more complex, the question of where responsibility lies for the treatment of workers within them becomes ever more contested. A role could be argued for many diverse bodies, which may include – just for one supply chain - a host of national governments and legal systems, big global brands to small family businesses, trade unions and worker advocacy groups, networks of subcontractors, far away consumers and international trade associations. This paper seeks to consider the growing influence of private regulation within supply chains and the differing motivations and influence of those who promote social certifications as a way to improve or ensure good

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employment practice. Can and should the logos that identify standards have a role to play in furthering the cause of labour rights in global production networks?

The research presented is part of an ongoing international, interdisciplinary project on certification, sustainability and responsible employment in supply chains, and connects to wider debates on the balance of state and private employment regulation within a global economy. Here we focus on our empirical findings from the cut flower industry, a case study which illustrates both the potential for workers and their advocates to use standards to hold companies to account and the challenges of being involved in the development and running of these private certification schemes.

Global cut-flower supply chains offer a useful case as new producers, including Ethiopia, Kenya and Columbia, are aggressively pursuing export strategies. The European market is dominated by the Dutch auctions and wholesalers, who exert strategic control within these global production networks. The UK cut-flower market has been valued at £1.8bn, with the majority of sales taking place via supermarkets. Interestingly, ethical certifications are rendered largely invisible within UK retail supply chains and requirements to comply with ethical and sustainability standards are not applied as consistently as in other fresh produce supply chains. Even in cases where producers are complying with standards such as MPS or Fair Flowers Fair Plants, this information is rarely communicated to the consumer, with Fair Trade being the main exception. Thus, 'ethics of care', which are central to most flower purchases, do not appear to extend back down the supply chain to the workers and environments involved in production – a fact being exploited by some campaigners.

Drawing particularly from sociology and economic geography, we present finding from interviews, observations, documentary analysis and industry engagement work, to explore certification labelling practices, trends and apparent contradictions within the application of these standards in the cut-flower industry. We argue that the thorny issue of certifications must be grasped by key stakeholders in order to confront an array of social, labour and environmental risks embedded within such global production networks.

### **Corporate Wellness: What, Why, Why Not and Wither?**

*Harvey, Geraint*

*(University of Birmingham)*

Corporate wellness (sometimes labelled workplace wellness) is a boom industry estimated to be worth around \$43billion globally (Dodd 2017). Ostensibly, corporate wellness (CW) results in mutual gains: positive health outcomes for the employee and lower costs, for example, in reduced sickness absence (Price Waterhouse Cooper 2008: 5), and/or higher productivity for the firm. Might we conclude that CW is the policy paragon of best practice human resource management (see, for example Kaufman 2015)? The purpose of this paper is to provide a robust interrogation of CW starting with a definition that distinguishes CW from workplace health promotion (Quintiliani et al., 2008), thereby addressing the what of the paper title. Evidence of the impact of CW is mixed and so the paper proceeds to theoretically frame the reasons why firms engage in such resource intensive activities offering a non-exhaustive, but nonetheless comprehensive range of theories explaining how CW might 'work' to provide the firm with an advantage through employee behaviours.

Four distinct theories of CW are presented in this paper. First, the social exchange theory of CW holds that if CW is perceived by workers as an expression of organisational support (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Park 2017), then following the logic of social exchange workers reciprocate with supportive behaviours such as discretionary effort and organisational citizenship behaviours. Second, CW might be understood as a means of social control whereby management is able to manipulate the behaviours of workers to suit the needs of the firm under the guise of responsibility on the part of workers to facilitate the expressed social responsibilities of the firm (see Holmqvist 2009). Third, the paper adapts the labour process theory of HRM (Ramsay et al., 2000) to offer an explanation of the impact of CW that focuses on the anxiety it creates among staff to participate in the wellness activities and ultimately demonstrating greater work contribution (e.g., fewer sick days, higher productivity, etc.). An alternative labour process theory of CW is offered as a fourth explanation that understands the impact of CW not only in terms of encouraging (or coercing) staff to offer greater effort, i.e., activating productive potential, but also in terms of its impact on workers health and consequently their ability to do more, i.e., generating productive potential. In this final exposition, CW moves the contest between labour and capital beyond the workplace.

In setting out these theories of CW, the paper establishes foundations for assessment of CW and thus proceeds to consider the reasons why corporate wellness might create problems for the firm: exacerbating (mental) health issues and generating disruptive and dysfunctional outcomes (i.e., why not). Finally, the paper sets out an alternative research agenda for CW (i.e., wither) beyond the much-rehearsed focus on contribution to firm performance that embraces the perspectives of management and a variety of workers.

### **Conceptualising Organisational Culture and Delivering Change: Towards a Research Agenda**

*Teasdale, Nina*

*(University of Manchester)*

Gender equality has been described as one of the 'less achieved promises of modernity'. While impressive inroads have been made by women in past decades, they nevertheless mask the underlying structures of inequality - organisations remaining segregated by gender both horizontally and vertically. Although much emphasis in policies and initiatives remains levelled at individual women, this paper focuses on 'deep rooted' organisational culture and its significance for obstructing (or enabling) progress towards gender equality.

We start by conceptualising 'organisational culture'. Schein argues that 'culture' is the most difficult organisational element to change and the informal aspects of organisations must be tackled for sustained transformation. While academic research on this topic has identified the importance of cultural change, there is surprisingly little empirical detail or translation work on how to progress organisational cultural change in practice. Some organisations are sector leaders in their commitment to driving organisational cultural change, however successful innovation and delivery of sustained change is uneven and the practitioner opportunities to learn from good practice are still patchy rather than systematic. The question driving our research agenda is thus: what practical advice on securing and embedding change is provided in organisational programmes designed to promote gender equality?

In this paper we report on the early stages of our research collaboration with Working Families. This collaboration involves analysis of the Working Families' membership database and related in-house resources, with a particular focus on actions to support more family oriented working practice. Alongside this, practitioner workshops and qualitative interviews with HR professionals from Working Families' member organisations will be organised to foster dialogue and distil their experiences and reflections on what has and has not worked in their initiatives to progress organisational cultural change. The paper concludes by reflecting on how the research collaboration contributes to redressing the theory-practice gap through sustained and synthesised engagement between academics and practitioners in the arena of work-family policy design, implementation and evaluation.

## **Dynamics of Retirement and Extending Employment**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

#### **Challenge or Opportunity? Scotland's Ageing Workforce and the Extension of Working Life**

*Airey, Laura, Wendy Loretto*

*(University of Edinburgh Business School)*

In common with other Western economies, Scotland, as part of the UK, has seen an increased policy focus on extending working lives beyond traditional retirement ages, in order to balance expenditure on older citizens with tax revenues. Policy discourse has often presented extended working life in an uncritically positive manner, emphasising opportunities for individuals and employers alike, while raising the age of receipt of State Pension and abolishing mandatory retirement.

This paper, based on recently completed empirical research, aims to more critically interrogate the opportunities and challenges associated with later-life working in Scotland, from the perspective of both employers and older workers. The research, funded by the Scottish Government and conducted in 2017, was based on semi-structured interviews with 44 people aged 50 and over, who were purposively sampled in order to achieve diversity in terms of current employment status, employment sector, marital status and household income decile group. Research participants were interviewed about their past and present employment experiences, and their plans for the future. We also conducted focus groups and telephone interviews with 21 employer representatives from a wide range of organisations (in terms of size and sectors). Employers were asked about their current approaches to managing later-life working, and their views regarding the implications of an ageing workforce. All interviews and focus groups were digitally recorded & fully transcribed. Thematic data coding and analysis was supported by the use of NVivo 11.

Our analysis revealed a series of potential mis-matches between employers' approaches to the ageing workforce and the needs and desires of older workers themselves. Using the UK government's triad of 'Retain, Retrain, Recruit' (Altmann, 2015), we found some attention to retention amongst employers: they were keen to retain their highly skilled and more highly qualified older employees, yet they recognised that these employees often retired earlier because they had the financial means to do so. By contrast, employers demonstrated limited awareness of and even unease about taking action regarding the recruitment or retraining of older workers. They expressed concern about adopting specific policies or practices for older workers, for fear of being viewed as ageist. For their part, older workers generally felt that they lacked sufficient information from their employers about options for later-life working and pension provision. Our analysis further explored how individuals' socio-economic circumstances, and their gendered social and family roles had shaped their experiences of later-life working. In particular, the life-course approach adopted by the research illuminated ways in which women's labour market position in later life was related to their engagement in unpaid caring work throughout their lives.

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This more nuanced analysis of the opportunities and challenges facing employers and employees will be used to highlight the gaps in both policy and HR considerations concerning extending working lives.

#### **Dynamics of Retirement: Evidence from ELSA**

*Devlin, Anne, Duncan McVicar, Declan French*  
(Queen's University Belfast)

In recent years, there have been numerous changes in the UK labour market, indeed the same can be said in most developed economies. More women are active in the labour force than ever before, labour force participation of older adults is also growing, and we are seeing a rise in non-linear career paths. The nature of retirement has also been changing. Until recently retirement has been seen primarily as a single discrete transition from a career job to irreversibly being out of the labour force. Some recent research, however, suggests that retirement is no longer typified by a single definitive movement from work to inactivity in this way, nor is it the absorbing state for all that it once was. This remains an active area of research (and of policy change, e.g. the UK Pensions Act 2008). In order to more fully understand (and even describe) these more diverse routes to and through retirement, this paper contends that we need to move beyond a transitions-focused approach to studying retirement (often focused on the duration until and/or determinants of the transition into some retirement state, variously defined), and instead consider labour market pathways of older workers more holistically. The pathways approach is ideally suited to describing the variety and complexity of labour market states that older people follow and to analysing who follows what kind of pathway and, drawing on labour supply and other relevant theory, testing hypotheses as to why.

The paper uses data from 7 (soon to be 8) waves of data from the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA) which allows us to track a large sample of older workers for up to 15 years. We then use sequence analysis and cluster analysis to examine the heterogeneity in pathways people are taking to retirement, and group together similar pathways in order to construct a typology of retirement pathways within our data. Our first contribution is therefore descriptive – updating and extending our understanding of retirement patterns in England using gold-standard longitudinal data. We then go on to estimate a multinomial logistic regression for pathway type. This model provides a detailed analysis of who follows what pathways and under what (individual, household, policy and labour market) conditions. In doing so we are able to both test our theoretically-motivated hypotheses and to consider implications for policy makers in terms of designing and targeting interventions to boost the labour supply of older people. As part of this we explicitly examine changes in pathways over time (comparing across one earlier and one later cohort of older workers in England). In particular we compare workers who reach the age where typically movements to retirement begin both pre and post 2008 (coinciding with the onset of the Great Recession and substantial disability benefit reforms).

This is a work in progress but initial findings suggest retirement remains, mostly, an absorbing state. There also appears to be little evidence of large numbers of older people using sickness benefits as a vehicle for early retirement.

#### **What Leads Nurses to Keep Working after the Retirement Age? Results from a Survey in South-East London**

*Wels, Jacques, Marianne Markowski, Karen Cleaver*  
(University of Cambridge)

Keeping nurses at work after the age at which they can retire is one of the key-priority for the health care policies as the short-term forecast raises potential nursing shortages in the coming years. However, such an increase in the age at which nurses leave the labour market raises potential issues about the reasons for why they would work longer and, more generally, about the nursing sector and the issues that it may face. Based on both a state of the art of the literature dedicated to this matter in Great Britain and abroad and a statistical analysis of data collected in three institutions, this paper aims at capturing the main factors that may explain nurses' expectations in terms of retirement plans. The presentation is divided in two sections. Using an in-depth examination of the literature dedicated to this matter, the first section underlines the main factors leading to work longer or, conversely, to leave prematurely the nursing sector. Three main levels of analysis are distinguished: organizational, financial and individual. At an organizational level, feeling not valued by the organization, the physically and emotionally nature of the work, the lack of flexibility or the poor scheduling practices seem to push nurses out of work while feeling valued by the organization, being involved in the decision making or adapted scheduling practices tend to increase the probability to stay at work. At financial level, low incomes, lack of flexibility in pension and poor financial support are among the aspects leading to an early exit. Finally, at individual level, mental and physical health conditions, time to spend with the family and physical ability are among the factors that explain retirement behaviours in late career. While these different elements were examined by the literature on different scales and in different context, the potential interaction between these different factors and what are the main aspects leading nurses to work beyond the retirement age are not well known. The second section looks at results from data collected in December 2017 to February 2018 in three NHS institutions based South-East London. The sample (N=312) contains nurses of different age groups and working in different directories. The questionnaire was built based on the three different aspects mentioned above. A binary logistic regression is performed distinguishing nurses who plan to work beyond the age at which they would be able to retire and nurses who would not work beyond the pension age. The model includes three explanatory variables that are calculated based on the answer to several questions



related to the organization, financial and individual aspects of work. Three interaction terms are added to the model looking at the interaction between financial, organization and individual indicators. Put in another way, the model aims at estimating the probabilities of nurses to plan working beyond the retirement age depending on their financial, organizational and individual scores and the interaction between these scores. The conclusion discusses the policy implications of these results and states further research needs.

## **Working Women's Employment Conditions**

### **BERLIN 1**

#### **White and BAME Women's Experiences of Work-Life Balance (WLB); Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) and Talent Management (TM) in the Workplace**

*Osei, Deborah,*

*(Queen Mary University of London)*

Even in the 21st century, there continue to be a social expectation for highly skilled women to combine high commitment careers with domestic and caring responsibilities in the home domain (e.g. Eagly, 1987, 1997; Kanter, 1977; Seierstad & Kirton, 2015). In an attempt to improve the representation of women in senior positions, organisations have introduced a number of WLB policies such as shared parental leave and flexible working arrangements (ACAS, 2015; Lewis & Campbell, 2007) to support women to balance commitments in the work and home domain. However, the effectiveness of WLB policies in facilitating professional women's career progression has been widely contested in the WLB debate (e.g. Walsh, 2012; Formankova & Krizkova, 2015; Yerkes et al., 2010).

Using Acker's (2006) theory of inequality regimes as an analytical framework and acknowledging the ideas of intersectionality, this study explores the effectiveness of WLB policies, alongside D&I and TM policies in facilitating the career progression of professional women in the workplace. Furthermore, this study takes an intersectional approach to explore the role of gender and race in access to WLB policies, D&I policies and TM policies in the workplace in an attempt to highlight the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimension of Black women's experience (Crenshaw, 1991: 1244).

Drawing on in-depth qualitative study with White and ethnic minority women in management and directorship roles, I explore three questions: (a) What are the organizational policies on WLB, D&I and TM and to what extent are these policies aligned in practice in the workplace; (b) What is the effectiveness of WLB, D&I and TM policies in acting as enablers to the career progression of professional women with caring or/and-parenting responsibilities; (c) Are there organizational factors that shape access and utilization of WLB policies, D&I policies and TM policies and to what extent do these practices and processes result in inequality regimes?

The findings reveal that: (a) there is a lack of alignment of WLB policies with D&I policies and TM policies. Rather, all three HR policies are typically designed and implemented in isolation to each other; (b) WLB policies, D&I policies and TM policies are often developed and written in policy documents, but in practice, senior women are often unable to access policies that will enable them to commit to both caring or/and parenting responsibilities due to the negative consequences it may have on their career progression; (c) organizational factors such as line management support, team structure and support and networks shape access to WLB policies, D&I policies and TM policies. The study also reveals the role of class and race in shaping access to WLB policies, D&I policies and TM policies and the negative career consequences women experience as a result of these factors. The six interacting and mutually constituent components of Acker's (2006) inequality regimes are present in this study.

#### **Women's Work: How Mothers Manage Flexible Working in Careers and Family Life**

*Young, Zoe*

This paper examines the transformational potential of flexible work arrangements for professional women who adjust their employment because of their motherhood. The transition into a part-time and flexible work arrangements (FWAs) is one that mothers in the UK are more likely than fathers to make, and for many professional women there are well evidenced career penalties for doing so (IFS, 2016; Rubery et al, 2016). The limited availability of flexible working opportunities in jobs higher up organisational hierarchies is viewed as partly responsible for the lack of women in them and a key contributing factor to the 18% gender pay gap in the UK (ONS, 2018; Women and Equalities Committee, 2016). Many large employers share this view and opening more, and heavy-weight roles to flexible working features in many employers' strategies to close the gap. Yet little is known about how these arrangements work in practice in more senior roles.

Drawing on over 100 hours of narrative data gathered in repeat interviews with 30 professional women who are also mothers, this paper offers sociological insight about how well flexible working works in practice for women at the critical point in careers when women get stuck or get out of the pipeline to the top jobs. Introducing the concepts of 'quiet

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responsibility' and 'flexibility fatigue', the heavy-lifting involved in a year of working flexibly is vividly brought to life in women's deeply personal stories of choice, change, continuity, challenge and success. Five actions are proposed for policymakers, employers, and the family that are essential to address the limitations and to fulfil the transformational potential of flexible work arrangements for the benefit of gender equality in careers and family life.

#### About the presenter

Zoe Young is a researcher, writer, speaker and consulting sociologist. Her research explores women's employment, caring and careers, inequalities in flexible working and family life, and gender diversity practices in organisations. She lectures on organisational behaviour, HRM and diversity management. Previously Zoe worked in the management consulting industry specialising in organisation design and culture change. Her first monograph *Women's Work: how mothers manage flexible working in careers and family life*, which is based upon her doctoral research at the University of Sussex is published on 12th September 2018 by Policy Press (an imprint of Bristol University Press).

### **Childcare Policy and Employment in the Middle East and North Africa**

*Mehdizadeh, Narjes*

This paper aims to examine the nature of childcare provision and policies in four Middle East and North African (MENA) countries and the extent to which, in theory, it takes working mothers into account. To this end, the principal concerns, problems and obstacles involved in childcare policies in MENA are identified. Most analyses of childcare policies have been conducted in developed countries, but there are relatively few analyses of this topic in the MENA. In developing/transitional countries such as those in the MENA, the nature and purposes of childcare may differ from those in developed countries, due to a number of factors such as demography. This paper focuses on influential factors in the development of childcare policy in the region and the policy perspectives of childcare in Iran, while also using comparative material from Qatar, Tunisia and Turkey. Thus, the paper contributes to a greater understanding of these policies and, specifically, their effect on employed mothers. It appears that demographic change, the demands of mothers, the importance of the education of children, and economic changes, are the main driving forces in the development of childcare provision. It might be argued that childcare for working mothers is not well developed: there is a large gap in childcare in terms of meeting the needs of employed mothers in the MENA countries. It was found that the purpose of day-care and pre-school establishments is more pedagogical than to allow more women to enter the labour market.

## **Grassroots, Unionism, Breakaway Unions and Mobilisation**

### **BERLIN 2**

### **Grassroots Unionism and Labour Renewal: Learning from Precarious Migrant Workers' Initiatives**

*Pero, Davide*

*(Nottingham University Business School)*

Low-paid migrant workers often find themselves in vulnerable positions characterized by multiple forms of precarity - economic, legal, social and political. In many countries this precarity is heightened by the current anti-immigration discourses with renewed calls to put 'native' workers first. In terms of representation these workers tend to be neglected by mainstream unions which privilege citizens in 'secure' employment (Standing 2011). At the same time, in the context of ongoing capitalist restructuring, not only have precarious employment relationships become the norm for many workers, but union membership and power have been declining, prompting calls for union renewal and rethinking of strategies to rebuild worker power.

Within current debates, organizing is one of the renewal strategies that have received more attention (e.g. Heery 2002; Connelly and Darlington 2012; Daniels 2009; Croucher and Wood 2017; Mrozowicki et al. 2010). However, according to Simms and Holgate (2010), there is the need for unions to move beyond their rather instrumental and depoliticized approach to organizing and articulate a more consistent and robust approach to building workers' self-organisation and power as well as the need for more nuanced discussions of the variety of existing forms of organizing occurring in practice. With reference to minority and migrant workers, Martinez Lucio et al. (2017) have recently invited to explore how organizing is to 'reach out to an increasingly fragmented workforce vulnerable in terms of workplace politics and exposed to non-standard employment practices' (p. 32). Sullivan (2010) has suggested that to adequately account for labour renewal, it is necessary to look beyond trade unions and consider a range of other organizations and initiatives concerned with labour issues. Yet, limited empirical work as well as grounded theorizing has been carried out in this respect.

This paper seeks to respond to these calls by casting its analytical net broadly – i.e. beyond mainstream unionism – and focusing on the emerging phenomenon of independent grassroots unions co-led by migrant workers. Focusing on

the forms of organizing, bargaining and representation that these new unions articulate is important given that they are proving appealing to migrant precarious workers as well as effective in achieving results despite the serious constraints they face (e.g. see the cleaners' win against outsourcing and other exploitative practices at the LSE in 2017- among many others).

The paper draws on an intersectional actors-centred approach based on extensive multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork with three new migrant-led unions in London, which has included qualitative interviews, participant observation and media analysis. In particular, it documents what and how these new unions provide to invisibilised, isolated, disempowered and unorganised workers that transforms them into communities of struggle capable of successfully taking on much more powerful counterparts (e.g. the contractors for whom they often work, their client organizations and sometimes even mainstream unions). In so doing, the paper also demonstrates the need to see labour renewal as occurring not just through mainstream unions but also through independent and bottom-up initiatives of precarious workers.

### **Breakaway Trade Unions: Reframing the Debate in a Social Movement Approach**

*Evans, David*

*(University of Strathclyde)*

Breakaway unions have been a feature of organized labour since the dawn of trade unionism. Despite this long history, the extant literature on the subject remains undeveloped. Lerner's (1961) seminal work, and the pluralist approach which informed it, continues to frame academic discussion on unions born out of secession. This paper contends that the literature offers only partial explanation for such developments and that a fuller understanding requires viewing them in the context of the economic and political circumstances in which they are generated.

Building on mobilization theory, as developed by Kelly (1998), and the wider corpus of social movement theory (eg McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Snow and Benford 1988), the paper focusses on the emergence of several 'non-political' breakaway unions during the early 1980s.

Although the ontological assumptions underpinning the study are realist, it is recognised that knowledge of objective reality is socially constructed, and therefore fallible. This opens up the discussion to how peoples' perceptions and behaviour can be the target of ideological constructs designed to obscure emancipatory knowledge. These constructs need to be understood in terms of the interests they serve and against the backdrop of the economic and political environment in which they become salient.

The breakaway unions featured in the study were symptomatic of a wider transition to a 'free market' pathway and embedded in what is identified as a bourgeois countermovement against the growing political influence of organized labour. Framing these unions as 'non-political' was central to this counter offensive. By conceptually emptying the employment relationship of its political content, the focus shifted toward individual exchange relations and market forces. This proved a powerful ideological tool in recasting the parameters of legitimate union behaviour, providing justification for breaking away from established structures of representation on the grounds that the parent union had become 'too political'.

Lerner's (op cit) observation-based account was reflective of a previous socio-economic climate and industrial relations orthodoxy and describes a very different type of breakaway union to the 'non-political' variety that became prevalent in the 1980s, and has remained so to this day. Therefore understanding the phenomenon of breakaway unions, in their various guises, requires transcending the level of their manifestation to accommodate the broader forces and dynamics in society which can generate such developments within unions across place and time.

### **Dispositions for Discretionary Behaviour: The Role of Trade-Union Participation and Interactional Justice in a Multinational Study**

*Moya, Cristóbal, Gerber, M.*

*(Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)*

In this article we explore the extent to which and the reasons why workers in 45 countries are willing to give more effort than required for the sake of the firm which employs them (discretionary or extra-role behaviour). Drawing on sociological research on the outcomes of union participation as well as on organizational research on the effects of interactional justice within organizations, we examine the joint effects of trade-union participation and perceived quality of treatment within the organization. We consider horizontal relations among colleagues, as well as hierarchical relations between management and employees. We focus particularly on the moderating role of perceived quality of treatment on the effect of participating in trade-unions on dispositions for discretionary behaviour.

Following organizational research, we pose that the perceived quality of treatment between employees and management will have a positive effect on the willingness to undertake unrequired work. We also extend relative deprivation theories to the interactional domain by assessing how the heterogeneity in the quality of treatment within

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each country relates to dispositions for discretionary behaviour. Additionally, based on the literature on trade-union outcomes, we hypothesise that trade-union membership provides a sense of job security therefore leading to lower dispositions for unrequired work. Finally, we explore an interaction between participating in trade-union organizations and the quality of treatment of management and colleagues, hypothesising that the latter qualifies the effect of the former on dispositions for working harder for the firm's success.

We analyse the ISSP 2015 and 2005 'Work Orientations' datasets using multilevel models with fixed and random effects to include both individual and country level predictors. Results show that -at both individual and country levels- dispositions for discretionary behaviour are higher among those who do not participate in trade-unions and among those with better perceptions of the quality of treatment between management and employees. Perceiving good quality of relations between colleagues also has a positive effect on dispositions to work harder than required, although this effect is small. The three-way interaction between the assessment of relations between colleagues, relations between employees and management, as well as the participation in trade-unions illustrates an interesting finding. When relations between management and employees are perceived as being good, participating in trade-unions is associated with lower dispositions for discretionary behaviour. At the same time, only when the quality of hierarchical relations is good, do bad quality of horizontal relations reduce dispositions for unrequired work.

We reason that the moderating effect of the quality of hierarchical and horizontal relations on the association between union membership and dispositions for discretionary behaviour depicts a new and unattended phenomenon. The effect of union membership increases depending on the quality of hierarchical and horizontal relations in the workplace, shedding light on how the interactional context of organizations matters for understanding workers dispositions for cooperating beyond required.

## Special Session: Journalism DUBLIN 1

### Professionalism, Status Strain and Emotional Work on Three 'Edges' of the Journalistic Field

*Smith, Simon*

*(Charles University in Prague)*

This special session discusses the work of journalists in situations marked by professional role conflicts and normative uncertainties. Although the information professional's job epitomises trends that mark contemporary work like the blurring of the boundary between paid and unpaid work and thus helps understand more general social mechanisms, it has been neglected as a site for study in general sociology. We seek to lift journalists' work out of journalism studies and place it in a sociology of work and professions.

By looking into three different "edges" of the journalistic field - new entrants to the field (media-activists); new tasks that need doing (online discussion); new attachments experienced (crisis journalists) – we want to explore the relationship between emotional work, status strain and professional field renewal.

The session is divided into four rounds, each led by a moderator and closing with a contribution from a media professional whose role is to ground the discussion in empirical experience.

The first round will present the empirical studies which provide the material for discussion. Benjamin Ferron introduces his fieldwork on journalists from free/independent media in France working at the border between the journalistic and political fields and facing tensions in defining their collective identities and activities. Simon Smith, drawing on a three-year ethnographic study, describes how young Slovak journalists cope with the "dirty work" of online discussion administration by inventing routines that recover some "professional purity". Johana Kotisova, based on in-depth interviews and participant observation with Belgian and Czech "crisis reporters", describes aspects of journalists' work related to their conflicting personal and professional identities, emotional labour, work-related stress and cynicism.

In the second round Ferron will lead a discussion on the articulation between structural strains of the journalistic field and the division of roles between and within media organisations. How do new tasks and changes in professional jurisdiction transform the profession? How are networks of peer support structured in relation to organisational boundaries, economical and symbolic interest representation and state regulation?

The third round, led by Smith, will focus on journalists' work resources, the mechanisms for learning skills, and professional socialisation. How do the specific forms of capital accumulated and converted by journalists in edge positions resemble or differ from traditional journalistic resources? How are knowledge and know-how passed on and practices evaluated as right or wrong?

The fourth round, led by Kotisova, will examine media workers' identities and emotional labour, or how people, depending on their dispositions, learn to cope with their double status of observer and protagonist. What are their subjective experiences of often precarious 'creative labour' and working life quality? What happens when 'human complexity' disturbs professional routines (Abbott) but also embodied tastes?

Journalism is an area of work whose professional status is often called into question, which is precisely why it merits attention from sociologists. The reconfigurations prompted by new entrants, new tasks and new attachments - to schematise the disturbances on our three "edges" - are thus particularly dramatic, but exemplify structural dynamics of change that all professions encounter

## **Methodological Approaches to Studying work**

### **ROTUNDA**

#### **Covert Research as a Marginalized Pariah within Organisational Sociology: The Everyday World of Bouncers in the Night-Time Economy of Manchester**

*Calvey, David*

*(Manchester Metropolitan University)*

The focus of this paper is on the marginalization of covert research within organisational sociology. A covert ethnography of bouncers in the night-time economy of Manchester is used to display the rich and distinctive insider insight that can be gained into the subculture of a highly stigmatized and demonized group of casual, precarious and long exploited night-time economy workers.

Part of this exploration are reflections on emotionality, embodiment and risk-taking in covert ethnography. The paper shall conclude with some wider observations on the maligned tradition of covert research as a creative and imaginative way of understanding unbounded types of organisational culture and particularly the shifting and precarious nature of private security work in the growing night-time economy of the UK.

This nomadic covert ethnography is within a relatively small field of studying private security in the night-time economy (Calvey, 2008, 2017; Hobbs et al, 2003; Monaghan, 2002). It was a form of edgework (Lyng, 1990) in a comparatively dangerous fieldwork setting (Lee, 1995). Door work is a distinctive form of both emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) and hyper-masculinity, whose subcultural rules and rituals are dramaturgically played out (Goffman, 1959).

Covert research has been imaginatively applied to a range of mundane organisational settings. Covert research has a well-established, albeit submerged, tradition of analysing a diaspora of organisational settings, including asylums, bureaucracies, call centres, car factories, care homes, domestic cleaning, universities, hospice cultures, legal firms, private security, training organisations, sex work and retail chains (Calvey, 2017).

Covert research is associated with ethical transgression and deception. Covert ethnography is not devoid of ethicality, but rather displays different forms of situated ethical self-regulation and reflexivity. Covert ethnography can play a positively disruptive and creative role in analysing work subcultures and organisations, and importantly not just extreme or secretive forms. Covert research requires a reconsideration of its value in organisation studies (Roulet et al, 2017). Covert research is typically frowned upon as a last resort methodology (Calvey, 2008). It is not a panacea and clearly not appropriate for some organisational settings. However, ultimately, organisational sociology is missing a trick.

#### **Ethnographically-Informed Methods of Exploring Employees' Lived-Experience of Diversity, Inclusion and Belonging – A Photovoice Example**

*Quinlan, Maria*

*(University College Dublin)*

While the business case for diversity has been clearly evidenced and articulated for well over a decade (McKinsey, 2015; Deloitte 2014), organisations struggle to fully promote and unlock the value of a more diverse and inclusive workforce (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016). Increasingly organisations are also understanding the value of cultivating a sense of belonging within their employee-base (Barsade and O'Neill, 2014). From a methodological perspective, organisations tend to rely heavily on quantitative methods to capture employee attitudes and experiences – particularly in the form of staff engagement surveys. While diversity on key demographic characteristics can be measured through analysis of employee data, as Sherbin and Rashid (2017) note, quantifying feelings of inclusion and belonging is a more complex endeavour. They suggest that the narrative needs to be understood along with the numbers. In an effort to explore and unpack these issues, this research explores the use of ethnographically-informed qualitative methodologies to capture employee experience of inclusion and belonging with organisations across industry sectors.

Specifically the photovoice method, pioneered by Wang and Burris (1994) has been used to explore the lived-experience of employees within the Irish offices of a multi-national technology company and a professional services firm, enabling us to enrich statistics regarding diversity with more nuanced meaning. Photovoice has limited use currently within the study of organisations, but is a method with great potential to give voice to employees in a way which allows them to become active participants in their own research journey (Day, 2014; Balbale et al, 2015).

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Drawing on the findings from this research, this paper will explore how photovoice can be used to capture nuanced actionable-insight for companies on their organisational culture, and can assist in building cultures which promote equality of opportunity for all.

**Beyond Theory: The Workplace Case Study Tradition in the 21st Century**

*McGovern, Patrick*

*(London School of Economics & Political Science)*

Workplace case studies have traditionally been valued for their ability to provide insights that contribute to theoretical advancement even if they are unable to provide adequate tests for theory generally. Compared to survey-based forms of research, proponents of this tradition argue that its ability to enable researchers to 'get close' to the subject matter through intensive fieldwork, patient observation and in-depth interviews means that they are better placed to explain how the employment relationship really works. Quantitatively oriented scholars often disagree while suggesting that small N studies can be a useful supporting role by generating hypotheses that can subsequently be tested through large-scale survey research. Others insist that the British tradition of industrial relations research, which is notable for its devotion to case studies, was almost atheoretical; that is, it was characterised by the aphorism of 'a pound of facts and an ounce of theory' (Cappelli 1985: 91).

This paper assesses the nature of theorizing in workplace case study research by examining what it is that case studies actually do. Specifically, it will provide empirical evidence on contributions to theory, to conceptual development and to hypothesis generation. To capture the current 'state-of-the-art' I focus on papers published in eleven leading journals in the general area of work and employment relations between 2000 and 2014. A random sample of workplace case papers (n=174) were then subjected to a process of content analysis that identified and categorized material according to the type of case study research, its theoretical orientation, and engagement with theories, concepts and typologies, among other things. The relevant passages of text were coded and entered simultaneously into NVivo and SPSS (the latter for basic tabulations).

Three major findings emerge from this research. First, a surprisingly large proportion of workplace case study research is of an atheoretical nature and makes little attempt to engage with theoretical problems. The emphasis is in this work is either on describing the cases under investigation or using evidence from case study firms to refute existing empirical claims. In other words, it accords with what Merton described as 'piecemeal empiricism'. Second, a substantial amount of case study research is engaged in work of a conceptual nature. That is, it seeks to confirm, refine or extend existing conceptualisations of workplace phenomena (e.g. emotional labour). Though frequently overlooked, the reciprocal clarification of empirical categories and theoretical concepts has always been a pronounced feature of qualitative case study research (Ragin 1994: 109-134). Finally, the small strand of work that addresses theoretical matters seeks to either inform or confirm existing theory. Even when there are theories, or general theoretical orientations such as Labour Process theory, case study research may simply be used to confirm one's favourite theory. Rarely, does it seek to refute or advance existing theoretical perspectives. In sum, the workplace case study tradition adheres to what was once taken to be a leitmotif of the Oxford School of Industrial Relations: an ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory'.

## **Experiencing Work: Bullying, (Sexual) Harassment and Alienation**

### **DUBLIN 2**

**An Intersectional Analysis of Bullying and Harassment in the UK Rail Sector**

*Wright, Tessa, Mostak Ahamed, Hazel Conley, Sian Moore*

*(Queen Mary University of London)*

As the theme of this year's WES conference recognises, intersectionality is now a central conceptual approach to inequality across a range of disciplines in academic research. It has proven to be a particularly powerful methodological tool in qualitative research, since narratives are often constituted in terms which do not necessarily differentiate or disentangle class, gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexuality or disability and may be characterised by silence on one or all of these factors even though they construct lived experience. Researching intersectionality from a quantitative perspective has proved to be more difficult since, unlike qualitative research, quantitative methods require clear categories. Recent methodological debates have centred on whether traditional additive models of quantitative research are sufficient to capture intersectional inequality and more complex multiplicative models have been proposed (McCall, 2005; Dubrow, 2008). The aim of this paper is to test both additive and multiplicative quantitative methodological approaches.

**The Perception of Violence and Sexual Harassment in the Workplace**

*Carradore, Marco, Giorgio Gosetti*

*(University of Verona)*

The aims of the study are twofold: the first is to investigate how the trade union representatives perceive the violence committed in the workplace; and the second is to explore how workers 'recognise' workplace violence, whether they have ever experienced it in their current job and what they believe needs to be done to deal with workplace violence.

This research is being carried out in the Verona province, northeast Italy, in collaboration with a local Cisl trade union, which is providing the trade union representative contacts and the companies where the survey is being carrying out.

To investigate how trade union representatives perceive workplace violence and workplace sexual harassment, six focus groups were set up. In total, 48 trade union representatives attended the focus group meetings. Consent forms were collected and all data were anonymized. Qualitative analysis confirms what is already known in the literature, for example, that it difficult for a victim of violence to denounce the perpetrator, however, what also becomes evident is that the local trade union representatives need more specific training about workplace violence and workplace sexual harassment, and specifically how to recognise when they are taking place and how to act in response. Such training should also concern for equal opportunities advisors, whose roles are not very well understood by the local trade union representatives.

### **Inequality in Enjoyment at Work. A Time Diary Analysis**

*Walthery, Pierre*

*(University of Oxford)*

This paper investigates enjoyment at work, its person-level and job-level determinants and patterns of association with some aspects of job quality. It is set against the renewed interest for mental health and well-being at work. Whilst job satisfaction has been amply discussed in the organisational psychology literature as a subjective, person-level construct, it has been operationalised using cognitive post-hoc instruments, keeping workers' affective job experience at arms length. Most empirical studies tend also to rely on small-scale samples, which makes their findings hard to generalise to larger populations.

Using the 2015 Time Use Survey, a large scale dataset in which enjoyment was recorded at 10 minutes intervals throughout the participants day this paper sets out to examine these gaps, namely: 1. The overall distribution of enjoyment at work across socio economic characteristics; 2. Its relationship to broad indicators of job quality such as working-time, job security and 3. whether enjoyment at work can be shown to vary between jobs, controlling for respondents' individual characteristics. Job-level analysis was operationalised by using a typology of jobs constructed from two-digit SOC 2010 occupations.

Results show that whilst enjoyment at work operationalised as daily average is associated with age and gender as well as a number of occupations, a small but significant portion of enjoyment level occurred at the level of the job rather than that of the individual worker. Consequences for the literature on job satisfaction and well-being are then mapped.

## Contemporary Work COPENHAGEN 1

### **New Forms of Work, Digitisation, Public and Private Employment Services in Ireland**

*Murphy, Mary*

*(Maynooth University)*

Labour market intermediaries are a fundamental feature of labour markets and find a new relevance in the information economy which demands labour market flexibility and creates more complex and volatile labour markets. Ireland, long a highly globalised economy, with at one time having the unenviable reputation of having the biggest slave market in Western Europe in the 1100's, makes a fascinating case study to examine the interplay of public and private labour market institutions in an era of big data and digitalisation.

Theoretically the paper is informed by Benner (2002) who sees labour market intermediaries as important actors, functionally reducing employment transaction costs, shaping compensation, pushing risks onto workers and enabling network building. Given they also implicitly and explicitly drive labour market development and contribute to changing employment norms and practices, recent studies, recognising their importance, have mapped and analysed such intermediaries globally and nationally (Enright 2013, Peck, J., Theodore, N. and Ward, K. 2005). The paper seeks to fill a gap by providing an Irish analysis, both filling a deficit in Irish studies but also examining Ireland's contribution to the international matrix.

Over the last two decades part-time or temporary employment grew to facilitate rapid quantitative adjustments in labour in the Irish economy. This paper explores these emerging forms of work in the Irish context and examines the implications for Irish intermediate labour market institutions, public and private. The problem being investigated is whether and /or how Irish intermediate labour market institutions, public and private, mediate between new forms of work and citizens.

A number of methods are used to investigate this topic. A first task is to briefly trace new forms of work in the Irish economy, a second is to use institutional mapping to trace and shifts in Irish intermediate labour market institutions, public and private, to highlight new institutional actors and shifts in roles across public and private actors. A third task draws on qualitative interviews (n -30) with policy actors and stakeholders focusing on impacts of shifts in labour market institutions or the more vulnerable in the Irish labour market.

Taking an intersectional approach to analysis, the findings focus on the variegated nature of citizens experiences as they are channelled into very narrow institutional spaces with varying capacities to engage with the opportunities opening up with new forms of work and increased likelihood for some of experiencing new forms of inequality associated with being digital outcasts. The findings suggest a gendered experience of labour market with the male breadwinner social security regime underpinning labour market policy and practice. The narrow targeting of employment services (public and private) means significant numbers of disadvantaged job seekers and non-employed must rely on private recruitment agencies to gain access to relevant digital economy information and services. Ireland has long been a highly globalised political economy yet these issues remain underexplored in an Irish context. Although still a work in progress in this study the findings will have a significant capacity to contribute to knowledge in this field.

### **The Changing White Collar Workplace**

*Hislop, Donald*

*(Loughborough University)*

For a growing proportion of managerial and professional workers the nature of the workplace has changed profoundly in recent decades. These changes have been so profound, that they bring into question how the workplace is conceptualised (Hislop & Axtell 2009). The aim of this paper is to provide a broad overview of these changes and the catalysts that have shaped them, and to use this analysis to reflect on how the workplace is changing. This paper does not present new, empirical evidence, but instead draws on an extensive body of published work which has quantified and conceptualised these changes.

For many white collar workers, the traditional workplace, consisting of a personal desk, located within a collective workplace, is a thing of the past (Felstead et al 2005). As Kreiner et al (2009) argue, 'the workplace' is no longer necessarily a discrete physical location', (p. 704). For such workers, the nature of the workplace has changed in a number of diverse ways. For some, the growth of hot-desking has meant that even when still working primarily from a collective workplace, the experience of work has changed, with individual workers having no guarantee of a specific personal desk to work from (Hirst 2011). Further, such workers may also spend an increased proportion of time regularly working from home, balancing time spent in the office, with time working at home (Richardson & McKenna 2014). For some, the home, or co-working space, may be a full time workplace (Garrett et al 2017, Gold & Mustafa 2013). Some of these home-based workers may be part of the growing rank of self-employed, insecure 'clickworkers', doing routine



computer-based work as part of the platform economy (Huws et al 2017). Increases in work-related mobility also means that many managerial and professional workers travel between and work at a diverse locations, including client sites, and public spaces such as cafes, libraries, airports, often working while travelling, in cars, trains and planes (Hislop & Axtell 2015).

The changes examined are driven by two significant catalysts. Firstly, there have been developments in computer and communication technology, which have culminated in the widespread utilisation of mobile technologies such as smartphones, tablet computers and laptops. Such innovations mean that work is increasingly time and location-independent (Messenger & Gschwind 2016). The second significant catalyst for these changes is the profound and ongoing process of organisational restructuring that has been occurring. This process began in the 1980s, driven by the rhetoric of 'the flexible firm', and has continued since then, with organizations increasingly looking to increase levels of organisational flexibility and organizational efficiency, via both the increased use of outsourcing, and the employment of contract workers, rather than permanent employees, and also via the management and rationalisation of office space via the use hot-desking initiatives, and flexibility initiatives aimed at getting people to partly work from home.

The paper considers the implications of these changes on both how the workplace is conceptualised, and also for the diverse impacts they are having on workers.

**Hourly Boys, Loading boys and Clapper boys: An Analysis of the Historical Background to the Association Between Class and Male Careers in UK Film Production**

*Atkinson, Will, Keith Randle*  
(University of Herfordshire)

The characterisation of the contemporary creative and cultural industries (CCIs) as 'cool, creative and egalitarian' (Gill, 2002) has been unpicked in emerging literature (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013, Randle et al, 2015). A growing consensus suggests that these industries are the domain of the white, male and middle-class.

While some CCIs (radio, film and television) originated at the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century, there is no robust academic work which investigates the extent of egalitarianism or meritocracy in these sectors during much of the 20th century.

Recent accounts of the experiences of those employed in the CCIs have begun to correct this, providing us with accounts of the barriers associated with 'getting in and getting on' across a range of both industries and occupations for some minority groups. The narrative that emerges from these critical accounts is of CCIs with a visible veneer of glamour and an over-supply of willing and educated labour. An increasingly freelance labour market supplies often precarious, project-based employment, adopting informal recruitment practices, with a reliance on unpaid internships that some have argued border on illegality. In understanding career success in these industries accounts that privilege individual endeavour and creativity (Jones, 1996; Florida 2002) are challenged by those that focus on the sociality of networks and dependence on social relations (Blair, 2001; Lee, 2011; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Randle et al, 2015). These accounts provide a deeper understanding of some of the inequalities in the contemporary CCIs, however the historical context to these inequalities have remained unexplored.

In seeking to contribute to the sociology of the CCIs this paper focusses on the UK film industry, drawing on an historical qualitative analysis of the film production careers of 39 men, most of whose work began in the 1930s and ended in the 1970s. The primary source of data comprises interviews from the British Entertainment History Project (BEHP) archive housed at the BFI Library. The paper explores, specifically, work between the years of 1927 and 1950 as the Studio System emerged. The data provided suggests that certain structural arrangements, unique to the vertically integrated studios, provided some opportunities for working-class men in the past. However, these are shown to be exceptions that need to be qualified by a deeper understanding of the logics of practice that emerged in film production and the division of labour within the studio system. Analysis of these careers highlights a long history of class-based inequalities that subsequently became embedded in employment practices and within many film production occupations and departments. Although careers during this period were enacted around different structural arrangements to those today, certain trends and associations between class background and opportunities were being shaped during the 1930s. The paper is intended to inform a deeper understanding of some of the inequalities that persist in the contemporary CCIs.

## **Work Futures of Young People**

### **COPENHAGEN 2**

**Breaking the Silence: Rethinking The Strategies Young Workers Employ Beyond Exit, Voice and Silence**

*Jackson, Shirley*

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(University of Melbourne)

Since the end of the 1970s, trade unionism amongst young people in Australia has experienced a period of sustained and severe decline. Recently, this decline has occurred concurrently with rapid changes to the labour market, employment relations and the broader industrial landscape of the post-crisis political economy, which has left many young people locked into insecure working arrangements for much longer periods than previous generations. Despite this, there is a dearth of research on young people and trade unionism that examines the strategies that young people are using to deal with the 'everyday struggles' of work (Threadgold 2018). This paper explores the strategies that young people employ when they encounter workplace issues surrounding working conditions, workplace conflict and workplace stress. In particular, this paper seeks to understand the way that young people are dealing with issues that are the traditional area of trade union action and/or activism. By utilising qualitative data drawn from a sample of participants from the Life Patterns longitudinal study of Australian youth, this paper aims to provide insight into the experience of work as reported by young people and to explore the strategies available to young people as they encounter challenges within a post-crisis political economy. Finally, these experiences will be explored within the context of trade union decline, and the implications to trade union renewal projects will be considered.

### **Are Some Employers more 'Youth Friendly' than Others? Employment Regimes, Sectors and Gender Disparities in the Great Recession**

*O'Reilly, Jacqueline, Raffale Grotti, Helen Russell*

(University of Sussex)

Jobs for young people are very unevenly distributed across economic sectors. Regardless of country differences, there are striking similarities in this uneven sectorial distribution. Little attention has been given to understanding the changing composition of 'youth-friendly' sectors for youth labor transitions. Using a shift-share analysis, we examine whether the fall in jobs for youth, before and after the Great Recession, can be attributed to shrinkage of total employment in specific sectors (because of structural changes) or to an employers' youth hiring freeze (because of changes in employers' preferences). We examine whether the quality of youth jobs has deteriorated for young men and women in terms of changing proportions of full- and part-time, permanent and temporary job opportunities. We conclude by arguing that more attention needs to be given to involving employers in policies that will enable and encourage them to take on young people, especially in difficult times.

### **Pinball Transitions: Exploring the Labour Market Experiences of Non-Graduate Young People in the UK**

*Nixon, Darren, Beverley Brozsely*

(Leeds Beckett University)

There is general agreement that over the last 20 years, across Europe, youth (and other) transitions are being 'de-standardised' and have become more fragmented, uncertain, unstable and risky (Walther and Plug, 2006). Literature typically invokes late or reflexive modern terminology in order to describe young people as confronted with increased choices, risks, uncertainties and opportunities. Young people are increasingly compelled to reflexively reconstruct their biographies in line with changing market conditions and expectations. Their ability to do this has been described as 'biographicity' (Pohl and Walther, 2007) – the capacity to work on the self and navigate uncertain life course transitions. De-standardisation and individualisation processes place increased importance on young peoples' subjectivities (motivations and attitudes towards education, work and training) as the decisions and choices young people make increasingly impact on their transitions and trajectories (Walther, 2006). Highly educated young people are more likely to make what Walther and Plug (2006) term 'smooth' transitions. Less qualified young people are more vulnerable to 'repaired', 'stagnant' and 'downward' transitions.

In the UK, knowledge economy theory has underpinned a significant expansion in Higher Education provision. Knowledge economy theory (i.e Bell, 1973; Castells, 2000) suggests that both individual employability and national economic competitiveness will be increasingly dependent on the knowledge and skills of workers. The term 'knowledge economy' can be seen as problematic given that around 39% of jobs in the UK require level 1 or less (UKCES 2009). Thus, some scholars have been keen to highlight the bifurcation of the UK employment structure, with work argued to be increasingly polarized between 'lovely' (graduate level) and 'lousy' (low-level) jobs (Goos and Manning, 2007). Whilst the growth of 'lovely' jobs (professional, well-paid, highly-skilled) reflects the growth of the knowledge industries, the growth of 'lousy' (low-skill, low-pay, flexible) jobs reflects the continued growth of low-level service jobs and of non-standard, 'flexible' contract forms. The decreasing middle is an effect of the decline of skilled manufacturing work due to automation and globalization.

In this paper we compare findings from recent in-depth qualitative longitudinal research exploring the labour-market transitions of young people who don't attend university – 'middling kids' who achieved at least some GCSEs in school and aspire to carve an occupational identity in a job with progression - with previous research on 'unemployed lads' - young very poorly qualified unemployed men on the margins of the labour market (Nixon, 2009). The paper explores how young people negotiate their options in their attempt to access good quality employment and how their experiences 'pinballing' between different college courses, training providers and employment statuses undermines their narrative construction of the self. In drawing striking similarities between the two groups in terms of work orientations, school and

labour market experiences, the paper argues that the experience of 'middling kids' pinballing between various employment statuses before inevitably ending-up in low-level work requiring few qualifications, can be read as representative of the increasing precarisation of middling young people's labour market transitions.

## **Uberisation: Life and Work in the Gig and Platform Economies**

### **GRAND 4 & 5**

#### **The Transformation of Work in the Platform Economy: From Day-Labourers to Gig-Workers**

*Piasna, Agnieszka*  
(ETUI)

The platform economy and online labour platforms, such as Uber, UberEats or MTurk, have a great potential for changing the way work is organized in the society and for disrupting the existing construct of a firm. The platform economy offers new possibilities for matching labour demand and supply, also for micro transactions, by reducing transaction costs, and re-organising task division and allocation. This allows, or makes easier, hiring workers as contractors rather than employees. The depart from the standard employment relationship is accompanied by a powerful narrative of flexibility, independence and entrepreneurship, where traditional definitions of dependent employment should no longer apply. The concept of a traditional workplace is also challenged by relocating performance of paid activities into privately owned assets, such as homes, cars or bikes, and public spaces.

All this complicates the definitions of workers and work and makes measurement of these new phenomena problematic, resulting in a gap in comparative research. The extent and nature of work in the platform economy, as well as its socio-economic impact are poorly understood. Data collection has been hampered by a lack of operational definitions appropriate for guiding comparative research. Empirical data, however scarce, cover mainly issues related to the use of platforms (i.e. a consumer perspective) rather than a supply of paid work through platforms. It does not help that terminology used to describe this type of work presents it as inherently positive (e.g. collaborative or sharing economy), or as an entirely new quality (e.g. gig work) linked to technological progress, even though there is arguably not much new about insecure work and casual employment without explicit promise of a continuation of work in the future.

Against this background, this paper aims at advancing current sociological understanding of work in the platform economy. First, it considers how can we best describe and analyse this new reality, by proposing a new conceptual framework for the analysis. It then presents the tools for data collection developed based on this framework, that measure the extent and characteristics of work through platforms and are a necessary step towards assessing their social and economic impact. In the second part, the most recent empirical findings from the Contingent and Platform Work Survey are presented. The pilot survey was carried out in several Central and Eastern European countries in the first half of 2018, based on a representative random population sample.

#### **Using Computational methods to Study Platform Workers, their Joys and Struggles**

*Gueddana, Wifak, James Stewart*  
(University of Edinburgh)

Automated mediation of labour has fascinated scholars, resulting in an influx of publications on algorithms, trust and reputation in platforms and their implications on workers. Many methods were used, from population level analysis of platform transactions, to interviews of one platform or one app workers. However, there appears to be a gap in the overall picture; on one hand, many are preoccupied with quantification of work, self-surveillance and 'black-box' algorithmic management of workers; on the other, the larger question on the 'gig economy' remains little studied. Only a few frameworks situate platform work within social, economic, political and cultural relations, visible and invisible labour processes that are not necessarily the product of one app or one platform.

Using platforms such as, Uber, Deliveroo, AirBnB, eBay, Taskrabbit, AMKT, Upwork, ODesk, Appen, Clixsense, etc. is seldom exclusive, i.e. limited to using one set of tools and apps. For many workers, platforms are inter-changeable, while work is tied up to multiple clients and intermediaries. Uber drivers, for instance operate in crowded cities and need additional components to their dashboard, such as updated traffic information, public licenses, car maintenance and finance. Freelancing journalists, artists and developers also use networked media to expand their attention and amplify their outreach. Many depend on social media, emails and instant messaging apps to facilitate peer engagement, communicate and deliver jobs. Accordingly, work practices and relations established online but off platforms dovetail with platform transactions, creating a loosely coupled digital infrastructure of labour. Massive giga bites of traffic produced daily embody this labour. In many ways this is virtual, but it is also material.

In this pilot study we aim to study digital labour: how work is changing; how and why increasing number of people are turning to platform work, by choice or necessity; how and why they invest labour in algorithmic environments where trust is replaced by metrics, labour laws and social protections are lagging behind, and conventional training and support is

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often missing. What other forms of 'invisible' labour workers perform in order to compete, survive and thrive in a platform market, in their profession, in their local community, and most importantly, within the personal and social conditions of their lives.

We argue that fora, social media, bulletin boards and messaging apps particularly are relational fields that could be brought together with transactional platforms to study workers' practices, collaboration and work performance. Using computational methods to explore these sites should allow us to capture the voices of workers who engage with other workers and post questions to identify sources of income, to cope with site and app features, to find solutions to personal problems, to game the system and to resist. Given that future change in work and workers' conditions could come from workers using off-platform tools to compete, organise, resist and interact with other workers and clients, we argue that it is now important to re-imagine the space of our academic investigation to be inclusive of necessary online spaces where workers' voices are being rendered material.

### **Click-work in the Kitchen: How Digital Platforms Transform Labor in the Restaurant Industry**

*Tubaro, Paola, Antonio Casilli, Philippe Caillou, Elise Penalva-Icher, Julian Posada*  
(CNRS)

The platform economy has pervaded sectors that seemed hardly amenable to digitization until recently. One of them is the restaurant industry, which has seen the rise of algorithmic intermediation services for discovery of dining options (Yelp, Trip Advisor), online booking of restaurants (The Fork, OpenTable, Bookatable), and meal delivery (Deliveroo, Foodora).

The success of platforms stems from their promise to reduce the endemic quality uncertainty that pervades restaurant markets (what is a 'good' meal, a 'good' restaurant?). Rather than relying on trained gastronomy experts, platforms crowdsource quality evaluations from ordinary diners, who are asked to rate and review restaurants. In turn, restaurants are asked to provide contextual information to complete their online profile (menus, photos of dishes, opening times etc.). The advantage of this system for diners is availability of up-to-date, peer-produced guidance, and for restaurants, it is feedback – and ideally additional clients. Platforms extract value from their capacity to leverage interdependencies between diners and restaurants.

Our planned contribution draws on a threefold approach to look at these transformations, combining insights from Callon's valuation studies, Harrison White's market model, and the economics of 'two-sided' markets. We specifically look at the extent to which platforms affect restaurants' operations and working conditions, whilst shifting the burden of some productive activities onto diners – themselves put to work, albeit unpaid and almost invisible.

We use digital data from a popular French restaurant-booking and -rating platform, automatically extracted with a web scraper that we coded. We look at the restaurant sector in Paris together with a sample of four mid- and small-sized French cities, including restaurants of all types – regardless of cuisine, price level and other characteristics. We complete our quantitative analysis of this dataset with twelve in-depth interviews with restaurant professionals.

We show that these transformations are a seachange for the industry. When a platform earns a quasi-dominant market position, restaurants can hardly opt out and sometimes find themselves significantly under pressure. The platform encourages business choices that squeeze costs and prices to attract more diners, with potential negative repercussions on quality of food, employees' working conditions, and long-run viability of the enterprise.

The job descriptions of restaurant professionals change. Online reviews determine which staff members are rewarded, which ones are cautioned. To address criticisms, restaurant owners may go as far as redecorating their dining rooms, or even changing their offer (for example, from eat-in to take-away). More subtly, they need to perform a daily amount of extra digital tasks – reading and responding to reviews, updating their web pages – to ensure their online presence is consistently up to customers' expectations. The result is an emerging form of polarization between visible, material labor and somewhat-implicit digital labor, performed online and often unrecognized.

Concluding, the proposed presentation reviews the resistance strategies of restaurants, such as diversification of services and platform multi-homing, assessing their meaning for professionals and their potential wider effects on the sector.

## Open Session AMSTERDAM 1

### **Using the United Kingdom Labour Force Survey to construct a Quality of Work and Employment Index (QWEI)**

*Ndebele, Nhlanhla*  
(City, University of London)

Rationale and Objective: The current unemployment rate in the United Kingdom (UK) is the joint lowest since 1975. However there are debates about the quality of jobs created with a perception that many are 'bad jobs'. On the other hand, what constitutes quality of work and employment can vary from person to person and the concept is complex and

multi-dimensional. The objective of this study is to conduct a descriptive and explanatory cross-sectional study constructing a composite index to measure the quality of work and employment (QWEI) for the UK.

**Methods:** Multivariate statistical techniques will be used to construct the QWEI based on six overarching dimensions that capture the broad range of work and employment qualities – remuneration, employment security, training and skills development, working conditions, work-life balance, and social dialogue. These dimensions will comprise sixteen variables, using data from the 2017 Labour Force Survey (LFS) which contains individual micro-level data including employment characteristics. The dimensions will be standardised so that their scales are equivalent and will be weighted. Sensitivity analyses of the QWEI will be conducted, for example, in terms of inclusion of dimensions, choice of weights; and the index tested against other variables.

**Results and Conclusion:** The result will be a single aggregate measure; on a continuous scale ranging from 0 (poor) to 100 (good); synthesizing different dimensions of quality of work and employment for the UK and these dimensions will also be reported. The applicability of the scale for policy making will be discussed and evaluated.

### **Chinese Working Mothers' Daily Journeys: Coordinating Work, Care and Education**

*Zhang, Yi*

*(University of York)*

In China, there is a high level of women's labour-force participation and 72 percent of mothers between 25 and 34 years of age with children under the age of six are employed (All-China Women's Federation, 2011). While most Chinese women, including mothers, actively participate in the paid labour market, traditional gender norms still place the majority of household and childrearing responsibilities on women. Yet, women now get less support from the Chinese government as a result of China's economic reforms, which cut back public and employer-provided care provision. These changes in the care economy resulting from policy reforms, alongside a demographic transition towards families with more elders, have intensified the tensions between women's dual roles as income earners and caregivers. Chinese women now face complex and contradictory challenges in the 21st century, particularly those younger generations who are the only child in the family, as they are expected to take care of four elders (parents and parents-in-law) after marriage. A large body of sociological literature on women's work and family life has thus focused on understanding their experiences of work-life conflict and assessing the amount of time spent on household chores and childcare. However, little is known about how paid work, care and children's education activities are coordinated in the everyday lives of Chinese families.

Drawing upon in-depth interviews with 34 young mothers conducted in Northern China, I explored how working mothers manage to coordinate their care and work commitments with the aim of highlighting the taken-for granted aspects of everyday life involved in organising mothers' paid work. I employed Skinner's (2003) concept of 'coordination points' to illustrate the ways childcare, filial obligation and work arrangements are dovetailed together in order for children to have seamless care whilst parents (especially mothers) are at work. These daily journeys showed the social-spatial dimensions to family life, the vital role of grandparents to support childcare and coordination points and the impact of mothers working hours and conditions of work on work life balance. In the past half century, economic reforms and revolutionary changes have powerfully shaped family forms in contemporary China. Nonetheless, the traditionally strong relationship between parents and children continued to be central in Chinese family life. Chinese family relationships seem to be close directed both socially and emotionally. The structure of Chinese families still remains mutual dependence rather than independence. Compared with Western adult children, who are encouraged to live independently, Chinese young people are more likely to rely on their parents' support in various forms. Grandparents' substantial involvement in the daily journeys indicates a high level of structural and functional solidarity between generations. For mothers whose work is more intense (e.g. long working hours), grandparents contribute more to caregiving. Grandparents' support often frees up time for other family members, particularly mothers. Thus, grandparents' support is indeed a family adaptive strategy to maximise the well-being of the whole family, by reducing the amount of time that mothers spend on housework and childcare and enabling them to pursue career opportunities.

### **Low-pay, Precarious Labour, Employment Rights and Voice: Unionising Young Workers in the Post-Industrial City**

*Thomas, Peter, Bob Jeffery*

*(Sheffield Hallam University)*

This study has two key aims: (1) to explore the nature and experiences of low paid, insecure and precarious work for young people in a post-industrial city (Sheffield); (2) to critically analyse the developing strategies of union recruitment and retention, and promotion of employment rights, particularly within the precarious low-paid sector. On this point the work will engage with authors such as Grimshaw, who postulate that precarious work tends to occur as a result of four inter-related 'protective gaps': employment rights; social protection and integration; representation; and enforcement. More broadly, the work will critically engage with authors such as Guy Standing and Will Atkinson who contend that a 'precariat' class has emerged amidst changes in the economic and political structures of advanced societies, the retrenchment and debasing of state welfare and the expansion of a low-skill, low-paid service sector. The focus of the

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study is two-fold. Firstly, we will engage members of the precariat to explore experiences of work, particularly in relation to contracts, workload, stress, respect, employee control, disciplinary procedures, and flexibility. Secondly we will engage trades unions to critically discuss: issues of precarity; the extent to which this changing labour market is recognised by unions; the challenges faced and strategies employed by unions (if any) in efforts to organise non-unionised young workers; the extent of potential conflicts/problems with more established (full-time) workers when trying to represent precarious workers, and how these are manifested; and to what extent there is any co-ordinated action at the local level (and if not, why not?)

The City of Sheffield is an important site for a case study of low-pay, precarious labour, employment rights and voice given its history as a key industrial centre, a significant element of which was characterised on working-class, unionised, (male) full-time employment. In its post-industrial guise Sheffield has been increasingly characterised by rising socio-geographic inequalities in key demographic indicators, such as income and wages, employment, education, transport, health and housing.

## **Pension Savings and Factors Influencing the Decision to Postpone Retirement**

### **AMSTERDAM 2**

#### **Possible Indicators for Gender and Health Impacts on Extended Working Life - Where to look?**

*Gstrein, Michaela*  
(WPZ Research)

The presentation will discuss some of the findings of work group 3 of COST Action IS1409 – Gender and Health impacts of extended working life in western countries. The goal of the Action is to advance scientific knowledge about gendered impacts of extended working life on the health and economic well-being of older workers in Europe and to support informed gender-sensitive future policy. Work group 3 has the task of identifying and mapping national and international data bases for people aged 50 and over. It looks for and investigates appropriate gender-sensitive measures and indicators for health and socio-economic well-being, and discusses novel measures through creative use of existing data.

The presentation will cover interesting data sets and relevant indicators, with an outlook to OECD data and some examples for Austria.

I will thus look at (1) what we collected as relevant data sets and within them relevant indicators, (2) how these indicators/factors are likely to impact on extended working life, (3) and think about what is/might be most relevant in terms of indicators (or even indices) and (4) investigate some data sets in terms of selected data analysis (work in progress - most likely findings from either EQLS/EWCS, GGP or SHARE) and (5) draw some conclusions about the relevance and possible use of indicators .

#### **What are the Differences in the Effect Factors of the Retirement Intention between Urban Female Employees Raised in Rural and Urban Areas? - An Empirical Research into Three Cities in the Jiangsu Province of China**

*Cao, Mingyu*  
(Beijing Normal University/ The University of Edinburgh)

The influence of effect factors such as income and family on the female employees' attitudes on retirement age was largely examined. However, the research objects of these studies are generally the female employees raised in similar cultural and regional backgrounds. The impacts on their retirement intention and its effect factors from the environment in which female employees are reared are rarely considered. The urban and rural areas of China differ tremendously and existing studies prove the differences of gender consciousness and values between females that are raised in urban and rural China. This provides a valuable case to address the gap stated.

Drawing on the data collected in three cities of Jiangsu Province of China, this research analyses the differences between urban female employees from both urban and rural backgrounds regarding their retirement age preference, which fell into two categories: income-preferred retirement age and family-preferred retirement age relationships. The results show that pension have significant positive influences on the retirement intention, while family care has a negative influence on the retirement intention. Pension has more influence while family care has less on the retirement intention of the employees raised in urban areas compared to those raised in rural areas. The case of China can contribute to an understanding of the differences in retirement intention between females that are raised in relatively developed areas and those who migrate to the same areas from less developed regions.

#### **Perspectives and Practices in Workplace Pension Saving**

*James, Hayley*  
(University of Manchester)

Auto-enrolment into workplace pensions was introduced in the UK in 2012. The policy dictates that most employees are automatically enrolled into workplace pension schemes with the aim of encouraging people to save privately for a pension and achieve an adequate income for their retirement, as a supplement to the state pension. However it is predicted that as many as 12 million people in the UK are not currently saving enough to provide an adequate income for their later lives. Existing research around pensions has highlighted important structural factors that affect pension accumulation, yet we know very little about how this plays out at an individual level, and how people may respond to auto-enrolment.

This paper draws on the sociology and anthropology of economic life to consider the extent to which people who had been auto-enrolled believed they would be reliant on their workplace pension in later life, and whether this impacted the level of participation in workplace pension schemes. The research used a constructivist-interpretivist methodology based on 42 qualitative research interviews completed in 2016/17 with participants aged between 25 and 45 years old, the target group for auto-enrolment. Participants were drawn from three large companies operating in different industries (hospitality, fashion and retail, and banking) who had implemented auto-enrolment into workplace pensions.

The paper summarises the common perspectives amongst participants regarding the role of workplace pensions amongst participants. These perspectives connected to shared financial practices in terms of pension participation and other financial behaviours, for example, those who felt they would be reliant on the workplace pension tended to pay proportionally more money into it and less into other savings and investment vehicles. The perspectives did not appear to be driven by socio-demographic characteristics; instead, the perspectives were shaped by the individuals' understanding of their own ability to save and invest independently and perceptions of the workplace pension system. These findings offer a more nuanced understanding of pension decision-making. This paper suggests that policy must consider solutions which relate to the role of pensions in the individual's wider portfolio of saving and investing behaviours in order to encourage more pension saving.

## **Women's Employment**

### **BERLIN 1**

#### **Three Decades of Women's Employment in Turkey: Change or Stagnation?**

*E. Mert, Asli*

*(Koc University)*

This research sets out to elaborate women's employment patterns overall and in gendered jobs of different prestige levels in Turkey from 1980s to 2010s in accordance with the changing social, economic and socio-political structures by using descriptive statistics as well as ordered logistic regression analysis. By 1980s, women's attainment in higher education started to increase slightly and the second wave feminism began to rise in Turkey during this decade. However, women's attainment in the labour market started to decrease simultaneously: female employment rates were 29.5 per cent, 28.0 per cent, 26.4 per cent in 1988, 1998 and 2008 respectively (in Turkey, for women aged 15 and over), and by 2016, 27.8 per cent of women in working age (15-64) were in the labour market (Turkish Statistical Institute, 1988, 1998, 2008, 2016).

While change in women's overall representation in the labour market needs to be highlighted, their share in high-prestige, male-dominated jobs is a key determinant in evaluating the transformation of women's employment patterns. Descriptive statistical findings demonstrate that from late-1980s to mid-2000s, women were concentrated in mid-prestige tier of the job market and excluded from the low- and high-prestige jobs to a large extent. Starting from late 2000s and by 2010s, an increase in women's share in low-prestige occupations mainly in sales and service jobs started to be accompanied by a sharp decline in the previously female-dominated agricultural sector in Turkey, consistent with the (second period) urbanisation increased as a result of rapid internal migration in 1980s (Biçerli and Gündogan, 2009) filtering through to the labour market. In other words, this can be associated with the adaptation of rural migrants to the urban job market over time, and as it represents the change female workers encountered in the Turkish labour market, there is a persisting phenomenon that is the exclusion of women from the highest prestige managerial jobs. Acar and Altunok (2013) state that there has been a clash between neo-liberal policies (that are concerned with the profitability of organizations with a gender-blind perspective) and neo-conservative ideology (that situates women within the context of family and attributes the caregiver role to women) in the past two decades, which is highly associated with women's struggle to attain the highly competitive high-prestige jobs that are dominated by men.

While women enter high-prestige jobs via mainly the high-end occupations in the professional job category and are excluded from managerial jobs, this study investigates the components that influence their likelihood to be in the highest prestige male-dominated jobs. Ordered logistic regression analysis implemented on 1985 and 2000 Censuses and 2016 Household Labour Force Survey (Turkish Statistical Institute, 1985, 2000, 2016) shows that being married, considering that it brings about the traditional domestic responsibilities expected of women, persistently decreases women's probability to be in the highest prestige level male-dominated occupations.

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**Mothers' employment and the cost of childcare in Ireland**

*McGinnity, Frances, Helen Russell, Seamus McGuinness*  
(Economic and Social Research Institute)

The role of care for children is key to understanding gender differences in the labour market (England, 2005). Among explanations for this, the cost of childcare is frequently invoked as a barrier to maternal employment, especially for low income groups and lone parents. However systematic analyses of how these costs influence employment outcomes for mothers are less frequent (Brewer and Paull, 2004).

International comparisons of the price of formal care for pre-school children show that Ireland has one of the highest costs as a proportion of household income across the OECD. This study draws on three waves of the infant cohort of the Growing Up in Ireland (GUI) Survey, a longitudinal survey of over 8,000 children, to investigate childcare costs for children up to the age of five and how these influence their mothers' employment.

Using an instrumental variables approach and the Heckman selection term, we find that a 1% increase in weekly childcare costs is associated with a decrease of 3.4 paid work hours between survey waves 2 (age 3) and 3 (age 5). Moreover the effect of childcare costs is related to household income, so that for households with lower income the negative effect of childcare costs on employment is even larger. While the effect is modest, these results indicate that childcare costs act as a disincentive to the paid employment of mothers in Ireland, particularly low income mothers, which has implications for both gender differences in employment and child poverty.

**Young Women's Working Futures and Challenging Automation Narratives**

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Policy and media narratives, and academic research, increasingly focus on a crisis in the future of work for young people. There are two main assumptions to this crisis narrative: a decreasing level of job security, and an increasing threat to the existence of work due to processes of automation. There has been a tendency to imagine young people as having shared current experiences and future work trajectories based on a techno-determinism that sidelines both difference and agency. In this paper, we focus on expectations and hopes among a generation of young people to demonstrate that there are significant gendered differences in concerns about threats from a shrinking pool of jobs and processes of automation. Young men are more pessimistic about the future for their current jobs, while young women are significantly more likely to be concerned about security and flexibility in their work. We further explore these findings with attention to socioeconomic status, cultural diversity, occupation/industry, and disability. Our research is based on a mixed methods project of a broadly representative online survey of 2000 16-40 year olds in Australia, and five in-person focus groups with 40 young women. Australia has one of the most gendered workforces in advanced democracies due to high levels of industry and occupational segregation, and high levels of part-time work for women. These factors will continue to shape the future of work for the next generation of young women, despite any challenges from automation, robotic advances, and algorithmically-driven applications.

## **Trade Union Responses to Precarious Work**

### **BERLIN 2**

**Precarious Working Conditions: Facilitating and Hindering Innovative Union Organizing Projects Targeting Young Workers**

*Simms, Melanie, Dennis Eversberg, Lena Hipp, Camille Dupuy*  
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Unions in many countries face challenges organizing and representing young workers. Although young workers share many social attitudes with older cohorts, one aspect of their work presents particular challenges for unions in engaging them: their experiences of precarious employment. And experiences of precarity are spreading as transitions to secure employment are becoming harder, more extended and evident in a wider range of occupations.

This article presents evidence from a multi-country study of cases of successful union organizing among young workers exposed to precarious working conditions. Based on seven case studies from France, Germany, the UK and, the US, we identify innovative organizing approaches including targeted campaigns, coalition building, membership activism, and training activities.

We find that existing bargaining structures, patterns of occupational identity, and regional, sectoral, and occupational labor markets facilitate organizing success. Union campaigns featured both very 'traditional' union issues such as low pay and training quality, and also issues specific to precarious workers such as the provision of training, demands for minimum working hours, and support specific to insecure employment.



Despite the cases being selected for some evidence of having successfully engaged and organized young, precarious workers, there are also factors that constrain the sustainability of outcomes and the spread of these tactics. In particular, the pressures by existing union structures are highlighted. In practice, innovative organizing tends to take place where unions are open to new approaches, where workers and union leaders support such action, and where these combine with existing structures to deliver effective and sustainable outcomes.

**Migrant Labour in Petro-capitalism: Union Interactions with Foreign Workers in Western Canada**

*Stevens, Andrew,  
(University of Regina)*

Western Canada's oil exporting economies have come to rely on migrant labour as a cornerstone of economic development. A global division of labour intersecting with the constellation of Canada's foreign worker programs has shaped the contemporary political economic character of one Canadian province in particular, Saskatchewan. These programs have worked to construct bifurcated labour markets for growing low-wage industries that exist along side high-wage resource sector employment in the region. And although a majority of these migrant workers end up employed in non-unionized workplaces, foreign workers who secure occupations in health care, construction, warehousing, and manufacturing are often represented by a union. The study explores union attitudes and union-member engagement amongst migrant labour in an attempt to confront anecdotal claims that migrant workers are without an affinity to organized labour, and avoid participating in union business and the collective bargaining process. Similarly, this aspect of the research unpacks efforts by unions to educate and integrate migrant labour into their respective organizations. Based on semi-structured interviews with migrant and Canadian workers, organizers, and gatekeepers (n=57), as well as survey findings involving unionized and non-unionized workers (n=250), the Saskatchewan-based research suggests that migrant workers often demonstrate higher support for unions than their Canadian colleagues, yet want to see the collective bargaining process address concerns specific to foreign labour. Findings also speak to the need for unions in the province to develop organizing and engagement models that enhance the participation rate of migrants. The study also demonstrates the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to understanding migrant labour.

The research draws on a range of theories pertaining to the political economic structure of petro-states (Carroll 2017; Adkin 2016) and the role of migrant labour in facilitating labour market demands within such structures (Foster and Barnettson 2017). In the Western Canadian context, the expansion of resource extractive development created a dual labour market, where migrants have been concentrated in a lower-skilled, low wage, and precarious secondary sector. Michael Burawoy's (1976) examination of Marx's notion of reproduction as a means of understanding how both labour power and systems of migrant labour are produced and maintained is instructive here. Drawing from Castells (1975), migrant labour functions as a regulator of crises, 'cushioning the impact of the expansion and contradiction of capital' through the flexibilized process of hiring and dismissing workers. Trends in Canada's foreign worker population confirm this tendency. Further to the production of labour markets, the volume of migrant workers cannot be taken as a given, but is instead created and reproduced by the state. What makes the Western Canadian case unique is that foreign workers are recognized as part of a population-growth policy, in addition to meeting immediate labour market needs. These tendencies have created challenges for unions, which are ill equipped to effectively represent the needs and interests of temporary and permanent migrant labour. Here, the dynamics of union responses (Foster et al 2015) to foreign labour assist in understanding the complexity of organized labour's relationship to racialized and foreign workers.

**Diverging Convergence in Trade Unions' Responses to Precarious Work at the Periphery of Europe: Comparative Evidence from CEE Countries**

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This paper explores the conditions institutional, structural and organisational under which trade unions are willing and able to defend the interests of precarious workers. Although precariousness is characterised by a high degree of job insecurity, low wages, irregular working time or unsociable hours and limited social benefits, unions' responses to address precarious work have been historically ambivalent. On the one hand, they have refused to protect the rights of precarious workers seeking to delegitimise nonstandard contracts and to protect their existing members from labour market competition. On the other hand, unions have reshaped their priorities and developed initiatives to cover the most vulnerable employees in society. Since 2008, the dilemma on where to concentrate their efforts on defending employment rights has become more relevant than ever for unions, as their resources have continued to decline in a context of fastincreasing vulnerability. By focusing attention to the rationales, approaches and instruments adopted by trade unions to improve working conditions during and after the crisis, in a wide range of sectors and countries, this paper provides a nuanced comparative explanation. This is a qualitative paper based on a total of 168 indepth interviews conducted between 2014 and 2016 for a comparative research project on precarious work and industrial relations. At the national level, data was gathered by national teams from representatives of trade unions, employers and other stakeholders in nine Eastern European countries. In each country, five economic sectors, ranging from strong to weak structural characteristics, were selected. These are healthcare, metal, TAW, retail and construction. In each of them, over 20 representatives of unions and employers were interviewed along with social partners in large companies, where

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sector level institutions were not existent. As it takes into account both institutional and noninstitutional factors, the multilevel comparative approach adopted in this study was designed to highlight variations both across and within countries. Its novel contribution is to cover developments on unions and precarious work in Eastern Europe, where limited research has been conducted to date. Findings show that there is cross country convergence in the way in which unions respond to precarious work: it is the sector however, rather than institutions, that matters. Since 2008 the implementation and enforcement of regulations which protect workers (regardless of their employment status) has proved challenging in all the selected countries. In line with existing research, in Eastern Europe also, unions operating in sectors which were relatively less hit by the crisis (i.e. automotive and healthcare) could invest higher resources in addressing precariousness. In addition, it is found that in sectors with extremely weak structural conditions (i.e. retail, construction) unions could coordinate their actions with employers thereby tackling illegal practices and introducing a level playing field in the regulation of nonstandard work. Finally, certain unions stood out for their capacity to improve working conditions independent of both institutional and structural characteristics. To understand such capacity, unions' pragmatic considerations, as well as their own organisational resources (external links and leadership) need to be taken into account.

## **Transport, Work Opportunities and Regional Economic Resilience**

### **DUBLIN 1**

#### **Access Innovation or Just a Work Bus? Rethinking Access to Employment**

*Jain, Juliet, Thomas Calver, Fiona Crawford, Graham Parkhurst, Ian Shergold*  
(UWE Bristol)

Generally, accessing the work place is the employee's responsibility, and for most employees the commute is conducted in personal time. However, access to work intersects with employer responsibilities that include corporate responsibility (sustainability) and staff recruitment and retention. This paper will explore an evaluation currently underway of an innovative approach to getting employees to work with an on-demand transport service called BUZZ that has been funded by Innovate UK.

The driving force for BUZZ was improving sustainable access opportunities to specific work locations. The model required employers to sign up to the service and underwrite the financial commitment, which would be recouped through salary sacrifice, or off-set against savings from improved staff retention. Employees would register to use BUZZ, and access routes would be designed flexibly using postcode information, and user time preferences through the 'Mobility On Demand Laboratory Environment' (MODLE) – the technology innovation. BUZZ itself was conceptualised as something different to a standard bus, such as an executive mini-bus, which was thought would attract car drivers.

The route to delivering the innovation in practice presented numerous challenges to BUZZ's developers, but other opportunities opened up along the way to incorporate different service delivery models. Here the attention was initially refocused to enable access for lower paid staff in an employment zone poorly served by public transport. However, what they are facilitating is little more than a traditional work bus, for which the employer pays. A second opportunity for a different delivery model produced a new relationship with another mainstream public transport provider to experiment with flexible connecting services, but still focused on access to work.

Essentially this is a story of an innovation trajectory that questions the role of the employer in facilitating access to the work place as a contested narrative of privilege based on assumptions of individual mobility. Yet implicit within its conception and delivery social difference is reproduced through the types of vehicle and what constitutes an assumed acceptability of a work bus by employers and users.

The paper will use primary evidence from stakeholder interviews and BUZZ user survey data. To develop a theoretical perspective it will draw on ideas of socio-technical transitions (outlined in Geels, Kemp et al., 2012). It will consider how 'technological readiness' can be misaligned with 'organisational readiness', and the need for innovation opportunism and flexibility to enrol alternative problems into the solution. Within this framing it will consider conceptually how the commute is a quasi-space that is more than a personal choice, as it is heavily embedded within organisational assumptions about access and political limitations.

#### **I'd rather work at McDonald's but there was no bus. - Labour market coercion and oppressive work in Amazon fulfilment centres**

*Briken, Kendra, Phil Taylor*  
(University of Strathclyde)

Despite the enthusiastic celebration of the 'British way' of job creation through flexible labour markets, there is striking evidence that the structure of certain labour markets leads to poor outcomes (working conditions and lower wages). At the policy level, there is recognition of this fact but diagnosis and remedy are reduced to the individual level. The Taylor

review (2017) admits that the 'labour market does not work for everyone', and proposes that the 'key factor is an imbalance of power between individuals and employers', suggesting instances of a dominant local employers or dominant employers of certain skills where employees have little choice over 'who they work for' and 'could struggle to get another job if they were to leave an unsatisfactory job'.

In this paper we argue that the very essence of the employment relationship lies in an asymmetry of power between employers and employees that exists in really existing capitalism. The degree of compulsion workers experience in local labour markets, including those regions devastated by deindustrialisation and characterised by high levels of unemployment, cannot be explained solely by reference to the traditional employment relationship. Instead, we can detect an 'employment triangle' where the state acts as a very specific control mechanism. Coercion rather than constrained choice becomes the reality in the context of the state's workfare regime that 'sanctions' workers' benefits if they fail to take the jobs offered by employment agencies.

Taking Taylor's specific reference to warehouses as a point of departure, this paper focuses on the experiences of employees at an Amazon fulfilment centre in a typically de-industrialised city. Our analytical framework is inspired by an interdisciplinary literature from the realm of human geography (uneven development), social policy (employability) and core sociology of work (hegemonic despotism). This approach allows us to stress how concrete socio-spatial arrangements lead to specific structural hindrances to escape bad jobs, largely the absence of alternatives in the region. The oppressive work regime and appalling work conditions are inextricably connected to coercive labour market conditions.

Our in-depth semi-structured interviewees (n=32) demonstrate that coercive power of the job centre renders choice impossible. The often mentioned success of the 'British Way' flexibility, is turning workers into 'dependent contractors' of the workfare system.

### **Experiences of Labour Market Disruption, Anglesey 2009-2017: A Critique of Human Capital Theory and Regional Economic Resilience**

*Dobbins, Tony*  
(University of Birmingham)

This paper explores the concept of regional economic resilience (Martin, 2011, Martin & Sunley 2015), critically examining its potential to explain stakeholder and worker responses to an ongoing process of de-industrialisation and redundancy in Anglesey, North Wales. We show how these economic shocks and strains have been disrupting the region's labour market, how stakeholders have attempted to construct a coordinated response to these shocks, and the challenges they face ('mind the gap'). We critically assess the capacity of the fuzzy concept (Pendall et al, 2010) of (regional) economic resilience to offer a robust explanatory model.

There is a danger of regional economic resilience narrowly meaning an individualisation of responsibility (Pike et al 2010) or more precisely, a regionalisation of responsibility. The ecological origin of resilience as a concept is ideally suited to a narrative of neoliberal capitalism as the only show in town (Peck, 2013, Davoudi 2016). The underlying systemic shocks and strains themselves created by the turbulence of capitalism tend to be taken as a given, like an extreme weather event, a law of nature (McMurtry, 2013). But when these shocks and strains are outside of actors' control, resilience looks like blaming the victim.

We identify a need to address underlying causes, rather than solely focusing on the capacity of actors and regions to deal with symptoms. Economic resilience needs to be more strongly aligned with concepts of fairness and equality and alternative, more holistic, supply and demand-oriented policy models such as the 'foundational economy' (Bowman et al 2014).

## **Working Time and Working Days**

**ROTUNDA**

### **'It's a Big Brother type thing': Technology, Working-time and the 'Quantification' of Parcel Delivery Workers in the UK**

*Newsome, Kirsty, Sian Moore*  
(Sheffield University)

The expansion of e-commerce has increased the demand for rapid home delivery, transformed logistics and distribution and facilitated the growth of sub-contracting by retailers to a diversified logistics/parcel delivery market. Recent critical debate has focussed upon the contractual and competitive pressures faced by parcel delivery companies and how these pressures impact upon the work and employment conditions of workers within the logistics sector (Cowen 2014, Newsome 2015, Moore and Newsome 2018 forthcoming). The degradation of parcel delivery work, in particular, has attracted growing media and public policy interest in the UK.

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This paper will report on a research project mapping the experiences of key workers in the gig economy notably parcel delivery workers. It will report on stakeholder interviews with employers, trade union officials as well as both directly employed and 'self-employed' parcel delivery workers from two case-study organisations. The paper will explore the role of technology in harnessing and connecting fissured workplaces and supply relations with the customer. It will also disclose the role of technology in not only monitoring the movement of products, but also the management of labour and labour time where work is episodic, remote and undertaken from home and/or vehicles.

The focus of the paper will be to examine the impact of technology on the social relations of production and on the contractual status of workers (for example in zero-hour contracts and/or self-employment). The tracing of repetitive spatial movements via GPS tracking with the opportunity for real-time surveillance and monitoring will be explored. The evidence will reveal how these algorithmic tools and routing software has the capacity to accelerate circulation through the 'annihilation of space by time'. In addition, the research evidence will reveal how routing software also offers the possibility of closer and tighter performance management for these atomised workers. The measurement of real-time labour performance creates the capacity for greater labour optimisation, removing the porosity of the working day and thus reducing costs. However, the paper will also uncover the experiences of parcel delivery workers and consider how they reshape and recast the requirements placed upon them particularly in relation to working-time. Indeed, despite attempts to further quantify the labour process, parcel delivery workers retain levels of autonomy and protect some capacity to shape their working day.

In theoretical terms the aim is to offer insights into debates regarding the 'quantification' of work in the gig economy. Moreover, it will provide a deeper conceptual understanding of the battle for 'value in motion' (Newsome 2015) and the role of labour within circulation.

### Is the 'Working Day' Coming Back in the Production of Surplus Value?

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Fordist working time patterns (or standards) take their origins from the compromise between capital and labour after World War II. Their main characteristics were a working time reduction, a full male employment, the generalization of an eight-hours day and of a five-days week. Pierre Naville argued that it expressed a shift in the production of surplus value from the absolute (i.e. the length and the intensity of working time) to the relative (i.e. the cost of wage-goods) since the second half of the 19th century. The progressive erosion of the Fordist standards that are taking place since the 1980's challenge this point of view. The length of the working day tends to be extended; the number and the range of people working five-days a week to diminish. There is a growing confusion between time at work and time off. The working schedule became more individualized. All those new facts represent the visible sign about a social change.

We tackled this issue by studying the restructuring that are taking place in two Swiss retail firms. For that purpose, we did 78 semi-structured interviews with whole staff, including management and trade-unionists. Working time appears highly conflictual, but without being at the centre of industrial disputes because tensions related to the employment relations are shifting, partially, inside the working class. All those empirical findings suggest that the working day may become the key issue of the contemporary employment relation. Indeed, three main issues emerge from this picture: intensification of work, time availability and jobs' deskilling.

This means a possible way back to an economic development based on the mechanisms related to the absolute surplus value. The development of capitalism as an economic system was based mainly on those mechanisms until the end of 19th century. But working time as a key issue of the employment relation still stays at the stage of a potentiality. The anti-union politics, the fact that unions and workers seem out of phase, and the economic crisis explain on our point of view why working time is not at the centre of industrial disputes in spite of the tensions. The social and sexual division of labour show that the main cleavages are situated between the managerial staff, the employees and women with children to care. Moreover, students have an important function to defuse potential conflicts because they work mainly and happily with non-standard schedules.

### Work Unbounded - Temporal and Spatial Variability in Selected Occupations

*Cohen, Rachel Lara*

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This paper explores intersecting dimensions of the work-life boundary, asking how these have changed and how this relates to occupational variation. Unbounded work is understood in comparison with 'bounded' work, rooted in masculine employment, an industrial landscape and strong unions' moderating power. Whereas un-bounding is intertwined with changing work relations and the increase in non-standard employment – self-employment, temporary and zero-hours contracts – and 'non-employment' relations (for instance, au-pairing or foster care).

The (un)boundedness of work also spans different interconnected dimensions. These include: 1) Temporality – work duration (or 'overwork' (Schor 1992)), but also porosity, schedule and variability (unpredictability/flexibility). 2) Spatiality – homeworking and mobile work disrupt spatial boundaries and have increased over the last 20 years (Felstead et al.,

2005). 3) Sociality – unbounded sociality includes managerially enforced sociability (Bolton and Houlihan, 2009); friendships (or love) at work (Cowan and Horan, 2014; Pettinger, 2005); incorporation of personal life activity within work times/spaces (Rose, 2013) and work-structures rooted in personal relations.

The paper draws on published research and quantitative analysis of the UK Labour Force Survey (2007-2017). It identifies a relationship between particular occupations, dimensions of unboundedness and the growth in non-standard employment relations. Continuities within occupation as well as variation across occupations suggests, however, that this is primarily produced by the extension of older forms of 'non-standard' extractive behaviour rather than radical change, precipitated by a new forms of control. The paper makes a case for focusing on concrete work activity to better explore the ways in which boundaries are reproduced or broken down.

