



'Vulnerable' groups on the labour market in Europe from an intersectional and comparative perspective

Stephanie Steinmetz





Aim of the webinar

- Overview setting the scene
- Measuring economic vulnerability/precarious work
- Surveying and monitoring vulnerable groups
 Importance to compare
- Future of a vulnerable/precarious workforce





Overview - Vulnerability and percariousness on the labour market





What makes a person vulnerable?

- Limited rights and/or relative power imbalances
- Limited resources
- Limited knowledge/information
- Illness or disabling condition
- External stigma/stereotypes
- History of abuse
- Loss of family
- Loss of culture/historical roots





Vulnerable populations?

- Children/youth
- Seniors
- Women
- Sexual minorities
- Persons with disabilities
- Immigrants / refugees
- People living in poverty

Important: beloning to such a group does not mean automatically that you are in a vulnerable situation!



What do we mean with vulnerability

- Gained prominence because of its potential impact on individual well-being and economic performance
- No consensual definition

 → vague ("sense of insecurity, of potential harm people must feel wary of something bad may happen" Dercon, 2006).
- Generally: refers to a risk chain: (a) risk or risky events, (b) options for managing risk, or the risk responses and, (c) outcome in terms of welfare loss (Alwang et al. 2001).





Definitions

- Within fields of sociology and social policy
 ⇒ vulnerability = economic (integration—exclusion) and social (insertion—isolation) conditions (Castel 1991)
- Vulnerable individuals = people in need of protection and care, or with limited access to a set of resources and opportunities (Misztal, 2011, Mackenzie et al. 2014).
- For employment: also concerned with the power relationship within the workplace.





Vulnerability and work

 The TUC Commission on Vulnerable Employment (UK) defined vulnerable work as

'insecure, low-paid and places workers at high risk of employment rights abuse. It holds very little chance of progression and few opportunities for collective action to improve conditions.'(TUC; 2009: 12)





Challenge

- Not always clear whether concept applies to individuals/groups, or to vulnerability created by precarious work, or, indeed, whether it is useful to apply the term to all those in employment
- Different levels of vulnerability
 - individual (identity)
 - situational
 - universal





Indiviudal (Group Identity)

Where a group, or individuals within that group, have a particular characteristic which makes them more likely than other groups/ individuals to be in precarious work situations and/or increases their vulnerability.

Example:







Situational vulnerability

- Applies to individuals / groups but also to situation in which individuals / groups find themselves in due to being in precarious work.
 - IMPORTANT: vulnerability does not refer to workers themselves but the situation they are facing due to their engagement into precarious work, as well as other disadvantages related to other specific characteristics.
- Context specific and 'stresses the ways that inequalities of power, dependency, capacity, or need, render some agents vulnerable to harm or exploitation by others' (Mackenzie et al 2014).





Universal vulnerability

- Level at which we all share vulnerability just because we are human beings and have a level of dependence upon the state for our well-being (Fineman 2008)
- Role of the 'responsive' state and institutions responsibilities in relation to peoples' vulnerabilities





Economic vulnerability and precariousness

- Often used interchangeably (Burgess et al. 2013; Pollert & Charlwood 2009)
- Concepts are linked but not identical
 - Vulnerability: implicit risk that has not yet materialised and which is by extension not directly observable.
 - Precariousness: five different level (Campell and Price 2016): in the job, in employment, as a worker, as a group of workers, globaly





Precariousness in employment

- Related to forms of employment which deviate from so called 'standard employment' - full-time, long-term and socially secure job (Bosch, 2004; Bercusson, 2009; Davidov, 2016)
- Related to different developments (Kallenberg 2011)
 - Globalisation
 - Digital transformation
 - Dissolution of traditional structures in employment (such as flexibilisation, deregulation and de-unionization)
 - Reduction of welfare state support
 - ⇒ Individualization of life courses





Shortcomings

- Little reference to longstanding inequalities based on class, gender, or race
- Ongoing definitional ambiguities as to the very meaning of precarious work.
- Adoption of an ahistorical approach, overlooking that precarious work represents a return to earlier instabilities due to capitalist development





Measuring economic vulnerability and precarious work





Common approaches

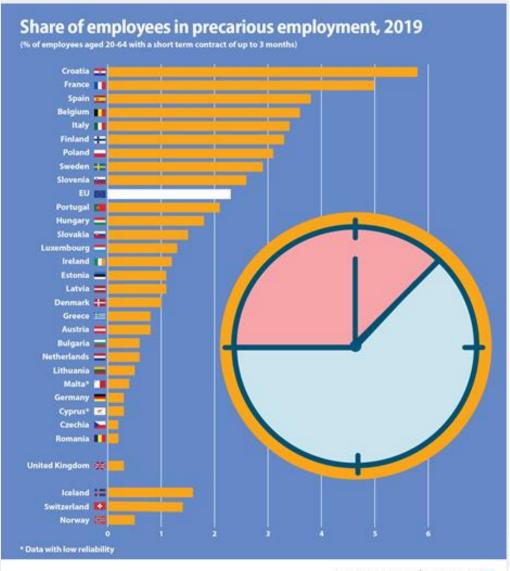
- No universally accepted definition across Europe.
- Three strands:
 - 1) ILO: work contract centered (operate in relatively precarious circumstances, such as family workers/self-employed)
 ⇒ identification of subpopulations at risk (such as women, migrants etc.)
 - 2) Low wages and non-unionism: distribution of power between employers and employees
 - 3) Risk and capacity (general framework): vulnerable workers = higher risk of exposure and lower protection capacities (O'Regan et al. 2005; Taylor 2008)
- Point towards multidimensionality





Overview - 2019

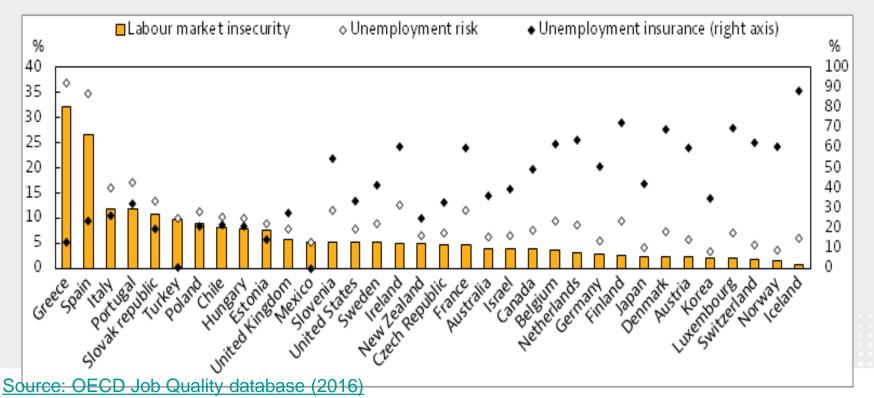
Precarious employment = meaning that the work contract did not exceed three months duration.





Multidimensional approaches - work/job quality

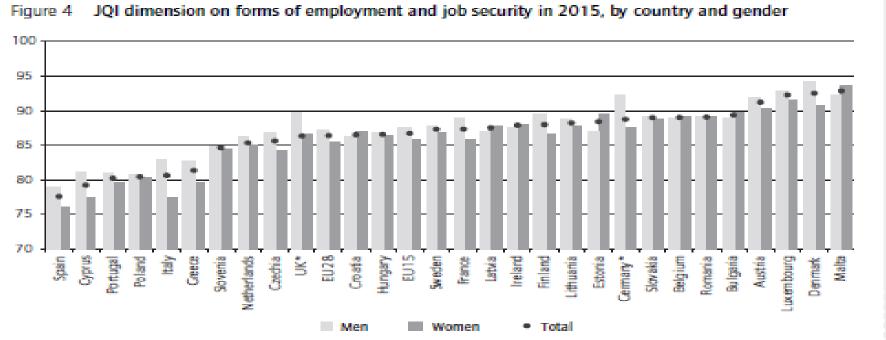
OECD (three dimensions): earnings quality (average earnings + distribution), labour market insecurity (unemployment risk + received benefits), quality of the working environment (high job demands + low resources)





Multidimensional approaches - work/job quality

European Job Quality Index (six dimensions): (1) wages; (2) forms of employment and job security; (3) working time and work-life balance; (4) working conditions; (5) skills and career development; and (6) collective interest representation

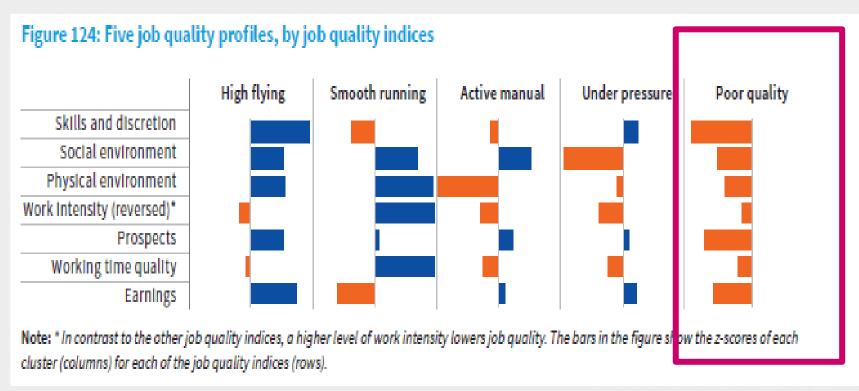


Notes: *missing data on involuntary temporary employment.



Multidimensional approaches - work/job quality

 Eurofound (2016) identify groups of workers with similar job quality features using LCA







Poor quality jobs

- 20 % of EU workforce works in poor quality jobs
- Characteristics:
- Lowest rank in skills and discretion + in earnings and prospects.
- Monthly earnings are about 1/3 of those in 'high flying' profile. About 1/3 of the workers fear they may lose their job within six months and 42% strongly disagree that their job offers good prospects for career advancement.
- 24% have fixed-term contracts (24%) and 22% have temporary-agency contracts or no contracts at all.
- Learning new things is uncommon and the proportion of workers who have received training is low (18%)





Who works in poor quality jobs?

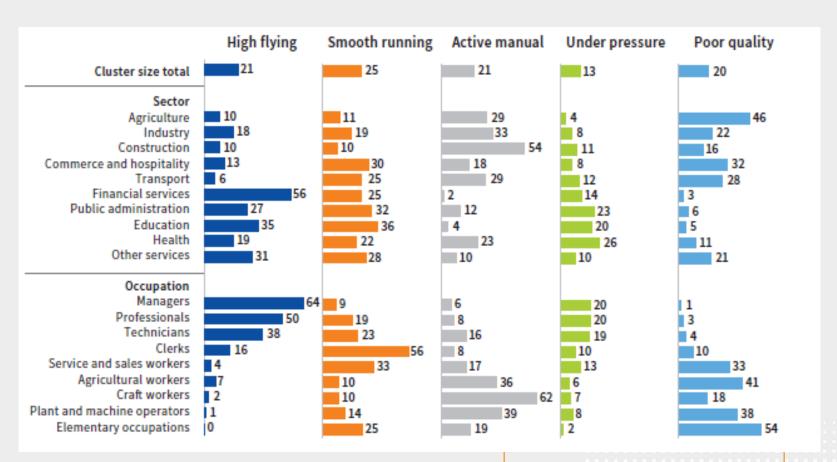
Figure 125: Job quality profiles, by sociodemographic characteristics, EU28 (% of workers in each category)







Who works in poor quality jobs?







Challenges

- No common understanding of precarious employment / vulnerable work ⇒ no common set of indicators
- Which one is 'the best'?
- Group and country comparisons
- Significant shares of precarious employment are not counted in current statistics (part-time contracts with very few hours, other forms of underemployment, quasi self-employment, and undeclared / informal work)
- Limitations of available data (McKay et al, 2011).





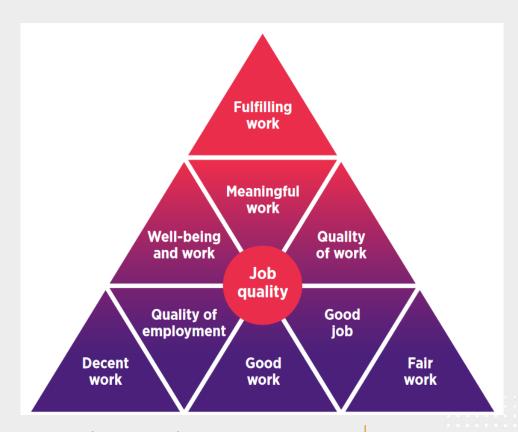
Limitations of existing data and consequences to monitor vulnerability

■ Check out report:

http://www.inclusivegrowth.eu/files/Output/D11.3_inventory_report.pdf

■Giusti, C.; Bertarelli, G. & Pratesi, M. (wip): Small area methods to study vulnerabilities using anonymised EU LFS microdata

Hierarchical mosaic of job-quality-related concepts







Are we able to identify all vulnerable groups?

- SDG 8 'Decent work' ⇒ requires monitoring of all possible individuals who are at risk of not having 'decent' work across countries and over time
- BUT: analysis and monitoring is often based on survey data ⇒ affected by (serious) biases
- QUESTION: Are particular 'hard-to-reach' populations with a higher risk of not decent work systematically exculded from labor market analyis?

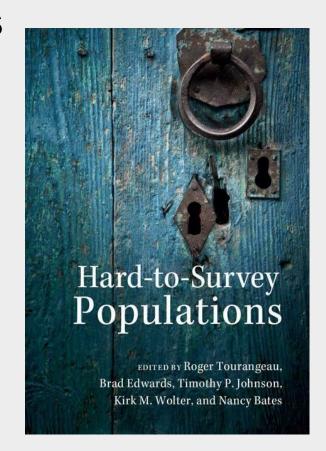




Hard-to-survey populations

Hard-to-survey populations are those that create problems for one or more key survey operations (Tourangeau et al. 2014)

- Hard-to-sample (rare populations with no population-specific frame)
- Hard-to-identify (based on hidden or stigmatizing characteristics)
- Hard-to-find or contact (mobile populations; pop's with access issues)
- Hard-to-persuade (resistant; alienated)
- Hand to interview (language hamiers)



How to identify in a survey?





Case study with the InGRID-2 project

- Provide overview / inventory for 26 European microlevel datasets whether and how it is possible to identify nine vulnerable groups in the labor market
- Identify data gaps and challenges
- Develop indicators to monitor vulnerable groups across countries and over time





Results

- Easy groups": gender, age and migrant background ⇒ same measurement / easy to harmonise across surveys / detail varies
- "Challenging groups":
 - Sexual minorities (if at all via HH grid)
 - Single parents (HH grid/composition, some predefined)
 - Nationality (citizenship hardly included), ethnicity (only in selected surveys, variation in detail), religious minorities (only in selected surveys, different measures)
 - Disability (huge variation on measurement)

Challenge: how to address common exclusion of particular populations?

Monitoring vulnerable groups

- Important for policy makers
- Challenge: simple indicators (such as LFP, UER) are often not reliable because surveys are not designed for it
- SAE models maybe be a solution, but
- Open problems:
 - Weights cannot be recalibrated:
 - The original sample weights are not available in the anonymized data.
 - Small area estimation methods for composite and multidimensional indicators have to be developed



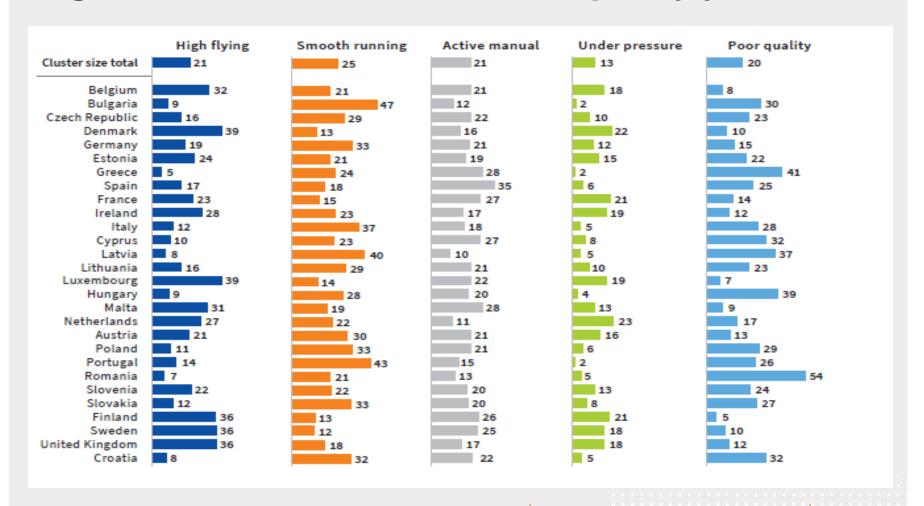


The importance to compare





Huge cross-national variation in quality jobs







Institutions matter

- Institutions and social relations outside workplace can act to mediate the relation between work and the worker.
- Does not eliminate or qualify character of work as precarious, but can *modify* the potential impact of precarious work on the worker
- Either amplifying (i.e. migration policies assigning precarious migrant status) or cushioning risks (i.e. welfare state payments reduce the risk of low pay leading to poverty).





Multi-level framework

- Important to account for the multilevel structure
 - Individual level such as gender, age, education/skills, etc.
 - Work place such as size of firm, sector, etc.
 - Country context such as laws, regulations, norms etc.





The FUTURE of a vulnerable/precarious workforce





Challenges

- How to tackle a multi-level phenomenon?
 - Individual and group level vulnerability requires action to tackle discrimination/ disadvantage at an individual/ group level.
 - Situational vulnerability requires actions to provide security and limit exploitation in the work environment.
 - Universal vulnerability requires national approach to protecting and providing resilience, through asset accumulation, for individuals and groups.





Challenges

 EU-level: consensus that something needs to be done but prevalence of precarious work is different in each country

BUT:

- Each country has its own legislative system, laws and social support mechanisms
- EU- directive vs national implementation
- One-dimensional policies and overlap with other life domains





Thank You!

