

**Precarious work and
precarious lives: a case of the
care, arts and hospitality
sectors in Greater Manchester**

A thesis submitted to The
University of Manchester for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2022

Eva M. Herman

Alliance Manchester Business School

Table of Contents

List of Tables	6
List of Figures.....	6
Abbreviations.....	7
Abstract	9
DECLARATION	10
COPYRIGHT STATEMENT	10
Dedication.....	11
Acknowledgements	11
Chapter 1: Introduction	13
1.1 Aims, objectives and outline of thesis	13
1.2 Background and motivation	18
1.3 What is precarious work and how should we define it?	24
1.4 Social characteristics of precarious work: segmentation and segregation	32
1.5 Precarious work and precarious lives: towards a more nuanced understanding	44
1.6 Understanding the shape of precarious work, through the state, household and employers	48
1.7 Context of the UK	52
1.7.1 What does precarious work look like today in the UK?	52
1.7.2 Manchester context	53
1.8 Conclusion	56
Chapter 2: Methods.....	58
2.1 Introduction.....	58
2.2 Philosophical approach.....	59
2.3 Research strategies.....	64
2.3.1 Grounded theory using case-study design	64
2.3.2 Sectoral cases: hospitality and social care.....	66
2.3.3 Hospitality sector in Greater Manchester	71
2.4 Case studies	76
2.4.1 Accessing the social care case	76
2.4.2 Hospitality case: organisational cases	79
2.4.2.1 Accessing the stadium	80
2.4.2.2 Accessing the art centre	83
2.4.2.3 Accessing the hotel.....	86
2.5 Data collection.....	89

2.5.1 Participant selection	89
2.5.2 Interview process	96
2.5.3 Participant observation	101
2.6 Data analysis: a hybrid approach.....	102
2.6.1 Organising the data: the coding templates	105
2.7 The journal articles	111
2.8 Ethical considerations.....	120
2.9 Conclusion	123
Chapter 3: Job queues, labour queues: a comparative analysis of employment strategies in a residential care facility and luxury hotel	125
Abstract	125
Keywords:	125
3.1 Introduction.....	126
3.2 Segmentation and the shaping of precarious work	128
3.3 Focusing on social care and hospitality	141
3.4 Methods	146
3.5 Findings.....	148
3.5.1 The Hotel	149
3.5.1.1 <i>Shaping of the queues</i>	149
3.5.1.2 <i>Shaping of the queues and contractual arrangements in a changing institutional context</i>	156
3.5.2 The Care Home	160
3.5 Conclusion	173
3.6 References	177
Chapter 4: A case of employers never letting a good crisis go to waste? An investigation of how work becomes even more precarious for hourly paid workers under COVID	182
Abstract	182
4.1 Introduction.....	182
4.2 Precarious work, employers' strategies and the shaping of the low paid labour market	185
4.3 Methods	191
4.4 Findings.....	194
4.4.1. Pre-COVID employment strategies.....	194
4.4.1.1 <i>Active decommodification in the care organisation</i>	194
4.4.1.2. <i>Passive decommodification in the art centre</i>	199
4.4.2 Employment strategies during and after COVID-19	203
4.4.2.1 <i>Passive commodification as the care home focuses on infection control</i> ...	204

4.4.2.2. <i>Active commodification in the art centre's streamlining policy</i>	206
4.5 Discussion and conclusions	209
4.6 References	212
Chapter 5: Precarious work and precarious lives: managing and navigating income and time uncertainty in the context of employment, households and the state	216
Abstract	216
Keywords:	216
5.1 Introduction	217
5.2 Precarious work and the role of employer strategy.....	221
5.2.1. Precarious work and the role of the household in shaping precarious lives	222
5.2.2 Precarious work and the role of the state in shaping precarious lives	224
5.3 Framework for analysis	229
5.4 Methods	231
5.5. Towards a measure of uncertainty.....	232
5.6 Findings.....	246
5.5.1 Employment and the state	248
5.5.2.1 Access to benefits as a barrier to uncertainty.....	252
5.5.2.2 Benefits as a buffer helping to reduce working time and income uncertainty	255
5.5.3 Employment and the household	257
5.5.3.1 <i>Household caring as a buffer</i>	262
5.5.3.2 <i>Household barriers as a source of heightened uncertainty</i>	264
5.5.2.4 <i>Household conclusion</i>	266
5.6 Conclusion and discussion.....	266
5.7 References	269
Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusion	273
6.1 Introduction.....	273
6.2 Theoretical implications	274
6.3 Methodological and empirical contributions	280
6.4 Practical implications.....	284
6.5 Limitations and avenues for future research	287
6.6 Conclusion	291
References	293
Appendices	311
Appendix A: Worker pre-interview questionnaire	311
Appendix B: Example of employer interview schedule used	313

Appendix C: Example of worker interview schedule used:	319
Appendix D: Examples of general memos written while coding:.....	324
Appendix E: Theoretical memo: Theory of hours 07/05/2019.....	325
Appendix F: Thematic template of overall thesis	326
Appendix G: Final template Chapter 5/JA3	337
Appendix H: Coding for uncertainty Chapter 5/JA3	341
Appendix H: Demographic breakdown of workers used for JA3	353

Total word count 70836

List of Tables

Table 1: Sectoral theoretical sampling table	73
Table 2: Breakdown of Research Participant	93
<i>Table 3: Defining new themes</i>	108
Table 4: Hotel queues and hierarchies of preference	154
Table 5: Residential care queues and hierarchies of preference	165
Table 6: Coding framework: job-related uncertainty	239
Table 7: Coding framework: subjective life-related uncertainty	241
Table 8: Sample uncertainty level experienced	243
Table 9: Comparison of subjective and objective uncertainties	246
Table 10: Levels of uncertainty experienced by participants	247

List of Figures

Figure 1: Summary of research objectives and methods	112
Figure 2: Thematic analysis outline	117
Figure 3: Managing uncertainty model	230

Abbreviations

BAME	Black, Asian or minority ethnic
BECTU	Broadcasting, Entertainment, Communications and Theatre Union
BEIS	Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
ESA	Employment Support Allowance
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
ET	Employment Tribunal
EU	European Union
GLAA	Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority
GM	Greater Manchester
GMCA	Greater Manchester Combined Authority
HMRC	HM Revenue and Customs
HR	Human Resources
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
JA1	Journal Article 1
JA2	Journal Article 2
JA3	Journal Article 3
JRF	Joseph Roundtree Foundation
JRIU	job-related income uncertainty
JRTU	job-related working time uncertainty
LPC	Low Pay Commission
LRIU	life-related income uncertainty
LRTU	life-related working time uncertainty
NHS	National Health Service
NLW	National Living Wage

NMW	National Minimum Wage
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PIP	Personal Independence Payment
RLW	Real Living Wage
SER	Standard Employment Relationship
SOFL	Security, Opportunity, Fair treatment and to a Life beyond work
TUC	Trades Union Congress
TUPE	Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations
UK	United Kingdom
WLB	Work-life Balance
ZHC	Zero-hour Contract

Abstract

This thesis investigates the causes and consequences of precarious work through case studies of the care and hospitality sectors in Greater Manchester. Precarious employment is increasing, but knowledge is still lacking of how precarious work is shaped, why it takes different forms between sectors and groups of workers, and what its consequences are for workers' lives. Taking a multidimensional approach to precarious work, we go beyond ideas that precarious work is confined solely to atypical employment, and show that precarious work and precarious lives need to be considered as separate (even if connected) phenomena that should not be conflated with each other. Thus, this thesis sought to understand the factors shaping employers' strategies, how these create differing forms of precarious work, and the circumstances under which workers' experiences of precarious work lead to precarious lives. This last objective required an exploration of the interactions between state policies, employer strategies, and the dynamics of the households in which workers are embedded.

The project focused on two strategically important sectoral case studies (care and hospitality) for Greater Manchester, the city-region to which the case studentship was linked. Drawing on grounded theory methodology, the findings stem from case studies in three hospitality organisations and one care facility, in which company documents were analysed, and seventy-two interviews were conducted with thirty-seven workers and twenty-five managers (with twelve being-interviewed twice). The data were triangulated to ensure a full understanding of the different shapes taken by precarious work. A longitudinal element was added as, following the first wave of COVID-19, second interviews were conducted to understand how employers' strategies had changed and what had led to deteriorating conditions of work.

The findings are presented across three separate but interconnected journal articles. The first investigates how employers' stereotypes of workers' characteristics led to them shaping and reshaping precarious work, according to the job and the group employed. The second investigates how the COVID-19 crisis revealed the fragility of employers' voluntary improvements in conditions of work. The third paper investigates the ways in which precarious work and precarious lives are experienced by workers, building a framework that identifies how workers manage income and time uncertainty as they balance precarious work, precarious households, and their interactions with the state.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

- i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given the University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.
- ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.
- iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.
- iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=24420>), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, the University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/about/regulations/>) and in the University’s policy on Presentation of Theses.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my father, David Herman, who sadly passed away before I started my PhD journey, but was in my thoughts throughout.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the ESRC for funding my PhD, and Oxfam GB for agreeing to be the project CASE partner and supporting my PhD throughout. I would in particular like to thank my Oxfam supervisor, Silvia Galandini, who has gone above and beyond supporting me and the project and providing me with opportunities to be involved in Oxfam activities and disseminating my work. Thank you to all those who participated in my research!

I would like to thank my colleagues at the Work and Equalities Institute who supported the project and made me truly feel like I was an apprentice in research. Thank you so much for including me in your activities, and supporting the different PhD initiatives that were put forward. Thank you to all of my PhD colleagues who were there to listen, debate and have fun!

I would like to thank Nick Clark for encouraging me to do a PhD in the first place, and showing me that a career in research was truly possible.

A massive thank you to my supervisors Jill Rubery and Gail Hebson: you have been incredible. You really have gone beyond the remit of a supervisor, thank you for supporting me personally and academically, thank you for making me think, being there for me, looking through all of my work and supporting me emotionally. I am not sure I could have dreamt of better supervisors and I have no idea how I would have been able to work through the PhD, let alone finish it without you. Thank you!

Thank you Rosie and Abbie, my two partners in crime. Thank you Abbie for being there from the first day of our PhD; I have thoroughly enjoyed our adventures together and being a true team. It has been absolutely incredible. You really made the whole experience not a lonely one but rather one that could be truly shared. Thank you Rosie for being on the other side of the daily Zoom office, and sharing my frustrations and tears, but also being patient listening as I yet again read out the same nonsensical sentence.

Thanks to my brother, Sasha, and mother, Margaretha, for your emotional support and telling me I can do anything I put my mind to (I am sorry I haven't become a farmer), and being there at the end of the phone at any time of day when I needed you.

I would like to also thank my new in-laws, Caroline, Faith and Bill for being there and supporting me, be it letting me hide in your office while writing my conclusion, or providing me with lots of wine and cuddles. Especially thank you to Caroline for reading and sense checking my whole thesis, and helping me overcome all of my brain blocks.

And finally a big thank you to my husband James, for putting your life on hold and following me to Manchester for me to do my PhD. Thank you for supporting me (doing the reproductive and productive labour), reminding me that I am okay and that I can do it when I have been at my lowest, and making sure I am fed and rested. I don't think it can have been easy being my partner through a lot of this, but thank you for sticking with me and dragging me through this.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aims, objectives and outline of thesis

This thesis aims to contribute to the debates relating to precarious work, and, in particular, to further understandings of the causes and consequences of precarious work. There has been a growth of interest in precarious work in recent years, although the concept itself is “fuzzy” (Hewison, 2016). There has also been a growing consensus that precarious work is on the rise, with authors such as Lewchuck (2021) stating that we have entered an era of precarious employment. This growth in precarious employment has been associated with a widening of “protective gaps” in employment protections, income and welfare state protection, as well as a more employer-led flexibility (Grimshaw et al., 2016; Rubery et al., 2016). While some authors see precarious work as associated solely with nonstandard, “atypical” forms of employment, research evidence shows that there is a growth of precarious work in both standard, “typical” forms and nonstandard, “atypical” forms of work. Hence the argument is made that, in fact, precarious work should be seen as both multidimensional and segmented, based on workers’ characteristics, histories, sector and geographical location (Rubery et al., 2018; Cranford et al., 2003; Bernhardt et al., 2013).

With the decline of formal regulations and collective bargaining in the UK, there has been an increased reliance on employer actions to improve the quality of employment, with pressure exerted on employers through voluntary charters and living wage campaigns in order to improve conditions. However, as little is done to ensure employer compliance and take-up of these initiatives, a further aim of this

research is to understand the extent to which employers' voluntary practices can be relied upon to reduce precariousness in employment in the long run.

There have also been debates around both whether workers choose precarious employment, as well as whether precarious work and precarious lives are synonymous with one another. For example, Taylor's (2017) review of precarious work, published just before work on this thesis commenced, argued that certain groups of workers value and choose precarious jobs in part because of the flexibility they offer. This argument has been countered by other authors who consider this choice in itself to be shaped by the unequal circumstances in which workers are embedded (Heyes et al., 2018; Moore et al., 2018; Smith and McBride, 2021). However, authors also argue that precarious work in itself does not necessarily mean that workers have a precarious life (Campbell and Price, 2016), as we need to take account of the wider circumstances in which a worker is embedded, in particular the interrelationships that sit between workers and their households, their engagement with the state welfare system, and their employment situation (Lain et al., 2019).

The organisation of this introduction and the following chapters are as follows. In Section 1.2 we set out our motivations for undertaking this research. This is followed by a review of three themes that emerge from our literature review on the extant literature on precarious work and its consequences. The three themes identified are discussed sequentially in Sections 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5. The first theme is the need to understand precarious work as multidimensional and not limited to work categorised as nonstandard or "atypical". The second theme emerging from

research on segregation and segmentation is the social shaping of precarious work and the role employers in particular play in the shaping of precarious work along different dimensions. A key issue within this theme is how this shaping may be influenced by their perceptions of the characteristics of the workers they employ. The third theme is the linkages between precarious work and precarious lives, and in particular the need for more investigation and understanding of the interactions between the state, household and employment, and how workers' articulation strategies manage and shape these interactions, leading to or mitigating the impact of precarious work on workers' lives. These three themes, investigated in the context of the study, that is Greater Manchester (GM) (see section 1.7), which informed the research methods and data collection strategies. These are further explained in Chapter 2, alongside an explanation of how and why grounded theory methodology was utilised to build organisational case studies within the social care and hospitality sectors in Greater Manchester to explore these questions. Chapter 2 also provides information on some changes in the research and data collection strategies induced by responses to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The data analysis pointed to the development of three main lines of analysis and led to the development of three papers, appropriate for journal publication, which are presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. The first two papers primarily link to the first two themes (and include an extension to the investigation of the role played by employers due to the opportunity to study employers' reactions in both sectors to the COVID-19 pandemic). Meanwhile, the third paper mainly explores the third theme of precarious work and precarious lives, informed by the first two themes on

the multidimensionality of precarious work and the role of employers in shaping precarious work.

The three key objectives, and the correspondingly more targeted research questions that are explored in the three research articles, are as follows:

1. Chapter 3

Objective: Understand employers' strategies in shaping the conditions of work, based on workers' characteristics.

- **Research Questions:** What factors influence employers' shaping of employment conditions? What is the role of job demands on the one hand, and employers' perceptions of the characteristics of the available labour supply groups on the other hand?

2. Chapter 4

Objective: Understand how employment conditions are shaped and change over time.

- **Research Question:** Is reliance on employers' voluntary action sufficient to bring about better long-run quality of work at the bottom of the labour market, without more active state involvement in setting minimum standards, in combination with a strong presence of "collectively negotiated solutions"?
- To what extent did COVID-19 provide employers with an escape route towards commodification?

3. Chapter 5

Objective: Understand the intersection that lies between precarious work and precarious lives.

- **Research Question:** How do the spheres of employment, the household and the state intersect to shape the ways precarious jobs are experienced as precarious lives? What strategies do workers use to manage these intersections and mitigate their experiences of uncertainty?

The conclusions bring the analysis and contributions together by returning to the three initial themes that informed the research design and data collection. The thesis thus concludes by highlighting three key theoretical contributions that cut across it. By drawing on empirical and conceptual insights from across the three journal articles, the conclusion underlines the contributions of the thesis as a whole: it shows the importance of widening the understanding of precarious work by recognising its multidimensional and dynamic character, and further develops the understanding of the important roles played by employers in shaping and reshaping precarious work. This is done by showing how and why such reshaping takes place under changing conditions (such as changes in the demographic characteristics of available labour, and changes linked to a major pandemic). The conclusions further develop the role of articulation between the three domains of the state, household and employment, to understand how precarious work is shaped, how it affects workers' lives, and the extent to which, and ways in which, workers are able to use work-life articulation strategies to mitigate the levels of

uncertainty that they experience. In addition, the conclusion brings together key methodological and empirical contributions, highlighting how they can be utilised in further research into both precarious work as well as understanding how precarious work intersects with precarious lives. The conclusion also highlights the value of this research for future use, providing practical implications of how trade unionists, employers, campaign groups and governmental organisations can use the findings to overcome labour market segmentation, and go some way towards addressing both precarious work and precarious lives. Finally, key limitations of the research are provided, giving clear insights into where future research is needed.

1.2 Background and motivation

Over the last forty years, there has been a growth in inequality and a decline in conditions of employment across the UK labour market and, with this, a growth of in-work poverty. Of all working-age adults living in poverty, 68% live in a household where at least one person is in work (JRF, 2022). This is occurring amid a labour market paradox that, prior to the COVID-19 crisis, was characterised by record high employment rates, in particular for women (Irvine et al., 2022), and stagnant real weekly earnings growth between 2008 and 2019 (Giupponi and Machin, 2022) – despite real increases in the hourly national minimum wage affecting those at the bottom of the wage scale relative to those at the median. Moreover, despite avoiding an unemployment crisis following the pandemic, we have returned to the pre-crisis state of high vacancy rates, labour market shortages (exacerbated by Brexit), low wages and poor employment conditions (Francis-Devine, 2022). Whilst

in some sectors there have been reports of wage increases and signing-on bonuses to combat these labour shortages and attract staff, this has been applied in a highly segmented way, mainly in male-dominated sectors such as logistics, and male-dominated professions such as chefs (Ackerman, 2021). Little has been done to improve conditions in more feminised sectors such as social care. In 2021, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) estimated that 3.6 million people were in insecure jobs, accounting for 11% of the total population (TUC, 2021). I was interested, therefore, in understanding the paradox of worsening conditions of employment that were happening alongside labour market shortages.

At the time I began this PhD, attempts had been made to understand the decline in conditions of employment. However, in particular within the dominant popular discourses, the focus was very much on the worst forms of labour market exploitation such as modern slavery and “atypical forms” of employment, which were seen to be associated with self-employment and the use of zero-hour contracts (Taylor et al., 2017). When these assumptions were made, precarious work was often depicted as something belonging to, and only present in, atypical contractual arrangements. Despite the public attention and official discourse, there was little discussion of the overall decline in standards of employment that were occurring across both “typical” and “atypical” forms of employment, despite research that found this to be the case. For example, Grimshaw et al. (2016) sought to measure the protective gaps between nonstandard and standard forms of employment, but also noted the erosion of protection within the standard form, for example for those working in regular full-time jobs but on outsourcing contracts

with limited benefits beyond minimum wages. Similarly, the Low Pay Commission (LPC) found that salaried workers were likely to experience payments below the minimum wage (LPC, 2022).

The research project on unpaid wages that I was working on at the time of applying to study for a doctorate pointed to the widespread practice of unpaid wages, occurring in both “typical” and “atypical” forms of employment, often occurring due to deliberate employer strategies which differed by sector. Indeed, different sectors used differing mixes of abusive practice. For instance, in many sectors, employers deployed a “don’t ask, don’t get” strategy for payments of holiday pay or extra hours worked. In the hospitality sector, it was found that placing workers such as chefs on salaried contracts, with the expectation that they would work long hours, dragged down their effective hourly wage well below the minimum wage (Clark and Herman, 2017). In supermarkets, there was an expectation that workers should wait on a checkout until their replacement took over. This often required them to work longer than their specified shifts, but no extra pay was given as overtime had not been agreed prior to the shift taking place (Clark and Herman, 2017). In fact, we found that these forms of non-payment became cultural norms in sectors, which seemed to permit and normalise specific abuses. Further, we found that state policy had a direct effect on the strategies deployed in different sectors, as a general lack of monitoring and enforcement allowed employers to get away with not paying workers what they owed, with no consequences. Agencies such as the National Minimum Wage (NMW) Inspectorate, HMRC and the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA) did not have the authority or the capacity to

enforce all forms of noncompliance. With the Employment Tribunal (ET) system as the only effective mechanism through which workers could enforce their rights to wages owed, employers relied on workers not being able to navigate the complex system. Moreover, even if claims were made, the employer could often settle before court, at less than the amount that was owed. Even when claims were won, more than 50% of claimants never received their compensation as the employer had gone bankrupt, often before “phoenixing” and opening a different company in the exact same location.¹

There was a need to explore the differentiated employment conditions that existed across employment forms, in order to understand the strategies that lay behind employers’ decisions, including how different forms of employment were shaped in gender-segregated ways (Cranford et al., 2003). I wanted to understand how employers’ decisions were influenced by state policy, by the employer’s own profit motives and by the household situations in which workers were embedded.

Furthermore, Carswell and De Neve (2013) found that employers used strategies that shaped employment conditions based on the contextual needs and agency of workers in order to maintain control. To explore these issues, I perceived a need to move away from looking only at the worst forms of exploitation or extreme “atypical” forms of employment to understand how precarity was shaped in different ways, across sectors and job types.

¹ The Unpaid Britain project was a mixed methods project led by Nick Clark, based at Middlesex University and co-funded by Trust for London. The project ran from 2015 to 2017 and aimed to understand the causes and consequences of unpaid wages in Britain with a particular focus on London. <https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/publications/unpaid-britain/>

The Taylor Review, commissioned by the UK government to investigate “*Modern Working Practices*”, concentrates on “atypical” forms of employment and the flexibility they create, which in turn could increase employment rates by facilitating a match between work and personal preferences. Core to the argument is the notion that flexible forms of employment are part of the “*British way*”, and “*usually chosen and valued by the individuals concerned*” (Taylor et al., 2017, p.16). Within the report, anything that is not “traditional” full-time permanent employment is seen as atypical (Taylor et al., 2017, p.22). This in itself is problematic, as it is predisposed towards the traditional sexist assumption of male-breadwinner models, which have only been typical for a select group of workers (Fudge and Vosko, 2001; Fudge and Mundlak, 2021). While 63% of workers may have been on such contracts at the time (Taylor et al., 2017), Warren et al. (2009) observe that the majority of British families are reliant on a one-and-a-half-breadwinner model. Although the report acknowledges that the growth in these employment forms is due to an increase in women and older workers entering the labour market, and that an imbalance of power in some cases has led to worse working conditions, these forms of employment are still seen as a good thing. The review has come under criticism as authors argue that not all workers had the same level of freedom in choosing atypical contracts, and that the forms of work that it promotes have a “*corrosive effect*” on work and employment in general (Heyes et al., 2018; Moore et al., 2018; Smith and McBride, 2021).

I wanted to investigate further, to understand the way workers’ choices were shaped, what led to workers taking on such roles, and how these options and

decisions were shaped by employers. Therefore, rather than defining the person in precarious work by the conditions of the job, i.e., defining workers themselves as “precarious”, I sought to understand the different types of agency that workers exercised once they took on these jobs, and how the job came to be experienced as precarious, depending on the strategies available to workers to manage the job and their lives. Further, I wished to explore what shaped employers’ strategies (in terms of staffing as well as decisions on conditions of employment), and what led employers to shape the conditions of work differently both across sectors but also for different workers.

In exploring the link between precarious work and precarious lives, what I wanted to understand was the role that the state, the household and the employer play in shaping both the conditions of precarious work and workers’ experiences of these conditions. Since the fieldwork for this study was completed, Lain et al. (2019) have proposed a framework that incorporates these three domains in relation to the ontological precarity experienced by older workers. At the start of my PhD, the literature often seemed to focus on two dimensions – either the state and the household, or the employer and the household. While the third domain was often implicit in the discussion, it did not form an explicit part of the theoretical discussion of the shaping of precarious work or precarious lives. Therefore, I became interested in exploring an overarching question: What are the causes and consequences of precarious work? The next section explores the literature addressing this question, and the theoretical framework generated from data collection and analysis.

1.3 What is precarious work and how should we define it?

There has been a surge of interest in precarious work in recent years, both in academic and political discourse (Alberti et al., 2018; Hewison, 2016), with a recent issue of *Work Employment and Society* reporting one of the highest numbers of submissions in the journal's history (Alberti et al., 2018). Despite this, precarious work is not a new phenomenon (Kalleberg, 2021; Millar, 2017). The recent resurgence in interest has come about in an attempt to understand worsening work conditions since the implementation of neoliberalism in the 1970s (Kalleberg, 2009; Standing, 2011; Alberti et al., 2018). Nevertheless, what precarious work means and what it entails is ambiguous, "fuzzy" and unclear (Campbell and Price, 2016; Hewison, 2016). The conceptual definitions for this concept are multiple, although at the heart of the majority lies the notion of insecurity and uncertainty (Heyes et al., 2018; Kalleberg, 2021).

There are three key groups of approaches when it comes to understanding precarious work. The first group sees precarious work and precarious lives as being interlinked – for example, Standing (2011) and his conceptualisation of the precariat. The second group adopts a dichotomised understanding of precarious work, where it is perceived to belong to "atypical" forms of employment (ILO, 2010; Taylor et al., 2017), whilst the third group sees precarious work as a multifaceted concept. The first approach stems from Standing's (2011) book, *The Precariat*, which has been a source of controversy. Here, the precariat is viewed as a distinct "*class-in-the-making, if not yet a class-for-itself*" (Standing, 2011, p.7).

This class is viewed to be at the bottom of the class hierarchy and contains the “*misfits*” who lack a voice, work in precarious jobs or are unemployed, and live off the “*dregs*” of society (Standing, 2011, p.8).

Standing’s conceptualisation has been critiqued by many (e.g., Campbell and Price, 2016; Alberti et al., 2018; Doellgast et al., 2018). In the first place the concept has been argued to be too broad, covering a vast variety of people, and risks painting workers as voiceless victims (Breman, 2013; Alberti et al., 2018). Secondly, Standing conflates the conditions of work with the uncertainty that people experience in their lives. Stating that these workers are a class in their own right based on their type of employment, he fails to see how other aspects outside the place of work shape the level of precarity workers experience (Smith and Pun, 2018; Warren, 2008; Campbell and Price, 2016; Sissons et al., 2017). Although the two may be linked, working in a precarious job does not automatically mean that a person has a precarious life. In fact, as is argued throughout this thesis, the level of uncertainty that workers experience in their lives is dependent not only on their jobs but also on the households in which they are embedded and their relationships with the state (Lain et al., 2019). For example, a student may be in a precarious job but, due to a parental safety net, does not have a precarious life (Campbell and Price, 2016). Similarly, studies by Sissons et al. (2017) and Warren (2008) find that working in precarious or lower-hours work might be a precursor to household poverty or negative economic wellbeing, but that this is dependent on both the shape of the household and the work conducted by other earners. Lain et al. (2019) go further, highlighting that the level of precarity older workers experience in their life is

directly related to how they are embedded in both precarious households and precarious welfare states. This contention forms a key part of Journal Article Three (JA3, see Chapter 5) and will be discussed later in this literature review, where we advocate for a separation between precarious work and precarious lives.

The second group of approaches stems from official definitions of precarious work, which look at the conditions of work through a dichotomised definition. Here, precarious work is seen as synonymous with atypical work that stands outside the Standard Employment Relationship (SER). One definition views the SER as the *“typical’ model of full-time, regular, open-ended employment with a single employer over a long time span”* (EU, Commission and Paper, 2017, p.1). The SER is seen to entail social security, a regular income, standard guaranteed working hours (full-time) and social security systems in place to protect workers. This understanding of the SER sees anything that falls outside of this remit as atypical. This leads to *“precarious”* work being defined as *““atypical” work that is “involuntary””* (ILO 2010, p.35), suggesting that anything that falls outside of this definition is secure and likely not to be precarious.

These official conceptualisations of precarious work tend to note a decline in the SER and, with it, a growth in *“atypical employment”* (Eurofound, 2017), thereby spurring calls to find new ways to regulate these *“new forms”* of employment. For example, the Taylor Review on Better Work Practices stemmed from a desire to gain clarification on protection for those people in forms of *“atypical work”* (BEIS, 2018). It should be noted, however, that the SER definition only ever covered some workers (Fudge, 2017). Indeed, historically the model was based on the notion of

the breadwinner wage, and anyone who fell outside of this, especially women, was never covered by its remit (Fudge and Owens, 2006). Hence, “atypical” forms of work are not new, but have tended to fall outside of this particular understanding of the SER and the protections often associated with it.

It is also the case that not all workers in “atypical” work are precarious, nor are all workers in a SER not in precarious work. Part-time workers are not necessarily precarious; those working in the public sector may have stable employment, relatively high levels of protection and relatively high wages (Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989). Conversely, the LPC found that salaried full-time workers were more likely to be paid below the National Living Wage than their hourly paid counterparts, many of whom would fit into the traditional SER definitions (LPC, 2022).

The third approach to precarious work attempts to go beyond the narrow understanding of the traditional SER and its dichotomised understandings, and is the approach taken by this thesis. Authors using this approach acknowledge that by conflating nonstandard employment and precarious work, the very problem that needs to be addressed becomes obscured (Vosko, 2010). These definitions have been influenced by Rodgers and Rodgers (1989), who see precarious work as a multifaceted concept containing many different aspects, the main components of which are, *“instability, lack of protection, and social or economic vulnerability”* (Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989, p.3). This approach identifies *“precarious jobs, and the boundaries around the concept [as] inevitably to some extent arbitrary.”* This understanding is more nuanced than the other definitions since it acknowledges that the shape precarious work takes will vary. Key to these understandings is that

precarious work is a key function of the labour market itself, and in itself is a relationship produced by employers and the state (Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989; Fudge and Strauss, 2014).

Authors using the third definition of precarious work analyse the growth of precarious work by focusing on the changes in the regulatory and labour market context following the introduction of post 1970s neoliberalism – an era that saw a decline in the substance of the traditional SER (Bosch, 2004; Rubery, et al., 2018) and an increase of people entering nonstandard jobs (Bosch, 2004). In the UK, this has been associated with a shift from the manufacturing to the service sector, as well as labour market policies that promoted flexibility and so-called “*business friendliness*”, where collective bargaining and employment rights have been presented as “*market distorting*”, “*rigidities*” and “*costs*” (Hewison, 2016). This has led to attacks on trade unions (who saw their power and memberships decline), and an increasingly individualised approach to employment rights, as collective bargaining agreements have declined, and workers have needed to use ETs to settle claims against employers. These changes have led to what is labelled by Grimshaw et al. (2016) as “*‘protective gaps’ in employment rights, social protection and integration, representation, and enforcement*” (Grimshaw et al., 2016, p14).

The decline of the SER has led to debates among authors about whether it still exists and whether it can be revived (Rubery, 2015b; Fudge, 2017; Fudge and Mundlak, 2021). Authors such as Stone and Arthurs (2013) argue that the SER cannot be revived, as the general trend in countries such as the UK has been towards non-standard, more flexible forms of employment, that are more insecure

and precarious. This view, however, is fatalistic and suggests an inevitability that fails to recognise the active structuring and facilitation of forms of precarious work by employers and the state in the contexts of particular countries. It has been countered by others who argue that there is a need to develop a new SER model that is inclusive, encompassing those working outside the traditional SER model of full-time permanent employment (Bosch, 2004; Grimshaw et al., 2016; Fudge, 2017). There is a need for a SER that covers all workers, regardless of what contract type they are on (Fudge and Mundlak, 2021). This leads to an extension to the third approach, which I propose is the most useful when it comes to understanding precarious work.

Drawing on a seminal piece by Bosch (2004), this approach argues that we need to understand the SER by its substance rather than its form. Under this conceptualisation of the SER, a worker should be secure both in work and outside of it. This understanding is based on notions of the partial decommodification of labour, in which workers' labour power is sold to the market at a price that includes the cost of reproduction² of themselves and their families, and where workers are protected from market volatility and employers' abuses of power (Bosch, 2004; Fudge, 2017). This SER needs to be provided by the state (through the welfare state, and employment protections and regulations) and by employers in the workplace. Drawing on Bosch's (2004) conceptualisation of the SER, Rubery et al.

² Reproduction and reproductive work as used throughout this thesis stems from feminist understanding of social reproduction, which is defined as the everyday activities that maintain life and reproduce the next generation (Bakker 2007). According to Bakker (2007) this can roughly cross three categories, 1) biological reproduction (with it the social construction of motherhood), 2) reproduction of the labour force (subsistence, education and training), 3) reproduction and provision of caring needs.

(2018) developed the Security, Opportunity, Fair treatment and to a Life beyond work (SOFL) framework. This framework presents an idealised SER, in which four broad dimensions capture the key protections that are needed from employment for it not to be precarious, no matter whether the job is “typical” or “atypical”, or “standard” or “nonstandard”. These broad dimensions are security of income, access to opportunity, fair treatment and recognition of life beyond work (Rubery et al., 2018, p.514). This conceptualisation leads to a multidimensional understanding of precarious work, whereby each of the elements of the SOFL framework can include different, broadly defined elements. Security, for example, is defined as having “*adequate income during work and non-work*”: this therefore includes elements such as wage levels (living wages) and a minimum guaranteed wage, as well as regularity and predictability of hours worked, but also the social protections workers are able to access. Opportunity, on the other hand, is considered as dependent on work providing a “*platform for investment in training and career*”: this includes dimensions such as access to training and progression opportunities, but also time being given within scheduled working time to do the required work for the training provided. Fair treatment is defined as requiring an “*institutional framework for rights and voice at work*”; this includes dimensions such as equal access to the same rights at work, no matter which contractual or employment arrangement a worker is on, the right to be a member of a union, and having access to voice mechanisms by which workers can express themselves. Life beyond work is defined as requiring a “*division between work and non-work time*”; this includes dimensions such as true worker-led flexibility, not employer-led flexibility, so that those on flexible contracts can turn down shifts if needed without

consequences, rather than effectively being on call for all possible shifts. Other aspects could include access to annual leave and family-friendly policies such as access to maternity and paternity leave (Rubery et al., 2018, p.514). These are just a few examples of elements that can be included in these dimensions to shape their substance. The way these elements appear to shape the dimensions of precarious work will differ, depending on the contextual, regulatory and institutional environment in which an organisation is embedded, and the type of contract a worker is on. Further, the impact that the different dimensions have on workers' lives will differ substantially depending on where they are in their life course and how they are embedded in their household situation and state forms of social protections.

The SOFL framework thus is useful as it is all-encompassing and, unlike traditional notions of the SER, can cover all types of work, whether part- or full-time. Its conceptualisation also considers the importance of reproduction, in particular taking into account the decommodifying element of work, thereby ensuring that the impact on workers' lives is also included. This ensures that groups of people don't get excluded, and overcomes dichotomised understandings of precarious work and non-precarious work in the labour market. As was the case with traditional definitions of the SER, the broad categories of the SOFL framework are useful when it comes to setting the minimum standards of the SER, and helping to overcome the issues that arise when looking solely at a contract, since the framework analyses the nature of precarity existing in a job. The SER needs to be seen as an ideal type containing minimum standards (Bosch, 2004; Fudge, 2017).

However, while the framework outlines the key dimensions of precarious work, it does not tell us why there is a divergence away from minimum standards in the SER depending on the demographics of workers. For example, Cranford et al. (2003) find that precarious work is shaped in highly gendered, segmented ways. The next section will discuss how precarious work is shaped differently depending on the demographics of the workers, leading to forms of segmentation and segregation that are shaped by employers' strategies, and how these interact with state policies.

1.4 Social characteristics of precarious work: segmentation and segregation

The way in which precarious work is shaped has been found to differ for different groups of workers, with women and migrant workers often at most risk (Fudge and Owens, 2006; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). However, if we look at the current labour market, it shows a much more complex picture. For example, in the growth of the so-called gig economy, which is seen to contain some of the most precarious work conditions, men are twice as likely to be found than women; over 90% of the UK workforce within companies such as Uber and Deliveroo are male (Balaram et al., 2017). However, when women do work in such jobs, research suggests that they still earn less than men (Barzilay and Ben-David, 2017). While sectors such as social care are more likely to be female dominated, the people who work in them are also more likely to be white and from the local working-class population (Hayes, 2017). Those from a Black, Asian or minority ethnic (BAME) background (in particular from Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups) are more likely to work in

distribution, hotels and restaurants (GOV.UK, 2021), while the agriculture sector relies more on migrant workers (Scott, 2012). This is not surprising, as segmentation within the labour market is as old as the labour market itself (Reskin and Roos, 1990). However, segmentation is ever changing and not constant. Hence Cranford et al. (2003) argue for the need to understand the dynamic relationship that lies between precarious work and gender. We would argue for a need to go beyond purely a gender-based framing to one that is intersectionally sensitive (McBride et al., 2015) and that considers how precarious work is shaped differently for workers with different characteristics.

The need to understand segmented labour market inequalities has been a topic of discussion for a large range of authors, in particular those stemming from a labour market segmentation school of thought. Starting in the 1970s and 1980s (Doeringer and Piore, 1970; Rubery, 1978; Wilkinson, 1983), these authors drew on a critique of neoclassical economics and its human capital approaches to understanding labour market inequality (López-Roldán and Fachelli, 2021), where it was assumed that the divisions that existed in the labour market were due to productivity differences or the lack of human capital (Grimshaw et al., 2017). Their aim was to counter economic orthodoxy that was only concerned with the external labour market in which *“pricing, allocating, and training decisions are governed directly by economic variables”*, not considering the *“internal labour market”* which is the *“administrative unit”* for a firm which has its own procedures and rules in which labour allocation and pricing is directed (Doeringer and Piore, 1970, p.3). In fact, labour market segmentation scholars, unlike their neoclassical economist

counterparts, placed the employing organisation at the centre of their analysis, acknowledging the direct role they play in the shaping of labour market inequalities (Grimshaw et al., 2017).

Within this core area of thought developed the idea of dual labour market theory: a primary labour market consisting of good employment conditions with chances of career advancement, and a secondary labour market usually distinguished by poor conditions of work and high turnover (Doeringer and Piore, 1970). Those from more disadvantaged backgrounds were seen to be predominantly based in the secondary labour market. Doeringer and Piore (1970) note that the secondary labour market can take three forms: firstly, *“unstructured”*, that is, not belonging to any *“internal market”* – for example, contract labour in construction; secondly, the *“secondary internal labour market”*, whereby jobs are within organisations but are low paid with limited progression options and greater unpleasantness (Doeringer and Piore, 1970, p.274); and thirdly, jobs attached to the primary labour market, where entry requirements may be lower or the jobs can be done on a casual basis (Doeringer and Piore, 1970). While it has brought some good insights forward, this version of segmentation theory, in particular its dualist approach, has been critiqued by scholars. Some argue that it does not consider the role of institutions in structuring, nor state regulation in creating secondary labour markets, and that it is not solely regulated by supply and demand (Campbell, 2019). Further it has been critiqued for not recognising employers’ perceptions of worker characteristics when choosing what segment workers are placed in; instead it is argued that the

theory focuses on a narrow definitions of skills, strategic importance to the firm, and the workers' place in the production process itself (Grimshaw et al., 2017).

Drawing on these critiques (Rubery, 1978; Wilkinson, 1983; Rubery, 2007), Grimshaw et al. (2017) put forward a proposition for a new approach to labour market segmentation. Taking on elements from traditional labour market segmentation, in particular the importance of the employment organisation in shaping labour market dynamics, the new approach also draws on two more areas of thought, feminist socioeconomics and the comparative institutional perspective. From the feminist socioeconomics perspective, it draws on concerns of the "politics of social reproduction" and how household divisions of labour mould the way in which employers shape good and bad jobs. From the comparative institutionalist perspective, it draws on the understanding of socially constructed labour markets in which institutions and social actors directly shape the inequalities that exist (Grimshaw et al., 2017). This approach is a useful way to understand how labour market inequalities are shaped differently, particularly along gendered lines (Fudge and Mundlak, 2021).

One key strand of theory that fits in this framework is the ideas put forward by scholars such as Reskin and Roos (1990) and their understanding of job queues and gender queues, as they attempt to understand how women have made inroads into male-dominated occupations. The notion of a queue was utilised by traditional labour market segmentation scholars such as Doeringer and Piore (1970), and was first properly developed by Lester Thurow (1972). Thurow (1972), as with other labour market segmentations scholars, built the notion of the queue on a critique

of neoclassical economics, and in particular the notion of wage competition theory. He argues that it is not wages that drive the labour market but rather that it is shaped by job competition: *“instead of people looking for jobs, there are jobs looking for people”* (Thurow, 1972, p.68). His main contention is that, despite an increase in educational equality, there was no reduction in earning inequalities. This was of particular interest as he noticed that when education levels for those from disadvantaged backgrounds increased in comparison to those from more advantaged backgrounds, the level of earning inequalities did not reduce. Hence Thurow’s queue stems from his notion of a job competition model, in which a worker’s income is based on their position in the labour queue and the way in which jobs are distributed in the economy. In this model, the job queue remains stable, but workers are “distributed across” the available jobs, dependent on their position in the labour queue. What is crucial to this approach is that workers’ position in the queue is determined by employers’ perceptions of their perceived characteristics and how trainable they may seem to the employer (Thurow, 1972).

Both gender and migration scholars with a feminist socioeconomic perspective have drawn on Thurow’s job queue and extended it further (Reskin and Roos, 1990; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). Starting with Reskin and Roos (1990), these authors extend Thurow’s model to show that the queues are dynamic rather than predetermined, as they attempt to explain women’s inroads into male-dominated occupations. The use value of this conceptualisation has been extended beyond gender by scholars working on the study of migration, who argue that the impact of the influx of women into previously male jobs provides a good illustration for

understanding how segmentation could be understood for other groups of workers (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003).

Core to the gender scholars' arguments is the notion that the gendering of a particular occupation only occurs after the fact (Reskin and Roos, 1990). Only once a large percentage of a particular gender start working in a certain occupation do sex-stereotyping and justifications for that role occur (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

There has been a growth in women entering the labour force, and particularly previously male-dominated occupations, since the 1970s – often associated with a rise in women's education levels (Reskin and Roos, 1990). The decline in conditions of employment, and particularly the feminisation of occupations or specific roles within occupations, is associated with the active historical devaluation of women's work. This started with the development of the traditional SER, as a particular sexual division was created in which reproductive work was devalued and became part of the household to be performed by women (Farris, 2015; Fudge, 2014). The later move towards Fordism led to a need for an unemancipated, disciplined, relatively well-paid workforce that could support the move towards mass production, thereby feeding consumer demand for new products (Fudge, 2017; Federici, 2012) – a development which sparked the growth of the breadwinner wage. Seen as a "social wage" enabling workers and their reproductive consumption needs to be met in the household (Fudge and Vosko, 2001) the breadwinner wage relied on reproductive work being carried out by women, in their role as a full-time "*house-wife*" (Federici, 2012, p.94). Hence, the development of the familial wage served to perpetuate women's inferior work

status and further “*perpetuated the association between women and domesticity*” (Bradley, 1998, p.44).

The historical normalisation of women’s work as reproductive work has left another hangover, namely the way in which the value of skills in the labour market is perceived, and the way in which the gendering of jobs has been justified by employers. The value of skills is socially constructed: this means that women’s jobs which require elements of affective labour are often undervalued, even when this relational work is complex (Hebson and Grugulis, 2005). For example, Bolton (2004) notes that under capitalism, there is an increased need for “emotional workers”, who require increasingly high levels of emotional skill to manage the expectations and demands of customers – be it as a care worker or in a customer-facing role in a company. These jobs are regarded as only requiring what are termed as “soft skills” that women are deemed to be naturally good at. However, Bolton notes that there is in fact a lot of skill required that needs to be developed and may also be key to the success of many organisations. However, this assumption that soft skills are ‘naturally’ acquired by women leads to a pervasive lack of training, poor remuneration and progression compared to those for jobs perceived to be more technically skilled (Hebson and Grugulis, 2005).

Reskin and Roos (1990) used the concept of the queue to try and understand this process, both in terms of the decline in conditions of employment but also in terms of what led women to be hired in roles that were previously male dominated.

Drawing on Thurow’s (1972) queue model, their framework consists of a simple dual queuing process of job queues and labour queues: “*labor queues order groups*

of workers in terms of their attractiveness to employers, and job queues rank jobs in terms of attractiveness to workers" (Thurow, 1972, p.29). The number of workers in each of the queue's subgroups sets the shape of the labour queue; simultaneously, the number of jobs at each level also sets the shape. Furthermore, the "intensity of preference" of the raters further sets its shape. Jobs also become available to those at lower ranks when employers have exhausted the supply of appropriate candidates from the higher group. These jobs then become available to those at the next level in the labour queue. Further, two historical factors have affected changing employers' preferences by gender, thereby affecting women's places in the queue. The first relates to women's increased education levels, providing them with the skills required for higher-level jobs. The second is the increased role of women as consumers, leading to employers wanting women to serve the needs of these women.

The reduction in preference for a particular job occurs when the quality of a job reduces in comparison to other jobs at the same level of the given queue. This could be due to a drop in income, career progression, autonomy, skills required or hours worked. It has been found that even when women enter male dominated occupations, they do so in a gender-segregated manner (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

Migration scholars have furthered Reskin and Roos (1990) conceptualisation to understand the disadvantages faced by migrant workers (Campbell, 2019) but instead of using the term "gender queues" they discuss hiring queues. Hiring queues, in essence, refer to the order in which employers place workers, in terms of employer preference for applicants for the role, based on the racial or ethnic

groups of which they are part. Key to migration scholars' understanding is that employer preferences are not based on the actual qualities workers bring or on their actual ability to do the jobs, but rather upon their perceived attributes and characteristics based on the ascribed characteristics and expected behaviour of the ethnic or racial group (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). At the bottom of the labour queue, it has been found that employers will seek the next most exploitable group of labour; this is particularly apparent when workers have, for example, gained more agency, as workers become more immersed in the local labour market and community they become less willing to accept substandard conditions of employment such as low pay and long hours (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009).

Therefore employers instead of improving conditions of employment seek to hire the next group of workers who they are able to exploit and are willing to accept these conditions of employment. However, migration scholars show how the preference for a particular type of worker by an employer is rarely explicitly stated in hierarchical terms (Scott, 2012) but instead is based on the perceived attributes that particular type of worker is deemed to have. This, for example, can explain the Equality and Human Rights Commission's (EHRC, 2016) findings that "*employers appointed workers on their ability to do their job, rather than where they came from*" (Broughton and Rischards, 2016, p.7), while simultaneously finding that 92% of employers thought foreign workers were more productive, and often stated that they were perceived as having a better work ethic. This preference and its justification are based on skills that are socially constructed, and enable employers to justify exploiting those at the bottom of the labour market. They also enable employers to seek the next most vulnerable worker, which has been found to fit

with discourses of labour shortages put forward by employers (Campbell, 2019).

This helps to explain why claims of labour shortages do not necessarily lead to increases in wages and conditions of employment, or employers seeking workers higher up the labour queue (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010).

The shape that these justifications take differs according to the literature. Those looking at traditionally feminised roles such as social care argue that the social normalisation of women doing care work plays an integral role in employer preferences for placing women in these roles (Fredman and Fudge, 2016). Other authors, concerned with workers' roles in customer-facing positions, take on discussions of aesthetic labour and class as core determinants in the justification for placing workers in particular roles (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009; Mooney, 2018; Rubery and Hebson, 2018; Bolton et al., 2019). This means that, in sectors such as hospitality and retail, workers who are customer facing need to fit in with a corporate image and employers' perceptions of customers' preferences. This has been used to explain why more students and migrant workers have been hired into certain roles as they are able to fit into the corporate aesthetic (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007). Similarly, this racial and class divide is also a key reason why those who are not able to fit into this aesthetic, in particular migrant or Black women, are pushed to jobs at the bottom of the queues, such as housekeeping (Duffy, 2005). This more intersectionally-sensitive (McBride et al., 2015) approach is being used increasingly by scholars to understand the intersections of inequalities that lead to discriminatory hiring practices and segregation.

However, both sets of literature show that the shape that the queues take is not set but is ever changing. Hence the shape the queue takes and how it changes is dependent on contextual and socioeconomic factors (Reskin and Roos 1990; Scott, 2012; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009), such as changes in technology, education levels, customers or deliberate state policies. The effect of changing customers in relation to the queue is particularly evident in Alberti and Iannuzzi's (2020) research in the hotel sector in Venice. Here they found that employers' stereotypes of customer and worker demographics affected who was hired for a role. As the customer demographics were found to change in the area for particular hotels, so did preferences for particular types of workers. Similarly Reskin and Roos (1990) found that increases in women as customers led to more women entering the service economy to serve them.

The state also plays a pivotal role in the way the queues are shaped, both in terms of the historical legacy that state policies have built and the current policy environment. For example, within social care, one of the key reasons that preference is given to local white working-class women (Skills for Care, 2021), and why wages remain low has been found to be the historical legacy of the 1948 States Assistance Act, where women were encouraged to work as home helps in exchange for a partial wage (Hayes, 2017). Similarly, in the 1950s, only 20% of women were employed (Tilly and Scott, 1987), a low figure that was initiated through state policies such as the 1950 Factory Act, which encouraged "twilight shifts" to allow women to fit work around their domestic responsibilities (Rubery, 2015a). Employers could thereby extend working hours, and were encouraged to

employ women on a very particular set of contractual arrangements. Similarly, it has been found in the UK that employers were able to “get more for their money” following the opening up of the borders to A8 and A2 EU nations (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Scott 2012). In Australia, agriculture worker visas (driven by employer policy) have been found to enable employers to control and reduce the conditions of labour in the sector (Campbell, 2019). Through this, employers were able to re-shape their order of preference along migrant and ethnic lines (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Scott, 2012).

While, as shown above, the concept of the queue is useful for understanding how workers end up in jobs that are highly segmented, it does not help explain how employers are able to justify differential treatment of workers and thereby create differential experiences of precarious work. Baron and Kreps’s (1999) notion of consistency goes some way towards helping with this. They argue that while inconsistent treatment of workers within organisations is poor HR practice because it builds resentment, consistent treatment may only be required among workers who perceive themselves as comparably similar. Therefore, they argue that *“complete consistency”* is not necessary, as demographic, social, economic and *“symbolic differences among groups of workers can serve as a workable point of discontinuity or change in employers’ employment practices”* (Baron and Kreps 1999, p.50). This understanding of consistency combined with a new approach to labour market segmentation (with its particular emphasis on the queue), may go some way to explaining how and why employers are able to shape conditions of work differently for different groups of people.

This section has explored how precarious work may be highly segmented across different groups of workers and occupations, and how employers may exert agency in this process. We need to go further to understand the differing effects that different types of work have on workers' lives: an issue explored in more depth in the next section.

1.5 Precarious work and precarious lives: towards a more nuanced understanding

As was highlighted in the section which considered how to define what is meant by precarious work, there is a set of scholars that conflate precarious work with precarious lives. Campbell and Price (2016) argue that literature on precarious work often conflates terms and uses them interchangeably. According to these authors, the term "precariousness" spans five different conceptualisations of social life: 1) "*precariousness in employment*", 2) "*precarious work*", 3) "*precarious workers*", 4) precariat and 5) precarity. They argue that each of these terms has its own meanings and uses for theorists, but that these often become conflated and confused. They argue that attention has been paid to the problems around Standing's definition of the precariat, but little attention has been paid to the issue that scholars often blur the lines between the terms of precarious work and precarious workers. They note that while workers may be employed in precarious work, their experiences of this work will differ substantially. In fact, they argue through a critical realist lens that structural forces affect the way in which precarious work is experienced by different groups of workers. Hence, the extent to

which a person in a precarious job becomes a precarious worker, who experiences a precarious life, is dependent on how their job interrelates with other aspects of their life. Scholars such as Kalleberg (2021) argue that precarious jobs become precarious lives when they become intertwined in “social and legal” protections.

While this is an important understanding, there is a need to go further: as Millar (2017) argues, a precarious life is both an ontological and socioeconomic experience, which requires the use of a relational approach to the understanding of precarity. Campbell and Price (2016) concur, saying that the relational approach gives important meaning to the generalised uncertainty that can be experienced by precarious workers and which can be extended to other realms of “social life”, including welfare provision and housing, amongst other things (Campbell and Price, 2016b). Millar (2017) explains precarity as the location where “*precarious labor and precarious life intersect in a particular time and place*” (Millar, 2017, p.5). Drawing on and extending Millar’s (2017) understanding, Lain et al. (2019) argue that the level of precarity that a worker experiences when a precarious job becomes a precarious life is based on the domain that sits between precarious job, precarious welfare state and precarious household. Conceiving of the situation in this way enables a broader conceptualisation, going beyond Kalleberg’s (2021) focus on protection, to recognise the need to include the realm of the household.

This is where a separation must be made between precarious work and precarious lives, rather than accepting the conflation found in some analyses of precarious work, e.g., that of Standing (2011). It is true that for many people the conditions of employment and household conditions relate to each other, which may lead to

what Clement et al. (2009) call precarious lives. However, precarious work may not always mean that someone lives a precarious life. The worker's own condition is dependent upon the household dynamics in which they are embedded, what jobs others within the household do, whether they have social reproduction responsibilities, how these reproductive responsibilities are organised, and what type of buffer the welfare state provides for them (Campbell and Price, 2016). Campbell and Price (2016) found that students working in precarious work often have parental support to fall back on, and frequently are in these types of jobs before they move into less precarious work. Similarly, studies by Sissons et al. (2017) and Warren (2008) found that working in precarious or lower-hours work might be a precursor to household poverty or negative economic wellbeing, but that this is dependent on both the shape of the household and the work conducted by other earners.

Heyes et al.'s (2018) conceptualisation of uncertainty is a useful way to understand the meaning of both precarious work and precarious lives. They investigate the effect that precarious jobs have on workers' lives, arguing that within precarious work literature, the terms "risk" and "uncertainty" are often used interchangeably, when definition of the underlying concepts would lead to their separate use. Using Knight's (1921) definition, they argue that

risk is present in situations in which the odds of different possible outcomes occurring can be calculated in advance. In situations characterised by uncertainty, by contrast, the possible outcomes are unknowable, and therefore, the odds of specific outcomes occurring cannot be determined in advance. (Heyes et al., 2018, p.421)

It is the nature of the unpredictability of this uncertainty that is key to understanding the ways in which precarious work can be experienced as a precarious life. It has been found that, for example, high levels of unpredictability and fluctuations in income have a direct negative effect on people's lives, especially when these operate in tandem with people's access to benefits (Young, 2022). Young (2022) argues that, when income is unpredictable, the level of impact that has on someone's life is very much dependent on the relational support that they have. Hence it is the inability to predict the effect or outcome of work that has a direct effect on workers' lives: henceforth, to understand precarious lives, we will use the term "uncertainty". Lambert et al. (2019) find that the unpredictability of scheduling is a key element of uncertainty for workers in their jobs and at home. Moreover, as previously highlighted, worker demographics have a direct effect on workers' schedules in the United States, with those who have no degree, and who are young and Black being placed on the worst schedules. Therefore, intersecting inequalities can compound the disadvantages and the level of uncertainty experienced. What is particularly important to note is that hourly paid and salaried workers experience uncertainty in relation to these schedules in different ways. For example, hourly paid workers who work longer hours experience less uncertainty due to the opportunity provided to make up income. Meanwhile, salaried workers experience a higher level of uncertainty when working more hours, as this cannot bolster their earnings (Lambert et al., 2019). Therefore, both uncertainty of income and time are important crossroads between precarious work and precarious lives.

We now go on to combine these models and theories of precarious work and put forward a framework that identifies the intersecting roles of employers, the state and the household in shaping the uncertainties of income and time experienced when employed in precarious work. When precarious work is contextualised within these three domains, it is possible for employment researchers to start to identify the different processes that shape the ways in which precarious work becomes experienced as a precarious life.

1.6 Understanding the shape of precarious work, through the state, household and employers

To understand precarious work and its segmentation by different worker groups, we show how employers use perceptions of worker characteristics to shape the distribution of precarious work. While we have noted above the importance of Lain et al.'s (2019) framework of the household, the state and the employer in shaping precarious lives, we also argue that it is important to understand how these domains shape the different dimensions of precarious work. The state's role is realised through its implementation of welfare policies, employment rights, labour market regulation and through the funding and outsourcing of services, both at local and national level (Jaehrling et al., 2018; Rafferty and Wiggan, 2017). These affect employers' strategies in shaping employment conditions and affect workers' entry into work, as well as the safety nets available to workers and households (Bessa et al., 2013; Rafferty and Wiggan, 2017). Employers' strategies need to be understood in relation to how they justify and create particular types of

employment, based on their market positioning, the shape of the local labour market, state regulations and the perceived reproductive needs of their workforce (Carswell and De Neve, 2013). Employer policies are affected by state funds, services and regulations. While the household has implication for which workers take up particular jobs, and the effect that these types of jobs have on workers' lives (Shildrick, 2012). This is where we come to the third layer, the household level. The household level is important, as it determines both the effect that employment conditions have on a worker and the types of work into which they enter (Campbell and Price, 2016).

Whilst academic literature in recent years has acknowledged the need to integrate these three dimensions (Cranford et al., 2003; Crouch, 2015; Sissons et al., 2017), this is rarely done, and these aspects are often studied as separate entities.

Scholars have looked at the effect of precarious work and gender by looking at household relations (Warren, 2008; 2016; Sissons et al., 2017; Shildrick et al., 2012; Smith and McBride, 2021). These authors acknowledge the role that state policies play in exacerbating the workers' situation, but little is done to understand the role that employers play in shaping these jobs in the first place. Other scholars acknowledge that household dynamics shape the gender inequalities of precarious work, but fail to integrate them as a unit of analysis (Cranford et al., 2003; Forde and Slater, 2016). These authors provide a useful analysis with regard to how state policies and employers' strategies interact, but fail to analyse how household dynamics affect workers' entry into the labour market and affect its shape.

Research that has focused on the interaction between employment and the household has been dominated by work-life balance (WLB). This concept attempts to address the intersection that lies between work in terms of a job and workers' lives, but the concept itself has come under critique by a range of scholars. In particular, it is noted that many studies tend to focus on the experience of wealthier white-collar workers (men and women) (Lewis et al., 2007). The analogy of balance that the term proposes is particularly problematic in the current UK climate, which is reliant on a one-and-a-half breadwinner model (Warren et al., 2009; Crompton, 2006; Warren and Lyonette, 2018). The term "balance" creates an assumption of choice, whereby people can choose freely how to structure their lives, with the assumption that non-work time is also leisure time (Lewis et al., 2007). This does not consider the wider structural and practical constraints that people, particularly those from lower-income households, may have. The reliance on a one-and-a-half breadwinner model means that households can no longer rely on a single earner to make ends meet, and that frequently all household members need to work. Within working-class households this is particularly difficult, as they are also relied upon to do the domestic work, since they do not have the luxury to be able to outsource it – as may be the case for more middle-class households (Warren et al., 2009).

More recently, the concept of work-life articulation, first coined by Crompton (2006) and further developed by Smith and McBride (2021) in their research on multiple job holding, has been put forward as a more dynamic way to understand how workers in precarious jobs experience and manage the intersections between

work and life. This concept problematises the assumption of “balance” (as implied by the concept of WLB), thereby enabling a focus on the more complex issues of managing waged work and other commitments (Lewis et al., 2007). The aim of this concept is to *“critically assesses the strategies of individuals and families in attempting to combine employment with family life”* (Smith and McBride, 2021, p.2).

The concept of work-life articulation allows for a better understanding of the different ways in which people’s work and lives interact. It is of particular interest to this research as it offers a lens through which to understand how precarious work may turn into a precarious life, depending on the different ways work and life are articulated, and how they are shaped by the dimensions of precarious work. In addition, this approach can also be used to understand how different dimensions shape the uncertainties of income and time, including through ways that articulate with the household dynamic. However, these authors, while implying the importance of the role played by the state, do not make it explicit – instead, their focus is on the decisions that are made between the place of work and the household.

We therefore seek to develop their ideas further, and argue that combining an understanding of work-life articulation with Lain et al.’s (2019) framework which includes the state, we can gain a better understanding of the context within which workers are embedded, and how this shapes their work-life articulation strategies. This combination thereby provides a better understanding of what shapes people’s decisions to take on precarious work, and the ways in which precarious work

becomes a precarious life. This framework is built upon and further developed in Chapter 5 (JA3) of this thesis.

1.7 Context of the UK

1.7.1 What does precarious work look like today in the UK?

The 2008 financial crisis notably saw an increase in the prevalence of precarious work, affecting the UK both in terms of the quality of work available and the levels of in-work poverty (Burns et al., 2016; Tinson et al., 2016). The events marked an increase in people employed on temporary, variable non-guaranteed hours, low-waged employment and self-employment, many of whom did so involuntarily (Heyes and Lewis, 2014; Grimshaw et al., 2016; Rubery, et al., 2018b). This is related to three factors: firstly, UK government policies removed employment protections deemed to be barriers for employers, which restricted investment in employment and hampered labour market flexibilities (Dickens, 2012; Kirk 2018; Heyes and Lewis, 2014; Ford and Slater, 2016). Secondly, policies to reduce unemployment levels, through the introduction of welfare reforms such as the Workfare programmes, pushed people into employment irrespective of quality. More recently, benefit policies such as Universal Credit removed the requirements of minimum hours to qualify and further strengthened the conditionality of benefits and associated sanctions. (Jordan, 2017; Rubery, Grimshaw and Johnson, 2018b). Thirdly, austerity measures led to public sector cuts and outsourcing of public services to private companies, leading to reductions in wages and work conditions (Burns et al., 2016; Rubery, 2015). The resultant labour market has

created contradictions, where record low unemployment and the highest ever female employment rates coexist alongside a flatlining of the real wage and an increase in household debt (Doogan, 2015). These contradictions, evident at the start of this research, are similarly apparent in the post-COVID period in which this research was finalised.

1.7.2 Manchester context

As noted earlier, the way precarious work manifests is context specific. Hence, this project focuses on precarious work in the context of Greater Manchester (GM). In 2014, the government announced the Northern Powerhouse project, aiming to rebalance the British economy by *“regenerating city economies, which for many years lagged behind in terms of growth and prosperity”* due to deindustrialisation (Etherington and Jones, 2017, p.3). The project came together with a devolution agreement between GM and the national government. Premised on boosting economic growth, the agreement made assurances that powers would be devolved to the local authority, with the expectation that a mayor would be elected for the whole region with powers over transport, housing and planning (HM Treasury and GMCA, 2014). In May 2017, Andy Burnham was elected mayor (Grimshaw et al., 2017), making GM the first city-region with such a devolution deal in place (Fahnbulleh et al., 2022). While some of the budgets were devolved to the city-region, the actual devolution of power to GM and especially the mayor was minimal, with much of the decision-making power sitting still centrally with the national government in Westminster (Johnson and Grimshaw, 2017; Pickett et al., 2020).

It has been found that despite this process of devolution, austerity measures had a negative effect on support services, with £2 billion in cuts to local government between 2010 and 2017 – so that no more money was available to local authorities to help with the devolution process (Etherington and Jones, 2017). Whilst funding cuts were not distributed evenly across local authorities, GM did have an average cut of 34.7% across the whole region, with local authorities such as Trafford faring better (with only a 26% cut in their funding) and local authorities such as Salford faring the worst, experiencing a cut of 45% (Etherington and Jones, 2017). Overall, the austerity cuts GM experienced have had a detrimental effect within the region (Pickett et al., 2020), increasing the levels of inequality that exist within GM, and between GM and the rest of England (Pickett et al., 2020). GM has high levels of poverty among working families (with child poverty rates being 26%, above the English average of 18%), whilst the average earnings in GM in 2020 were £26 per week below the English average for the region as a whole (Pickett et al., 2020). The low pay levels across the region are endemic, spanning across men and women: 42% of low-paid workers in 2017 were men, which is much higher than across Great Britain as whole, where men only make up 39% of low-paid workers. Single parents and people from ethnic minorities are at an even higher risk of being low paid in GM than in Great Britain as a whole (Arcy et al., 2019).

The issue of low pay in the city-region, particularly in comparison to the UK average, has been found to be due to a productivity gap of 90% of the national average (GMCA, 2020). Associated with the growth in low-paid sectors (whose levels of pay remain low), prominence is given to three sectors: hospitality, retail,

and health and social care (HM Government, 2019), as they not only employ many low-paid workers, but also pay more people below the low-pay thresholds in GM than in other areas of the UK (Arcy et al., 2019).³ The productivity deficit and poor conditions of employment in GM within these three sectors have meant that a key part of GM local industrial strategy in recent years (HM Government, 2019) has been to improve the conditions of employment in these sectors, and to upskill workforces and “*support businesses to improve productivity*” through management and leadership programmes (GMCA, 2017; HM Government, 2019, p.8).

While priority has been given to this, as noted above, the power of the local region to do anything about improving conditions of work is limited. Hence, they have relied on voluntary forms of regulation, aiming to encourage employers to improve their conditions of employment. Two key ways in which this has been done are through the development of a Good Employment Charter and the active promotion of the Real Living Wage (Andy Burnham pledged that GM would become the first Living Wage City-Region in November 2021 (GMCA, 2021)). Both initiatives were spearheaded by the mayor, and rely on employers’ goodwill to implement.

The Good Employment Charter stems from the mayoral election manifesto, and was developed throughout 2018 through a series of consultations with businesses, trade unions and voluntary organisations. It focuses on seven key areas of good employment namely, secure work, flexible work, pay, engagement and voice, recruitment, people management, and health and wellbeing (Greater Manchester

³ The low-pay threshold was defined by the Resolution Foundation “as hourly pay less than two-thirds of the median wage” (Arcy et al., 2019).

Good Employment Charter, 2022). Employers can sign up to become either supporters or members of the Charter. To be a member, employers need to comply with all the standards set out in the Charter, whereas the option to be a supporter is open to any employer without any minimum set of requirements. Special working groups have been set up for both hospitality and social care as attempts are made to ensure that as many employers as possible from these sectors sign up to both the Charter and the Real Living Wage. While neither of these can be enforced, attempts have been made across the region to include them in procurement requirements.

Therefore, this research is situated within a particular political environment, in which there are high levels of precarious work and poverty rates, together with political attempts to tackle these issues in a very particular set of sectors. This forms a perfect context in which to understand both how precarious work is shaped, but also the roles that the state and workers' households play within both workers' experiences of precarious work and the way precarious work is shaped by employers. GM provides a context in which the question of the causes and consequences of precarious work can be understood.

1.8 Conclusion

The literature review highlighted three key areas of interest: first, the way in which precarious work can be defined as a multidimensional concept; second, the need to understand precarious work as highly segmented, and the role employers play in

the shaping of such job and labour queues; and, third, the need to understand precarious work and precarious lives as separate but interconnected phenomena. Finally, we also saw how GM fares worse than the rest of the country when it comes to precarious work and in-work poverty, even though key political initiatives have been deployed to address these issues. Hence, GM became the site of interest in which we wanted to explore the three themes of interest noted above. These themes informed our research strategy, data collection and subsequent choice of specific research questions for our three journal papers. The next section highlights the key methods utilised throughout the project, as the causes and consequences of precarious work were explored.

Chapter 2: Methods

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology that underpins the three journal articles, and the balance of epistemological and practical concerns that guided my methodological choices and decisions. The chapter shows how I endeavoured to conduct research that was rigorous, while also “*taking sides*” (Denzin, 2002) with those in precarious jobs living precarious lives. The role of theory, ethical issues and my reflexivity as a researcher is discussed throughout, as these concerns shaped the whole research process, including the research design, the data sampling and collection, and the data analysis.

The chapter begins with an initial discussion of my philosophical approach to knowledge and how this shaped the methodological decisions made. I discuss how the three key themes that emerged from the literature shaped the philosophical methodological approach taken. I then discuss the case-study research design, conducted in line with many tenets of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The chapter then goes on to discuss the process of selecting the case sectors and gaining access to case-study organisations, which was driven by a need to explore theoretical ideas in specific organisations to tease out sectoral, organisation and regional contexts along with the specific demographic characteristics of workers. The chapter then discusses the interview process, including accessing and sampling interview participants.

An account follows of how the data were analysed via a process of constant interplay between data and theory, leading to the three journal articles. The ideas for the journal articles emerged as an ongoing process of data collection and engagement with theory, as I made sense of the data in line with my research questions: all of these articles, while separate pieces of work, are directly interconnected. Chapter 3, Journal Article 1 (JA1), aims to understand employers' strategies that lead to highly segmented workforces and employment conditions within organisations, while Chapter 4, Journal Article 2 (JA2), assesses the impact of COVID-19 and the limits of employers' voluntary actions to improve conditions of work. Chapter 5, Journal Article 3 (JA3), investigates the ways in which workers experience precarious work as precarious lives. This methodological chapter therefore aims to make these methodological decisions transparent from the beginning of the research process, and to recognise that research is not a straightforward linear process, particularly for PhD researchers.

2.2 Philosophical approach

A broad overarching question initially guided my thesis: *What are the causes and the consequences of precarious work in Greater Manchester?* From the beginning, my aim was to answer this question by taking a dynamic approach to the understanding of precarious work. Drawing on the literature, three key themes emerged that shaped the way in which this question could be understood and answered. The first suggested that precarious work is multidimensional, and cannot be simply equated with "atypical forms" or nonstandard forms of employment. The

second theme highlighted the segmentation of precarious work, the need to investigate the role that employers play in shaping precarious work conditions, and whether this shaping is influenced by their perceptions of the characteristics of the workforce group that they employ. The third theme highlighted that to understand the consequences of precarious work, it is necessary to consider the linkages between precarious jobs and precarious lives. This requires consideration of the interactions that lie between the state, household and employment, as workers manage and shape these interactions through their work-life articulation strategies. Hence, the consequences of precarious work cannot be identified from the condition of employment alone, and a key aim of the research was to focus on the nuanced effect the job has on workers. Workers were therefore placed at the centre of my research, in order to understand how their experiences of precarious jobs were embedded in the three domains of the household, state and employment.

My focus on the underlying structural mechanisms that cause and shape precarious work, as well as the experience of it, is in line with a critical realist approach, as this takes on both ontological realism and epistemological relativism (Saunders et al., 2019). This perspective was born out of a critique of positivism and the deductive approach that came with it (Archer et al., 1998). An ontological realist perspective recognises that a reality exists, and that this is to some extent independent of how humans understand it (Fletcher, 2020). As shown in my literature review, I believe this reality is shaped by causal structures and mechanisms; hence the only way to gain some understanding of the social world is by understanding the “*social*

structures that have given rise to the phenomena that we are trying to understand”

(Saunders et al, 2019, p.148). This follows Reed (2005), who argues that to understand organisational events there is a need to investigate and understand the causal mechanisms that underlie the ways in which social structures shape everyday life experiences and the structures of organisations. Core to this belief is that there is a reality, but unlike those from a more positivist positioning, critical realists believe that this *“reality is a potentially infinite totality, of which we know something but not how much”* (Bhaskar, 1998, p.576).

The idea of knowing “something but not [knowing] how much” was central to my research approach. Focusing on both the understanding of the logic that lies behind the causes of precarious work and the consequences (through the lens of the strategies workers used to navigate them) is at the heart of the research, and is the part of reality we know less about. This aligns with the epistemological relativism of critical realism which recognises that knowledge itself is produced historically, is geographically situated and cannot be understood without the social actors involved (Fletcher, 2020). This focus on experience concurs with a qualitative research approach which is characterized by the importance attached to interpretive, naturalistic, and holistic inquiry (Anderson, 2017). Anderson (2017) argues that despite the wide range of approaches to qualitative research.

[Qualitative researchers share an assumption about the existence of multiple realities understood as intangible, contextually located and shaped and maintained or transformed by the experiences and meanings of participants. (Anderson, 2017, p.127)

Where qualitative researchers appear to differ is in the extent to which they consider that there is a reality that exists, independent of these experiences and

meanings. McLachlan and Garcia (2015) argue that on closer examination, the methodologies that PhD students use often fall into the more interpretivist camp, due to the heavy reliance on the social constructionist way of conducting interviews (McLachlan and Garcia, 2015). They argue that many industrial relations and business management students fall into the trap of stating that they are critical realists due to the generality of the perspective, because it takes a middle ground between ontological realism and epistemological relativism. This was something that I was conscious of, but the more I went through my research the more I realised that I was in fact a critical realist – as it became increasingly clear to me that the underlying structures in which workers and organisations were embedded shaped both the dimensions of precarious work and workers’ experiences of them. Therefore, I saw that a reality did exist, but that the ways in which this reality is shaped, together with workers’ experiences of this reality, may differ.

Critical realism is an example of the “*quasi-foundational*” approach identified by Amis and Silk (2008), which is characterised by researchers who interpret a set of events but nevertheless still follow more positivistic principles to show the rigour of their research. Key to this is the need to be internally reflexive, taking account of different perspectives and multiple realities, while still seeking to make a convincing case of what shapes the multiple realities uncovered.

Amis and Silk (2008) are critical of this position, and argue that researchers who are taking sides need to go beyond revealing multiple realities, as rigour should be based on the ways research challenges the status quo:

The emphasis on scientific method with political considerations clearly secondary is at odds with an advocacy position that centralizes and internalizes the moral, ethical, and political value of qualitative scholarship at the outset as the very raison d'être for the research itself. (Amis and Silk, 2008, p.468)

This debate is particularly pertinent for my own research approach. While the fact that my PhD study was co-supervised by Oxfam (a charity that has a clear social agenda to eradicate poverty) shows whose side I am on, my approach was not to identify a clear “side” to be against. Indeed, rather than trying to identify the “baddies”, the research tried to understand the multiple, complex causal mechanisms that underlie the phenomenon under investigation (Reed, 2005). This reflected the foundational approach to knowledge (or an ontological realist position) of critical realism that allows for an exploration of specific contexts and the different ways these can be known by social actors. The narratives and accounts of workers who were working in precarious work and living precarious lives were a lens through which to theorise the consequences of causal mechanisms. Significantly, without social actors’ perspectives, we don’t know how much we don’t know about precarious work and its causes and consequences.

Next, I discuss how I adopted a case-study design based on a grounded theory approach, because it is particularly useful for providing insights on both the causes and consequences of social phenomena.

2.3 Research strategies

2.3.1 *Grounded theory using case-study design*

My choice of case-study design to explore the causes and consequences of precarious work was very much tied to my commitment to taking an inductive approach to data collection and analysis that aligned with grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In Glaser and Strauss's (1967) classic approach to grounded theory, theory is built through constant comparisons, with data collection and analysis happening at the same time. Key to grounded theory is that researchers are less interested in singular subjective experiences, but more in how these can be abstracted to be built into a more coherent statement in which causal relationships can be understood (Suddaby, 2006). Grounded theorists are not interested in testing hypotheses, as their aim is to "*discover theory from data*" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.1).

However, as Suddaby (2006) argues, people often make the mistake of assuming that researchers taking a grounded theory approach need to enter the field ignoring literature and theory. He argues for a middle ground, whereby the researcher is aware of existing literature and theory, but needs to remind themselves that what is observed is a function of what they know and what they hope to see. This more pragmatic approach has been identified as "*retroduction*", a process whereby a combination of induction and deduction is used to understand the causal mechanisms that underlie a phenomena under investigation (Reed, 2005). Oliver (2011) argues that the grounded theory methodology is flexible and can be used whilst adopting a critical realist philosophy. This is contrary to the

perspective of some critical realists who argue that it is inappropriate to use grounded when coming from a critical realist perspective due to its focus on induction, arguing that this makes grounded theory more appropriate to use for those stemming social interactionists perspective. However this is countered by others who argue that grounded theory in fact enables a better understanding of the context that shapes the phenomenon under investigation which is key to the critical realist perspective (Kempster and Parry, 2011).

Case-study methodology has been identified as core to grounded theory methodology as it enables more robust theory building (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). In this sense, there is a strong preoccupation in case-study research design with more positivist ideas of testing and rigour (Yin, 2009). In particular, purposive theoretical sampling is used, where cases are not chosen on the basis of their representativeness but rather on the theoretical insights they bring, to enable the extension of theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989). I followed this case-study tradition using sectoral case studies that could illuminate points of comparisons as the patterns of precarious employment differ sectorally (Cranford et al., 2003; Bernhardt et al., 2013).

A comparative case-study design allowed for comparisons of how workers' experiences, employers' strategies and dimensions of precarious work varied across sectoral and demographic lines, as well as being shaped by regional contexts and household and state dynamics. It enabled the use of a variety of methods, including documentary analysis, participant observation and semi-structured interviews, which allow for the triangulation of data in order to test and develop

theoretical constructs (Jick, 1979). Furthermore, the use of “*theoretically sensitising*” concepts (Charmaz, 1996) at the beginning of the research also recognises that those who seek to generate data in inductive ways are nevertheless embedded in the literature and theory that guide their analysis. By making transparent how a researcher might use these ideas as a sensitising framework for theory (while keeping themselves open to new ways of seeing the data) also aligned with my commitment to both advancing existing theory and new ways of theorising.

Next, I discuss how the choices of hospitality and social-care sectors were theoretically informed, and identify the different points of theoretical interest that the case-study organisations provide, as the entry point into an exploration of the causes and consequences of precarious work.

2.3.2 Sectoral cases: hospitality and social care

A number of factors shaped the choice of sectors on which to base the case study research. The remit of the ESRC Case studentship (to be co-supervised by Oxfam) was to explore precarious work in the specific context of Greater Manchester (GM). Therefore it was important that the choice of sectors was based on their importance to the GM economy as well as the demographic makeup of workers and mix of different types of precarious employment (Bagnasco et al., 2014). Local authority reports and official regional labour market statistics (see GM contextual examples discussed in the literature review) identified sectors in the region where

precarious work was identified. Examples of this included the prosperity review and the local industrial strategies, as well as local authority reports. In addition, some exploratory qualitative data were also accessed to gain a sense of how these statistics were experienced on the ground. A key informant interview was conducted with a case worker from Citizens Advice. This case worker advised workers across the region from different sectors, and we used this to gain an understanding of the issues people sought help with, and whether they differed by sector and by worker demographics. The key informant was chosen because Citizens Advice is the only service from which people from across Manchester can get support for a multitude of issues, including employment. It was felt that he would be able to paint a clearer picture of the different issues workers faced, in particular those experiencing both precarious work and lives, and how the issues may have varied across sectors. The interview revealed a need to take a holistic approach to understanding both precarious work and lives. It also confirmed the importance of understanding the role of benefits and household situations in shaping people's experiences, and in determining when precarious work turns into a precarious life. Pay uncertainty was identified as a key issue, as he highlighted that people's work-related pay was often complex when combined with benefits and care responsibilities. Meanwhile, understanding workers' experiences of precarious work (beyond purely their level of employment) involved comprehending that relationship between the state and their own household determined the level of uncertainty that people experienced.

Two focus groups were conducted with trade union representatives working across different sectors within GM, to build up a picture of how precarious work in the area was shaped. The key issues that trade union representatives had faced in their workplaces and when helping workers in their workplaces were explored. While the key informant from Citizens Advice informed us about the overall life experiences that people faced, the trade unionists were able to paint a more detailed picture of the different work-related issues that people experienced. In particular, the trade unionists highlighted three key issues. One was sickness, which was seen to be a symptom of work intensification but also the clash between workers' (especially women's) care and work responsibilities and their inability to take a break. The second issue, which again was related to care responsibilities, was unequal access to care leave, with lower-paid workers struggling to access time off to look after children. This was often coupled with managers' lack of awareness of workers' needs outside work, and was often associated with sudden shift changes that clashed with caring. Further, the theme of care was not only associated with time but also pay, as workers stated that childcare was too expensive, and wages did not cover childcare costs. In addition to this, the third key issue that emerged related to the complexity of pay, in particular for sectors such as care and hospitality, where it was often unclear how pay had been calculated, alongside perceptions of unfairness and discrepancies between management and workers on lower pay grades.

The focus groups were also an opportunity to trial the Ketso tool, a predeveloped, nonintrusive tool that helps facilitate group discussion (Ivashinenko, 2014). Ketso

uses the analogy of a tree and acts as a visual mind-mapping tool, allowing participants to place issues in a hierarchy that demonstrates how they are related to each other (Ivashinenko, 2014). It was a tool I was interested in using with employee groups that had traditionally lacked workplace voice mechanisms; however, my plans to base project reflections on Ketso were not able to happen because access to groups of participants was hard to organise, due to the workers' lack of time and control over their work shifts. The process of using the tool did nevertheless help me to realise that I needed to investigate how to measure and understand the uncertainty experienced by workers beyond just the workplace, in relation to their everyday life experiences.

In addition, I worked on a weekly basis in Oxfam's Manchester office on the Oxfam Future Skills project, supporting disadvantaged women from across GM with employment skills and knowledge of areas such as benefits. This helped me to gain a more in-depth understanding of what disadvantaged groups experienced, in relation to the complexity that existed between benefits and work. Many of those who were part of the project were migrants and asylum seekers. This gave some very interesting insights, especially as asylum seekers were not allowed to work until they had been given the right to remain. Those who were migrant workers or from the local UK labour market discussed difficulties accessing work and balancing it with other responsibilities such as caring for children and cost of transportation. One noted that although childcare vouchers were good in principle, they did not enable her to access work, as the nursery expected her to pay the money upfront which would be reimbursed at a later date. This further demonstrates the

importance of understanding precarious lives as shaped not just by the job but the interaction of the different domains, including the state and household.

The findings of this preliminary exploratory data collection validated my assumption of the importance of employment researchers studying precarious work in ways that allow for an exploration of the interconnections between the state, employer and households in the shaping of precarious work and workers' experiences of it. While the findings at this initial stage of research were not used in the final journal-format papers, they were key to gaining an insight into the most important issues faced by workers across GM, and in particular how these differed by sector and the extent to which jobs were experienced as precarious depending on buffers or compounding factors.

Once these findings were triangulated with local authority reports and official labour market statistics, I chose to concentrate on transportation, care (elder and early years), and hospitality. The diversity of experiences in both hospitality and social care (elder), as well as the increased importance given to these sectors by the GM Combined Authority (GMCA), would enable an exploration of how different types of precarious work were shaped within the context of GM and at the sectoral level. In addition, we conducted a set of key informant interviews in the different sectors, to identify sectoral dynamics in GM. The original research design also included the addition of transportation to ensure that sectoral cases were included that could be contrasted in terms of being a female-dominated sector (care), a mixed-occupationally segregated sector (hospitality) and a male-dominated sector (transportation). However, early in the process it became apparent that due to the

complex nature of precarious work and workers' experiences of it, this number of sectors was too ambitious, and transportation and early-years care should instead be the focus of a comparative project at a later stage. Due to time constraints related to this project, and because it was felt that we had enough data to start understanding how precarious work was shaped in highly segmented ways, I was not able to return to these two cases during the PhD. However, these two sectors are now a key part of a project that I have started working on, and my aim is to draw a comparison later between these findings.

The next section discusses the hospitality and care sectors in GM, and identifies the reasons why the selection of case study organisations and sectors was based on their "theoretical relevance" to the emerging understanding of the dimensions of precarious work that exists within GM (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

2.3.3 Hospitality sector in Greater Manchester

Table 1 below shows a breakdown of the theoretical sampling that led to me to choose the sectors to be used for case studies. As can be seen, these sectors both had dimensions of precarious work and were key areas targeted by the GMCA to improve conditions of work. The demographic breakdown of workers differed substantially, with social care relying on a predominantly British, white, female and middle-aged workforce. While hospitality had a similar percentage of men and women working within the sector, the occupations remained highly segmented, with occupations such as chefs being predominantly occupied by men, while

waiting and housekeeping roles were mainly held by women. Further, the hospitality workforce demographic was also predominantly younger than that of the care sector, and workers were also more likely to be migrants. Reports have shown that while both sectors experience high staff turnover and shortages, for social care the issues were apparent long before Brexit and COVID-19 (Skills for Care, 2021). In contrast, for the hospitality sector, due to the high reliance on a migrant workforce, both Brexit and COVID-19 were seen to have a direct effect on vacancy rates, which grew by 75% to reach a 35% vacancy rate (ONS, 2022). Both sectors were also chosen due to their importance to the GM economy, and because they were key targets for the Northern Powerhouse project (HM Government, 2019). Their significance to GM became increasingly obvious as both sectors were targeted to improve conditions of employment, as priority areas within the Greater Manchester Employment Charter and the Real Living Wage City Region campaign.

Table 1: Sectoral theoretical sampling table

Determinant	Hospitality	Social care	Key comparisons/contrasts to develop theory
Worker demographics			
Average age of workforce	Young workers aged 25–34 (28%) or 16–24 (25%) ⁴	Average age 44 ⁵	Social characteristics as shape of precarious work
Gender breakdown	Sector whole	42% male 58% female ⁶	82% female ⁷ Gender segmentation of precarious work
	Occupation	Chefs 79% male Waiting staff 73% female Housekeeping 95% Female	
Ethnicity	88% white (UK)	79% white	Racial segmentation Intersectional sensitivity
	91% white (Northwest) ⁸		

⁴ ONS, 2020.

⁵ Skills for Care, 2021.

⁶ ONS, 2020.

⁷ Skills for Care, 2021.

⁸ Nomis data annual population survey, 2018–2021.

Nationality	28% foreign born ⁹	84% British citizens ¹⁰	Migration as a dimension of employment segmentation Intersectional sensitivity
Household-level determinants			
<i>Poverty rate</i> ¹¹ 7	15.6%	14%	Intersection between precarious work and lives
Employment-level determinants			
<i>Sectoral turnover rates</i>	30% (2019) ¹²	34% (pre-COVID)	Turnover rates and impacts on job queues
<i>Zero-hour contracts</i> ¹³	21% (Oct–Dec 2017)	23% (Oct–Dec 2017)	Implications for dimensions of precarious work, variable hours and pay

⁹ 2020 statistics (Fernández-Reino and Rienzo, 2021).

¹⁰ (Skills for Care, 2021)

¹¹ See (Sissons et al., 2017)

¹² Retaining staff posted by Heidi Birkin, Head of Marketing at Deputy EMEA (Birkin, 2019).

¹³ See ONS, 2022:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/datasets/emp17peopleinemploymentonzerohourscontracts>.

(Accessed: 29 November 2022).

<i>Hourly paid workers earning below Living Wage of £8.70¹⁴</i>	73% BAME employees paid below Real Living Wage (RLW) in GM 65% white employees Paid below RLW in GM	33% BAME employees paid below RLW in GM 31% white employees paid below RLW in GM	Low rate of pay, dimensions of precarious work
<i>Percentage of low earners in GM per sector¹⁵</i>	21%	15%	State and local contextual impact on the shaping of precarious work
<i>Employment percentage of GM¹⁶</i>	8%	13%	State and local contextual impact on the shaping of precarious work
<i>Political intervention in sector</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GM industrial strategy sees sector as a target sector to increase productivity¹⁷ • Key target for the Good Employment Charter and Living Wage City Campaign. Hospitality working group set up¹⁸ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devolution of social care increased local control over £6bn¹⁹ • GM industrial strategy sees sector as a target sector to increase productivity²⁰ 	State and local contextual impact on the shaping of precarious work

¹⁴ Arcy et al., 2019.

¹⁵ See GMCA (2019); Greater Manchester Independent Prosperity Review: reviewers' report https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/1826/gmis_reviewersreport_final_digital.pdf. (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

¹⁶ See GMCA (2019); Greater Manchester Independent Prosperity Review: reviewers' report https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/1826/gmis_reviewersreport_final_digital.pdf. (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

¹⁷ See GM Local Industrial Strategy, 2019: <https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/2132/gm-local-industrial-strategy-web.pdf>. (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

¹⁸ See GM Good Employment Charter Blog, "Hospitality employers are invited to join the Good Employment Charter movement" <https://www.gmgoodemploymentcharter.co.uk/news-blogs/posts/2021/august/hospitality-employers-are-invited-to-join-the-good-employment-charter-movement/>. (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

¹⁹ See GM Local Industrial Strategy, 2019: <https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/2132/gm-local-industrial-strategy-web.pdf>. (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

²⁰ See GM Local Industrial Strategy, 2019: <https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/2132/gm-local-industrial-strategy-web.pdf>. (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

2.4 Case studies

2.4.1 Accessing the social care case

Within social care, we focused on one large voluntary-sector organisation. This organisation was selected through purposive theoretical sampling as a critical case, due to its strategic importance within the GM care sector. Its importance within GM was demonstrated by its age, its role as a teaching care home, its embeddedness in the local community and its reputation as a good employer. The later enabled it to act as a critical case, because patterns of precarious work that did appear in this organisation would be amplified in other organisations in which good employment was not prioritised. This approach allowed for theory building, and generalisation of the findings to social care in GM in general.

At the time of the fieldwork, the organisation employed close to 400 members of staff in a large variety of roles, all of which had different terms and conditions associated with them. The organisation primarily provided residential care for the elderly, as well as nursing care for those who had been discharged from hospital. However, it was also deeply embedded within its community, providing respite care to parents with disabled children – although it had recently lost the domiciliary care contract due to austerity cuts and a decision that they no longer could afford to run the service. Access to the organisation had been secured via a contact on the board of the charity. As has been found by other researchers, having a good relationship with a gatekeeper facilitated my access to this organisation and helped to legitimise my presence there as a researcher.

Fieldwork within the care facility took place over four stages. The first stage consisted of document analysis of the organisation: this meant reading through all the publicly available documents on the organisation, including Companies House accounts, job adverts, website and social media platforms. These were used to shape the interview guides for my first phase of interviews, which were with all four members of the senior management team and the two members from Human Resources (HR). Each interviewee was asked about their own work-life histories so that I was able to situate their answers within the context in which they were embedded. They were then asked about the organisation's employment and running practices based on their area of management and life histories, alongside any documents that they felt that I would find useful. Thus, I was given access to their accounts, HR strategy documents, staffing costs and wage breakdowns.

The second phase consisted of coming into the care home and interviewing fifteen workers over three days. Workers had been given a flyer with information on my project and had been asked to sign up if they wanted to participate. While this practice initially made me feel very uncomfortable, as I did not want people to feel pressured into coming to speak to me, I quickly came to understand that the workers were very open and happy to speak about their experiences. Because of my position as a student, I appeared to be an outsider and someone unconnected to HR or management, which I was not expecting. On the contrary, the workers were open and happy to discuss sensitive topics. During this interview phase I also sat in at the monthly staff forum where representatives from each area came to speak about the key issues they faced. This forum not only helped with recruitment

for the interviews, but also helped me further shape the questions I asked workers, who were asked to provide me with their work-life histories as well as their current employment and household situations. During the analysis of both the employer and worker interviews, it became increasingly apparent that volunteers played important roles in the running of the organisation. While this is something I did not end up reflecting on in my thesis findings (as it still needs further exploration), I went back to interview the volunteer coordinators and one volunteer to understand the issues they experienced and what their roles entailed.

After the onset of COVID-19, in keeping with the grounded approach I was taking, I went back to the organisation to conduct a final set of follow-up interviews with two of the management staff, the trade union representative and three of the workers I had previously been in contact with. The workers had been chosen based on their personal life histories and the way in which I believed COVID-19 might have affected them. This longitudinal method enabled me to build and maintain a relationship with the organisation and the workers. It also facilitated me to understand changes and historical context to better enable theorisation, as it clearly showed (as outlined in JA2) the limitations of relying on employer-led good employment strategies and revealed the process by which conditions of employment are degraded through employer's strategies. JA2 builds on this longitudinal methodology to reflect on organisational change and how that is shaped. Significantly, my approach reveals the problems of what Anderson terms a cross-sectional "*one moment in time*" approach to qualitative research that seeks to answer questions about why and how phenomena occur (Anderson, 2017). It

was through revisiting the cases and people, outside the workplace as well as within, that the type of engagement needed to answer my research questions was developed, leading to my analysis in JA2.

2.4.2 Hospitality case: organisational cases

The hospitality-sector study was less straightforward to put together than the care-sector case. This was partly due to the breadth of organisations and job types that the sector covers, but also due to issues of access. Originally I had wanted to do small case studies of the different organisational types that existed, including pubs/bars, restaurants, cafés, hotels, art centres and stadiums, to capture some of the contrasts identified in Table 1. Issues related to access meant that three organisational case studies were the main focus of data collection: a hotel, an art centre and a stadium. These captured the variety in the sector including different competitive strategies, varying relationships with the state, different demographic makeups and different types of workers. While interviews were conducted with two head chefs from different restaurants, a kiosk supervisor (in another stadium) and a food and beverage assistant (in another hotel), these were excluded as they did not form full cases, and it was felt they would not be useful for the extension of theory building.

Access was gained mainly through emails or phone calls to the organisations to ask if I could speak to the HR manager. The organisations were selected based on their prominence within GM, as well as their organisational makeup. As with the care

organisation, in-depth analysis was conducted using the publicly available documents for each of these organisations, prior to the interview stage. Interview guides were shaped based on this analysis, and key informants were used to help with the selection process for each sector case, thus providing historical and contextual background. Although the key informant interviews are not reported in any of the three journal articles presented, these interviews were vital for the contextualising and understanding of these sectors.

2.4.2.1 Accessing the stadium

The stadium was chosen as a case due to its prominence in GM, especially in relation to the key role it was seen to play in the GM strategy in terms of regeneration and its promise of “*prosperity for all*”.²¹ The stadium was built with the “*community in mind*”, and was owned jointly by a local property company and the local council. As well as sports matches attended by thousands of spectators, the stadium also hosted non-sporting events, ranging from meetings and conferences to weddings, dinners and exhibitions: events that could cater to anything from one customer to full capacity. The stadium had outsourced catering and security to two different companies, and the sports teams themselves had a say on how work was conducted. Despite this, when the stadium had been built, it was thought that it would benefit the local community through economic growth

²¹ Citation removed to ensure that confidentiality was maintained.

and employment. I was interested in this case as an example of extreme fluctuation in demand, and also to understand the effect upon employment in the local area.

The stadium was the hardest case in which to conduct research, due to access and changes to access that occurred during the fieldwork. The fieldwork became possible through a well-known and respected colleague in the field of sports hospitality, who I had worked with in a stadium in London. He acted as a significant, trusted gatekeeper in that he both trusted me and held the trust of those in the organisation, which was key (Burkett and Morris, 2015). Other studies have found that the use of personal contacts to access a site makes permissions easier to negotiate (Reeves, 2010). However, while this was the case with the stadium initially, this promised access was not maintained throughout.

Initially I received an email from my gatekeeper's equivalent in a stadium in GM, and she was very enthusiastic, saying I could speak to anyone I liked. However, on the day before my interview, she told me I could only speak to workers for ten minutes at a time and that I would have thirty minutes to speak to her and the head of catering. This meant I made small, structured interview questionnaires asking about work-life histories, conditions of employment and the benefits workers had access to. While this was frustrating, the short interview guides I created were used later as questionnaires for participant selection.

When I arrived at the stadium, I did a thirty-minute interview with both managers, who were very open about their use of “Dolly girls”²² and the types of segmentation that existed within the stadium. I then did eight ten-minute interviews with workers, of which two told me to contact them for a follow-up. Following this, the catering manager showed me around while she spoke loudly about the different characteristics of the workers and why they were placed in particular roles. I left the stadium before the game even started, as the whole situation made me feel uncomfortable – it was clear that I was not wanted by management. I do not know whether this was because the manager got a sense of “whose side I was on”, or whether I was simply a nuisance taking up too much time. Access had to be gained ethically by being honest about the group of workers I was focusing on, and I could not pretend I was unsympathetic. However, I also tried to show that the research was not aiming to put blame on employers or organisations, and that the particular organisation was being used as a case to reflect the wider sectoral and regional employment landscape. It became apparent that I had not achieved this balance, and although it was obvious that they did not want me there, I was told to return for the next game if I wished.

When I returned on the next match day to do another set of interviews, I was told I was not allowed to come in but could be outside and act as a volunteer. While this was frustrating, it was a good opportunity to observe the structures and hierarchies of employment that had been put in place. It also allowed me to access other types

²² This term was used to both refer to the name of an agency that provided hostesses to the stadium, but also the type of women that they wanted work serving drinks in the VIP areas, these were seen to be pretty, and well dressed or ‘presentable for the clients’.

of workers such as security guards and volunteer ushers. The ten-minute interview guides I had created as a last-minute strategy became very useful, as I turned them into a pre-interview questionnaire designed to select participants and their interviews through the rest of the research.

The follow-up interview with the stadium worker outside of the workplace was a critical point for me in understanding the intersection between precarious work and lives. This experience enabled reflection on the power imbalance that existed when gaining access: my access was only enabled because of the power imbalance that existed between my contact and the person in the stadium. The power imbalance between me and the manager in the stadium and my reliance on the manager as a gatekeeper to accessing workers meant that I only accessed a partial picture of how this type of work was experienced, while in-depth interviews were not possible. However, by being in the workplace, volunteering alongside workers and doing follow-up interviews outside of the workplace, the high levels of precarity and workplace discrimination became clear – and I would not have grasped the extent of this without being in the context of the stadium.

2.4.2.2 Accessing the art centre

The art centre was chosen due to its strategic importance to GM, and also to offer a direct comparison with the care-sector case (to be discussed) because of its Good Employer status. As with the stadium, the art centre had a complex but embedded relationship with the local state, i.e., the local authority owned the purpose-built

building in which the organisation operated free. As with the stadium and the care facility, the local community was seen to be central to their activities, with the organisation providing voluntary placements for those who were unemployed as well as access activities for those wanting to work in the arts. Employing just over 100 staff, the art centre had recognition agreements with two unions (BECTU and Equity), but none of the workers studied was a member or felt they had union representation in their roles. As with the stadium, the catering function of the organisation was run by an outsourced company, while the functions of ushering, box-office and gallery facilitation were run by the art centre organisation itself. Further, the organisation had a reputation of being a good employer, with, for example, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) doing talks about the state of precarity in the sector – which, in fact, was how I gained access, following a talk at the university about the organisation’s aim to be a good employer in GM. This case served multiple purposes: it was claiming to be a good employer; was heavily reliant on state funding; and consisted of two distinct employment organisations, the art centre and the provider of catering. I contacted the CEO via email following the university talk and he introduced me to the head of finance, who was eager to help. The experience could not have been more different to that at the stadium. I conducted a two-hour interview, after which he gave me documents of potential interest, put me into contact with the head of the outsourced catering company and distributed my flier to all workers via social media, asking them to contact me if they were interested in being involved in my research.

The interview with the head of catering from the outsourced catering company was much more closed and hesitant; prior to the interview he placed parameters around what I was allowed to ask. I was scared that I would end up in the same situation as in the stadium and lose access. However, once I started to build a rapport with him, he was much more open, allowing me to ask questions on staffing strategy that he had previously said were off-limits. As with the head of finance, the head of catering also sent my flyer around staff on social media platforms. Following that, six workers contacted me: three working as ushers for the art centre and three working for the catering company. Before agreeing to an interview, the workers were given a short questionnaire based on the short ten-minute interview guide that had been developed for the stadium. Two interviewees opted to complete the interview at work, whilst the others asked to be interviewed either at the university or in a café. The answers given on their questionnaires were used together with the analysis of the employer's interviews to shape the interview guide used for the worker interviews.

I returned to this organisation, as I did with the care home, following COVID-19 to gain an understanding of changing employment practices in the context of the pandemic. I interviewed the new head of finance and chose four of the workers from the original sample based on the content of their previous interviews. Due to the longitudinal nature of this case study, a comparison between previous practices and the care organisation was enabled and, as with the care organisation, the weaknesses of "Good Employment" practices were revealed.

2.4.2.3 Accessing the hotel

In the final case, that of the hotel, this organisation was chosen based on its status as a luxury hotel. Unlike the other cases, the local authority had no involvement in the ownership or everyday running of the hotel's service. However, its status as a luxury brand which promoted staff benefits and training pathways made it an important case to investigate as a comparator with the care case. As with the other organisations, it consisted of a complex management structure whereby the building was owned by a family, management was done by a prominent Northern management company, and benefits stemmed from the franchise organisation. This organisation was of particular interest as it employed workers in a large variety of roles across the organisation, with very different conditions of employment associated with them. I gained access to the hotel by phoning them up and asking to speak to their HR manager. I was given the HR manager's email, and when I explained my PhD focus on precarious work, she was eager to participate and shine a light on recent changes to their employment strategies as they tried to mitigate staffing shortages post-Brexit vote. This was essentially not skill but luck, as my research interests coincided with her own interest in staff shortages.

During my interview, I built a rapport with her, dressing up for the occasion and ensuring that I was seen to be sympathetic to what she was telling me. Impression management between researchers and gatekeepers is an important part of the access process, and it became clear that we were both interested in the same issues for very different reasons. Following an interview with her, she acted as a gatekeeper, providing my flyers to different members of staff and management

who then contacted me to participate in a venue of their choosing. Only one worker asked to participate outside of the workplace, while all other interviewees opted to take part during their shift at work. As was the case with the care home, I was surprised to find how open workers were when discussing their issues and lives with me. I did the interviews in two stages: on the first day, I conducted four interviews with management and then four interviews with day-shift workers. These workers had a connection with the HR manager and due to this were happy to speak to me, particularly as I was an outsider and I could assure them that what they divulged would remain between the two of us. Trust was built, with the workers divulging information that they asked to “*keep off the record*” or needed “*to get off their chest*”. I wanted to be able to observe the shift change and interview workers on the night shift, so I returned for a second set of interviews with four workers, all of whom worked on reception – two worked on the day shift and two on the night shift. This stage highlighted both the advantages and disadvantages of using managers as gatekeepers. In particular, it showed that the relationship between the gatekeeper and the participants has a direct impact on access but also on the relationships the researcher is able to build.

The direct-line managers of the workers acted as the gatekeepers to the second set of workers. While for those working on reception this was satisfactory, in the food and beverage department this did not work at all. For the reception staff, because I was introduced by the manager as a student, they were all eager to speak to me. This was because there was a high level of trust between these workers and their line manager, with workers often citing the importance of being part of her team.

Hence, as with the first set of interviews, workers were very open to me about both their experiences of work but also what was happening in their lives. The introduction by the line manager, followed by reassurances given by workers to their colleagues, meant that I interviewed all the workers on both the day and night shifts, which was many more than I had originally anticipated. Within the food and beverage department, the polar opposite happened, with the worker who had agreed to be interviewed in this wave dropping out on the day. This was due to the relationship of the line manager both with the staff and towards me. The interview with the manager of the food and beverage department made me feel uncomfortable, as he was often critical and disrespectful of his workers and discussed openly the different methods of control he used. It quickly became clear that this was a similar feeling to that had by those working for him. When he was nearby, workers were very passive and quiet. The person who I had spoken to in this department in phase one had been accessed via the HR manager and had requested to be interviewed outside of the workplace. While she was happy to speak, it took longer for her to feel comfortable and to trust that I would not divulge her story to others. Following COVID-19, I requested to conduct follow-up interviews in the organisation. However, I was informed that they were in a state of flux at the time and to wait until a later date to get back to them. After repeated attempts to follow up, I concluded that follow-up access was unlikely, but at the point of writing I still hope to revisit this case, to see the impact of COVID in this precarious part of the hospitality sector and to review the types of employer strategies that are being used as the hotel returns to “normal”.

2.5 Data collection

2.5.1 Participant selection

We chose to select our participants through the site of their employment. While some of the groups may be classified as hard-to-reach workers that are often not found in traditional sites of employment (Smith and McBride, 2019), we used the employing organisation as the entry point for investigation to explore the role of employer strategies and the rationales presented for them. This allowed some baseline comparisons across the cases, of the different dimensions of precarious work and the employer contexts in which they were created.

We aimed to conduct interviews with as many members of management as possible, working across different areas of the organisation, to gain more understanding of the history, company policies and strategies deployed by the organisations. These participants were selected based on purposive sampling, and the interviews were structured around their expertise and knowledge of the management issues relating to precarious workers within specific organisational and labour market contexts and conditions. Employer strategies were explored, together with how some of the key forms of segmentation in patterns of precarious work mapped onto particular social characteristics, ensuring that a sensitivity to intersectional inequalities was adopted (McBride et al., 2015) when understanding the causal mechanisms underpinning patterns and experiences of this work.

On the basis of this contextual background, a short questionnaire with nineteen questions (see Appendix A) was developed, based on the quick interviews given at the stadium. This was given to workers on the same document as a flyer used for participant recruitment, and covered demographic data such as age and gender, employment (wages, regularity of shift patterns and whether they had multiple jobs), household (care responsibilities), and state-related questions such as whether they were on benefits. The aim of this questionnaire was to aid with purposive theoretical sampling. While ultimately this was not required as a selection tool, it was useful to help us design interview questions and analysis, and to see who potentially experienced precarious work and lives.

In all the case-study organisations (except the art centre), workers were selected predominantly through convenience sampling (Valerio et al., 2016), because of the reliance on employers to pass on information about the interview – therefore it depended on who was available. I attempted to use purposive sampling where possible, by specifying the type of workers I wanted to speak to, to ensure that participants were selected from across the different organisations, in different roles, with different contractual arrangements and demographics. This attempted to build in intersectional demographics, allowing sensitivity to this in the analysis. Following each set of interviews, the demographics of the workers and interviews were analysed, and we returned to organisations where we felt more interviews needed to be conducted because of a lack of representation of certain groups, or of types of work with specific forms or dimensions of precarious work. For example, we returned to the care home twice to interview workers on zero-hour contracts

and those working as volunteers or with volunteers, and a second time to conduct follow-ups during COVID-19.

Within the art centre, the employer played a less direct gatekeeping role, as snowball sampling was used to access the majority of the participants. This was particularly the case for those working in the catering part of the organisation, who passed on the information about my research to their friends to ask them to participate (Valerio et al., 2016). Within the art centre, the latter was beneficial as it made the workers more open to me, since their colleagues could verify that I was trustworthy. This was particularly important following a recent dismissal which had occurred after a disagreement between management and some key members of staff.

Table 2 below shows the breakdown of the sample of those interviewed, providing information on their demographic background, employment arrangements, and the case-study organisations that they worked for which were used for this thesis. We interviewed a total of twenty-four participants for the care case, and forty-one from the hospitality case studies. The aim was to access interviews with both men and women, to get a true picture of different gendered experiences of both precarious work and precarious lives.

Some interviews were not analysed as part of the final sample. For example, we removed all interviews from our final analysis where only one person was interviewed from an organisation, as it was felt that this would not enable us to get a full picture of the nuances of the case. At the start of the PhD process, I had wanted to interview the household members of workers, but due to time

constraints and the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, this was only possible in one case. Therefore, while the information that the household members provided gave a better understanding of how the worker was able to manage both multiple jobs and their precarious life, this was also removed from the final sample because it could not be used as a point of comparison with other households. This left us with a total of fifty-nine participants whose interviews were used for the final analysis and three journal articles.

Table 2: Breakdown of Research Participant

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Job type	Contract type	Employer	Sector
Darren	36–40	Male	British	Director	Salary	Art centre	Hospitality
Carlos	41–45	Male	Spanish	Usher	Regular-hour contract	Art centre	Hospitality
Simon	36–40	Male	British	Usher	Zero hours	Art centre	Hospitality
Rishi	20–25	Male	British/South Asian	Box office	Minimum-hour contract	Art centre	Hospitality
Janelle	n/a	Female	British	Volunteer coordinator	Salary	Art centre	Hospitality
Margaret	65+	Female	British	Volunteer	Volunteer	Art centre	Hospitality
Carol	41–45	Female	British	Volunteer	Volunteer	Art centre	Hospitality
Janet	n/a	Female	British	Director		Art centre	Hospitality
Jessica	31–35	Female	British	Hr manager	Salary	Big hotel	Hospitality
Agnese	26–30	Female	Latvian	Front of house catering	Zero hours	Big hotel	Hospitality
Lucia	20–25	Female	Spanish	Sales coordinator	Salary	Big hotel	Hospitality
Dawn	51–55	Female	British	Front office manager	Salary	Big hotel	Hospitality
Darius	31–35	Male	Egyptian	Revenue manager	Salary	Big hotel	Hospitality
Jack	26–30	Male	British	Catering manager	Salary	Big hotel	Hospitality
Jason	31–35	Male	British	Concierge	Zero hours	Big hotel	Hospitality
Jean	26–30	Male	Belgium	Front office	Salary	Big hotel	Hospitality
Elizabeth	46–50	Female	British	Front office	Salary	Big hotel	Hospitality
Sajan	26–30	Male	Indian	Front office	Zero hours	Big hotel	Hospitality
Abid	31–35	Male	Pakistani	Front office	Zero hours	Big hotel	Hospitality
Alexandra	20–25	Female	British	Front of house catering	Zero hours	Other hotel	Hospitality
Nathan	n/a	Male	British	Chair	Salary	Employers' association	Hospitality
Ron	n/a	Male	British	CEO	Salary	Employers' association	Hospitality
Andrew	36–40	Male	British	Head of School	Salary	College	Hospitality

Sally	n/a	Female	British	Director	Salary	Stadium catering company	Hospitality
Daisy	<21	Female	British	Front-of-house catering	Zero hours	Stadium catering company	Hospitality
James	56–60	Male	British	Cleaner	Zero hours	Stadium catering company	Hospitality
Sandra	51–55	Female	British	Porter	Zero hours	Stadium catering company	Hospitality
Imran	51–55	Male	South Asian	Front-of-house catering	Zero hours	Stadium catering company	Hospitality
Fernanda	26–30	Female	White (Brazilian)	Front-of-house catering	Salary	Stadium catering company	Hospitality
Jane	n/a	Female	British	Events manager	Salary	Rugby team	Hospitality
Rose	41–45	Male	British	Hostess	Zero hours	Rugby team	Hospitality
Lisa	46–50	Female	British	Security	Zero hours	Security company	Hospitality
Clive	65+	Male	British	Volunteer	Volunteer	Rugby team	Hospitality
Aesha	20–25	Female	British/South Asian	Kiosk team leader	Zero hours	Other stadium catering	Hospitality
Steven	46–50	Male	British	Catering manager	Salary	Catering art centre	Hospitality
David	41–45	Male	British	Economic growth manager	Salary	Local authority	Hospitality
Stephanie	31–35	Female	British Multiple	Front-of-house catering	Minimum-hour contract	Catering art centre	Hospitality
Sarah	20–25	Female	British	Front-of-house catering	Minimum-hour contract	Catering art centre	Hospitality
Amanda	31–35	Female	British	Front-of-house catering	Minimum-hour contract	Catering art centre	Hospitality
Nicole	36–40	Female	British	Administrative assistant	Salary	University	Hospitality
Gordon	36–40	Male	British	Head chef	Salary	Restaurant A	Hospitality
Tom	20–25	Male	British	Chef	Zero hours	Restaurant B	Hospitality
Mary	31–35	Female	British	HR manager	Salary	Care home	Care
Connor	51–55	Male	British	CEO	Salary	Care home	Care
Michelle	41–45	Female	British	Training manager	Salary	Care home	Care

Barbara	51–55	Female	British	Director	Salary	Care home	Care
Linda	56–60	Female	British	Director	Salary	Care home	Care
Michal	46–50	Male	British	Director	Salary	Care home	Care
Donna	51–55	Female	Jamaican	Social care worker	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Patricia	56–60	Female	British	Customer services	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Daniel	36–40	Male	British	Social care worker	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Kasia	36–40	Female	Polish	Social care worker	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Emily	20–25	Female	British	Social care worker	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Susan	51–55	Female	British	Activities coordinator	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Marysia	31–35	Female	Polish	Social care worker	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Jacob	26–30	Male	British	Social care worker	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Angela	46–50	Female	British	Social care worker	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Hannah	<21	Female	British	Apprentice carer	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Anne	56–60	Female	British	Front-of-house catering	Regular-hour contract	Care home	Care
Doris	n/a	Female	British	Volunteer	Volunteer	Care home	Care
Heather	51–55	Female	British	Volunteer coordinator	Salary	Care home	Care
Christine	61–65	Female	British	Volunteer coordinator	Salary	Care home	Care
Chantelle	20–25	Female	British	Bank social care	Zero hours	Care home	Care
Deepa	56–60	Female	Indian	Bank social care	Zero hours	Care home	Care
Claud	n/a	Male	British	Director	Salary	Health and social care partnership	Care
Silvia	n/a	Female	British	Project manager	Salary	Health and social care partnership	Care

2.5.2 Interview process

Semi-structured interviews were conducted within all the case study organisations. At the outset of the project I developed a careful semi-structured interview schedule, which was redrafted regularly to keep in mind the key concerns of the workers and dynamics of the employers (Smith and McBride, 2019). The employer interview schedule was organised around six thematic areas (an example of the employer interview schedule can be found in Appendix B):

- 1) about the participant,
- 2) characteristics and business strategy of the organisation,
- 3) workforce characteristics and management,
- 4) recruitment/retention and HR,
- 5) the Standard Employment Relationship (SER), and
- 6) key challenges faced.

Each of these themes would then have prompts and sub-questions that would be based both on the position of the manager within the case-study organisation, and prior documentary analysis and gathered contextual data. The aim of these interviews was to gain an understanding of employers' narratives in relation to the decisions that shaped the different work conditions, and the types of reasoning used to explain different types of precarious work and the use of different workers to perform it.

The worker interviews were also semi-structured, and organised around six thematic areas (see an example of a full worker interview schedule in Appendix C):

- 1) Work-life history,

- 2) Current job characteristics,
- 3) In-work entitlements,
- 4) Family and the household,
- 5) Benefits
- 6) Future

As with the employer interviews, some of the sub-questions and prompts changed in line with both previous interviews and the information that workers were given when they agreed to participate in the study.

My technique to interviewing spanned several different approaches and did not neatly fit into one. In line with my epistemological position, the interviews were qualitative in nature, with the aim of generating interviewee perspectives, understandings and experiences of jobs and how these were shaped by other dynamics (such as the state and the household). Work-life histories were used the outset of all interviews (worker and employer), as they enabled me to contextualise participants' narratives and gain an understanding of how their lives and employment situations were shaped by the histories and institutions in which they were embedded. I used a responsive interview style, which enabled me to focus in depth on what participants were saying and also let them prioritise what was important to them, even within a semi-structured format (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). This style enabled me to concentrate on the narratives that participants used, and let them shape the flow of the interview. The interview guide acted as a prompt and reminder to ensure that particular aspects were covered, but the narratives provided by participants helped steer the conversation.

I am aware of the methodological debates relating to interview data and the criticisms that they are riddled with: as Douglas famously stated, “*misinformation, evasion, lies and fronts*” (Douglas, 1976). Roulston (2010) quotes Walford’s (2007) critique, which is difficult to deny:

[A]t best interviewees will only give what they are prepared to reveal about their subjective perceptions of events and opinions. These perceptions and opinions will change over time, and according to circumstance. They might be some considerable distance from the “reality” as others see it. (Walford, 2007, p.147, cited in Roulston, 2010).

My own approach was commensurate with my epistemological relativism and ontological realism, and to explore it I situated it in the context of Roulston’s typology of different approaches to judging quality in interviews. Roulston (2010) identifies a neopositivist view of the interview, where the interviewee’s talk is assumed to be a reflection of the authentic self that the interviewer can access with good interviewing. I did not conform to this approach, as I recognised that the interview data I generated were the result of the co-construction of talk between myself and the interviewee at a particular moment in time. My approach was more aligned with Roulston’s “romantic” conception of the interview, where the interviewer develops detailed understandings of their interviewees’ perspectives on the research topic, and uses good questioning and rapport to generate self-disclosure (Roulston, 2010). This was reflected in my focus on building rapport to tap into realities. However, my approach also aligns with Roulston’s more “constructionist” account of the interview, where I was embroiled in what they told me because of the interactions we were having. To build a rapport with those I was interviewing, it was important to be emotionally sensitive to what they were saying. While it is argued by some that researchers’ emotions have no place in research as it is seen to be unprofessional (Smith and McBride, 2019), this was not the case for me. It was important for me to be responsive to what people were feeling, not only to maintain a relationship but also to attempt to understand the realities they were making

sense of, and to ensure that people had the freedom to tell their stories in the ways they wanted.

Feminist scholars argue that there is a need to recognise the power relations that exist within the generation of data through “close personal methods” such as interviewing (Holland, 2007). Core to this is the argument that, in order to help people open up and for interviewees to talk freely, interviewers “*needed to consciously exercise their interviewing skills in doing rapport with, or rather to these women*” (Holland, 2007, p.202). Throughout the interviews, my whole approach was to ensure workers knew I was “taking sides” just by listening and being interested in what they had to say. Participants were encouraged to tell me about their full experiences of work – what they felt was good as well as what they felt was less good or precarious. I also made sure I shared my own experiences with participants (where appropriate), to help build trust but also ensure that I was able to empathise with them. I shared my experiences of working both in hospitality and care, remaining open to other views and experiences too. It was also important for me not to be seen to be only extracting information from them, but to be able to give back where possible. All workers were given £15 vouchers, and I raised money for the care home by doing my first half-marathon, as my connection to the case meant that I felt increasingly aware of the difficulties both employers and employees were facing. There was no pretence of “objectivity”.

While some argue that there are ethical concerns with making people open up about things they may not have done so about otherwise, it is important to be reflexive the emotions that are felt as, in fact, the emotions of both the researcher and the participant are key to the way in which knowledge is produced and understood (Holland, 2007). There is also a

type of “transformative” event where such interviews become “therapeutic” (Roulston, 2010). While I cannot claim this to be the case, interviewees expressed the view that they felt able to discuss sensitive topics with me, and often thanked me for giving them the opportunity to tell their story. For example, James was thankful after a two-hour interview where he talked in depth about the difficulties of juggling precarious work and benefits. When I asked if there was anything else he would like to add, he said, “*Thank you very much for giving me the chance to explain myself.*” This was particularly important when talking to workers, especially when we covered very sensitive topics associated with precarious lives such as loss of income, benefits, abuse and the everyday struggles of juggling work and life. It was precisely this responsive interviewing and emotional sensitivity that enabled me to gain an understanding of the way in which workers defined and experienced uncertainty, and the rationales that lay behind their specific mitigation strategies. Sensitivity also enabled me to gain insights into the strategies that employers put in place, so that I was able to bring together disparate accounts from workers and triangulate them within the in-depth case history and management data collected. Here, the use of the case study design (rather than just individual narratives) was vital to be able to interpret why people had told me what they told me, and to be more confident in the interpretations I was making. Crucially, the multiple realities expressed in the interviews (and that I encouraged interviewees to tell) were analysed in relation to each other and to theory. There was not just a focus on what was said, but why it was said – why different strategies and sense-makings were presented to me, and what this revealed about the wider structural mechanisms in place. This meant that the collection and analysis of data were often simultaneous, and therefore it is artificial to present the analysis as separate from the data collection.

2.5.3 Participant observation

Participant and nonparticipant observation was conducted (as well as interviews) in all organisations but the art centre. Within the care facility and hotel, this consisted of nonparticipant observation, where I took the research identity of what Burges (1984) describes as a “*complete-observer*”; as the person who “*merely stands back and ‘eavesdrops’ on proceedings*” (Waddington, 2011, p.154). In the care facility I did this by joining one of the monthly staff forums and observed the whole meeting, in which there were representatives from each department, shift pattern, trade union and HR. This helped reveal the key areas of contention that sat between the different groups within the organisation, and helped both the analysis of data and the development of the worker interview questions that I was designing at the time.

Within the hotel, my role as a “*complete-observer*” consisted of sitting in the entrance of the hotel watching the shift change from day to night to see what happened, which included observation of the different relationships between the different actors as well as who was working a particular shift. Within the stadium, I conducted participant observation where my role was closer to what Burgess (1984) would call “*participant-as-observer*”. This is where a researcher “*forms relationships and participates in activities but makes no secret of an intention to observe*” (Waddington, 2011, p.154). I entered the organisation as a volunteer to gain understanding of what it was like to be in that position. Within this role I had to walk around and it felt like I was an observer, or a spy of all other workers present in the outside of the stadium.

Our role involved informing kiosk staff when they had run out of sauces or napkins, informing cleaners when the toilets needed maintenance, helping security to usher members of the public, and supporting children playing on the rugby pitch at half time. At the end of the day, the volunteers were asked to write up a report and return it to the head of hospitality for the sports team. It very much felt like I was there to monitor and manage all the paid members of staff. As I had worked previously in a stadium, I was aware of these practices, but was unaware of the extent of monitoring and surveillance that was put in place by the volunteers (who are usually ultra-fans of the team). However, this observation enabled me to access other workers to interview and gain more of an understanding of the power dynamics that existed within the stadium and between the different organisations operating within it.

2.6 Data analysis: a hybrid approach

My approach to the analysis of the data was very much indebted to the grounded theory tradition, where strategies are used to cultivate a more inductive mode of analysis.

Theoretical sampling of the cases to enable theory development rather than representativeness is aligned with a grounded theory approach. In the first stages of the research, I wrote memos (Corbin and Strauss, 2008) immediately or very soon after interviews, as well as during the full analysis process, to see what theoretical themes and constructs were emerging. Memos differ from field notes as they are “*more in-depth thoughts about an event*” and therefore are “*more complex and analytical*” than field notes (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). (See Appendix D and Appendix E for examples.)

However, Suddaby (2006) argues that in order to do grounded theory properly there is a need for pragmatism, as this is core to the methodology itself, and that pure grounded theory as often seen in textbooks is not possible. He argues that abduction (which critical realists call retroduction) instead of induction, is core to grounded theory techniques, as we move between induction and deduction via the interplay of data and theory as the analysis is ongoing.

This pragmatic approach to grounded theory was core to my methodological process, and by the final stage of analysis I had moved away from purist forms of induction. In the early stage of the analysis (in the first round of data collection), my aim through memo writing and immersing myself in the data was for inductive themes to “emerge” out of the data (Lämsisalmi et al., 2004). As my confidence in the literature and data collection grew, I realised that themes do not emerge but are in fact negotiated as a result of an iterative process between theory and data. Therefore, as the research progressed, my analysis took a hybrid form that combined King’s (2012) thematic template analysis with tenets of grounded theory. While King (2012) posits grounded theory in opposition to template analysis due to its rigid nature, I would argue that it is possible to combine both. In my case, while the data collection process of grounded theory was useful (in relation to the choices of case study selection/participants and in the initial stages of data analysis), the systematic nature of template analysis allowed data to be revisited in relation to particular theoretical concepts, or “theoretical sensitising concepts”, which made data analysis manageable. Template analysis begins with an a-priori template which guides the analysis; however, the idea is that this should not be too rigid, so that themes can be added, revised, deleted and modified depending on what you find.

An example of this in practice relates to the process I used to define objective and subjective time and income uncertainty, as key measures of both precarious jobs and precarious lives. Data collected on income (pay at work and household income) and time (working time and household time), as dimensions of precarious work and lives, were a cornerstone of the data to allow comparisons across cases and participants. Appendix E shows the memo I wrote halfway through the data collection process, clearly indicating the way I was trying to grapple with these two themes as they emerged out of the data.

The experiences of uncertainty expressed by interviewees in relation to income and time led to drawing on Hayes et al.'s (2018) discussion of uncertainty, which recognises uncertainty as a key determinant of precarity, and how precarity at work could affect this in workers' lives. However, Hayes et al.'s (2018) research only captured my imagination to conceptualise precarity at the level of the job and outside of it because it resonated with the uncertainty expressed by my interviewees. If it had not resonated with me and helped me make sense of my interviewees' accounts, it would have been just another interesting reading on precarious work, which may have informed my thinking indirectly, but no more than that. Instead, the way uncertainty was expressed in interviews led me to utilise Hayes et al.'s (2018) conceptualisation of uncertainty. While this was enough to explain and define uncertainty, I needed a theory that linked workers' management strategies with the level of uncertainty that they experienced in both domains. Therefore, this same process led to the utilisation of work-life articulation adopted by Smith and McBride (2021), to understand how precarious jobs are experienced as precarious lives (see Appendix H on the measure of uncertainty, and the methods section of JA3).

Throughout the research process I revisited my data, revised interview schedules on the basis of increased contextual understanding, and carried out further data collection, considering theory, with the aim to understand the findings using different frameworks. I navigated my own way through the literature to find theoretical ideas that could capture the contexts and the accounts I was being told, using the triangulation of data to give me the confidence I needed to focus on particular data. I became more confident about probing themes and what they represented beyond the literal interpretation and, in so doing, it became clear that the research was undergoing thematic analysis more closely aligned to King's (2012) template. The more inductive process of data collection and strategies from grounded theory allowed me to remain open to new ideas rather than being constrained by the template, which is often a criticism of this approach (Braun and Clarke, 2021).

I now look at this approach in detail, showing how templates were developed that led to exhaustive analysis of the interview data. It was this detailed open analysis that led to the more specific development of particular theoretical ideas in the three journal articles.

2.6.1 Organising the data: the coding templates

The themes in the interview guide (which themselves were a product of theory and initial exploratory data collection) formed a core part of the initial coding frame that I used. Every interview was recorded, and in the first stage of analysis I not only read the transcript but listened to the interviews to gain an understanding of both the emotions that people were feeling and how they expressed themselves. Here I wanted to focus upon not only *what* was said, but *how* and *why* it was said in the context of my role as an active participant: an

approach very much in line with Holstein and Gubrium's (1995) "*active interview*". Whilst doing this, I also anonymised all transcripts to ensure confidentiality before I began coding using NVIVO, and while I coded I listened to the interview, writing notes and defining each theme. Both workers and employers interviews were coded with the same template.

The template on which the three journal articles developed began with top-level broad themes that were directly linked to my research questions and overarching theoretical framework, i.e., one in which the state, employer and household were key. These acted as broad, umbrella descriptive terms to ensure I organised the data around three levels of analysis, while also keeping sufficiently broad and nonthematic to ensure that my analysis was as inductive as possible. In addition, another category of multidimensional precarious work was used which recorded fine differences within contracts, pay, hours and conditions, and the organisation of the work. While they reflected the theoretical work that had led to the identification of these levels of analysis to address my research questions, they were not theoretical organising principles; instead, the overarching detailed template was used to build up the theoretical ideas in the journal articles:

- institutional/state role,
- employer strategies,
- household influences, and
- multidimensional precarious work.

As the analysis process continued, three more top-level descriptive themes were used to ensure that I systematically recorded the data in ways that could facilitate meaningful comparisons developing more theoretically. These were work-life history, contradictions

and emotions, as defined in Table 3 below. The work-life history theme was especially important as it enabled the contextualising of workers' experiences and a greater understanding of what led them to take on their particular job, together with the levels of uncertainty they experienced within their lives as a result of this.

Contradiction was also identified as a top-level category. This emerged following the analysis of the employer interviews, in which managerial justifications and explanations for employment decisions were shaped by contradictory ideas. This enabled me to explore the contradictions by triangulating them between worker interviews and company documents to gain a better understanding.

The final code was that of "felt and expressed emotion": this emerged at the end of the first round of coding, just before the onset of COVID-19 pandemic. This theme became increasingly important in capturing the subjective feelings of workers and thereby building blocks for defining workers' experiences of subjective uncertainty in JA3: an approach that feminists argue to be important because the emotions of both researcher and participant build knowledge and should be used at all stages of research, especially at the stage of analysis (Holland, 2007).

I went through a process of insertion and deletion of different data under these broad themes several times, and on each occasion, I justified the decisions made in my research field notes and documented it (in the comment function on Microsoft Word/alongside the template), so that I could keep track of changes so they could be dated (see Coding Template in Appendix F). Only once every interview had been coded and checked over did I classify the template complete, and this formed the basis of the analysis and theoretical

development in all the journal articles (King, 2012). The “complete” template can be found in Appendix F of this thesis.

Table 3: Defining new themes

New theme	Definition
<i>Work-life history</i>	This theme looks at workers’ work-life history and investigates when there was a change in status/job and why that decision was made.
<i>Contradictions</i>	This code notes when a contradiction in statements has occurred. This code was put in as a monitor so that I could analyse the contradictions later on.
<i>Felt and expressed emotions</i>	This refers to whenever an interviewee speaks about how they feel or have felt about something. This might have to change to being named “Wellbeing or feelings” at a later date. For the time being, I am not dividing it between positive and negative, as this can be done at a later date and might put too much pressure on it.

It must be noted that throughout my research and analysis process, I reflected on my findings by presenting them to different groups, including the TUC, Oxfam and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). Their feedback enabled me to see how my findings could be interpreted in different ways and whether my interpretations were convincing.

Halfway through the analysis process, COVID-19 hit, and there were clear changes to the ways in which employment was happening. In line with grounded theory, this required me to go back to my site of research to explore how the causal mechanisms of precarious work were being shaped by this new context and what this could reveal about the nature of these causal processes and people’s strategies. While access was not possible to either the stadium or hotel, it was possible to the care home and art centre. I quickly discovered that

this gave an insight into the employers' strategies both in the pre-COVID and COVID contexts.

While this had limited effect on the structure of the final template, technique allowed me to create a clearer understanding of how particular data and themes were interconnected, in ways that revealed underlying intersecting processes that shaped the causes and consequences of precarious work. This required me to change the format of my PhD from that of a traditional thesis, as it enabled me to delve further into what lay behind employers' strategies. From this point, I decided to write three distinct but interconnected journal articles: one that investigated how employers used worker characteristics to shape the dimensions of precarious work (JA1), a second which provided a longitudinal analysis of the ways in which employers shape the conditions of work and the limits of relying on voluntary forms of regulation (JA2); and a third which investigated workers' experiences and the intersections between precarious work and lives (JA3). The use of the alternative thesis format consisting of three journal-style articles was more appropriate because full access could not be gained to all hospitality organisations during COVID-19. This restricted the chances for a full case-study comparison to be made, and I recognised that this was a major limitation of the study that was beyond my control. The three-journal-article format allowed me some flexibility, so I did not have to draw on all organisational case studies throughout the whole thesis. Rather, the format enabled me to use the hospitality organisational case studies to compare to the care case on the basis of particular characteristics. JA1, for example, is based on a comparison of the hotel and the care organisation which allowed theories to be built around job queues as the two large employers had highly segmented employment conditions and job roles that existed throughout the sector as a whole. The

comparison allowed an in-depth focus on the role of employers and worker characteristics in shaping this.

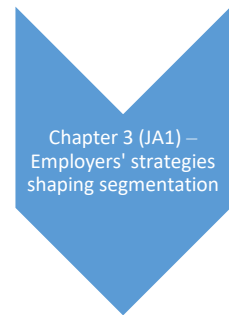
The art centre could not be compared as easily with the hotel, but it could be compared with the care case because both were organisations that were known as, and promoted the fact that they were, good employers. Both were also funded and/or otherwise shaped by state funding and state support. Building a comparison between two “good” employers enabled me to gain a better understanding of the limits of employers’ voluntary strategies to make themselves look like a good employer. This would not have been as powerful with the hotel, because although they were known as a luxury brand, they were not known for being a good employer per se. JA3 drew from all the organisational case studies because it was more focused on micro-level strategies shaped by the wider structural forces of employment, the state and the household. The experience of navigating this reality was a focus in the data collected with workers, and provided strong comparative data that were used to develop objective and subjective measures of precarious work and precarious lives.

Once all the analysis was completed, I went back to my research questions and reanalysed my data with the particular journal articles in mind. This meant that the stadium was excluded from the analysis of JA1 and JA2, because only two managers were included in that case, which meant that data on employer strategies were not substantial enough to be confident about any conclusions that could be drawn based on worker interviews alone.

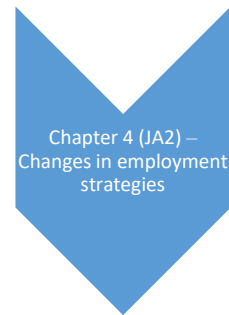
2.7 The journal articles

A detailed method and rationale is given within each of the three articles, presented in the format that is standard for an academic journal. It must be noted that while these articles have been co-authored in line with the alternative thesis format regulations, 80% of the work has been done by me, and this includes all the data collection, design and analysis. Meanwhile, 20% has been with support from my supervisors. The diagram below gives a summary of the objectives, analysis and data sources utilised for each article, and how they map onto each research question.

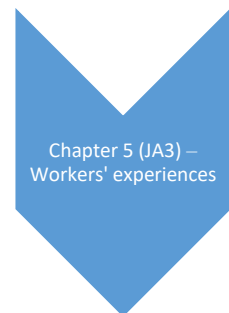
Figure 1: Summary of research objectives and methods



- Objective: Understand employers' strategies shaping conditions of work based on workers' characteristics
 - Case study methodology: Comparison between hotel and residential care facility
 - Data sources: Company documents (publicly available and provided by company), qualitative interviews, observation
- Research Questions Addressed:** *What factors influence employers' shaping of employment conditions? What is the role of job demands on the one hand, and employers' perceptions of the characteristics of available labour supply groups on the other hand?*



- Objective: Understand how employment conditions are shaped and change over time
 - Longitudinal comparative analysis: Comparison of art centre and social care facility
 - Data sources: Company documents (publicly available and provided by company), analysis at two phases of interview with employer, workers and care facility union representatives
- Research Questions Addressed:** *Is reliance on employers' voluntary action sufficient to bring about better long-run quality of work at the bottom of the labour market, without more active state involvement in setting minimum standards, in combination with a strong presence of "collectively negotiated solutions"? To what extent did COVID-19 provide employers with an escape route towards commodification?*



- Objective: Understand the intersection between precarious work and precarious lives
 - Qualitative methods: Narrative analysis of thirty-one interviews with workers who experienced both precarious work and precarious lives
 - Data sources: Thirty-one qualitative interviews with workers experiencing both precarious work and lives, across all organisational case studies
- **Research Questions Addressed:** *How do the spheres of employment, the household and the state intersect to shape the ways precarious jobs are experienced as precarious lives? What strategies do workers use to manage these intersections and mitigate their experiences of uncertainty?*

While the findings presented in each of the three chapters form three separate journal-style articles, they are directly linked to each other. They all clearly indicate the importance of taking a dynamic multidimensional approach to understanding precarious work, and reveal how the state, employment and households are all interlinked with each other in the way precarious work is shaped and the consequences they have for workers. In each of the journal articles the final template was used to facilitate the interplay between data and theory that led to the more specific theoretical contributions in each article.

In Chapter 3, JA1 seeks to answer the following questions:

- What factors influence employers' shaping of employment conditions?
- What is the role of job demands on the one hand, and employers' perceptions of the characteristics of available labour supply groups on the other hand?

In order to answer this question, JA1 draws on data collected from the social care organisation and hotel to draw a comparison between employer strategies.

Employer interviews conducted in both organisations and company documents are used to gain an understanding of these strategies. The two cases were chosen because they both employed a large number of workers with a very diverse set of roles and contractual arrangements, which were more representative of the sector as a whole than the other cases. This enabled me to investigate how employers were able to differentiate between workers based on their characteristics as well as

their perceptions and justifications of different roles. This article draws on the analytical framework set out by labour market segmentation scholars of the job and labour queue. The use of the queue enabled me to gain a better understanding of employers' justifications when combined with Baron and Krep's (1999) understanding of consistency (where consistent treatment is only needed for workers who are comparably similar). JA1 takes a sectoral historical perspective as well as looking at the more micro-level everyday justification strategies that employers deploy. It investigates how these lead to differential shapes of precarious work across and within organisations, together with why people with different social characteristics are found with highly segmented and different conditions of employment. The analysis for this article very much focused on the employer staffing strategy, using the first coding framework that was developed. It is found that, within both organisations, employers use stereotypes of workers' characteristics not only to determine which roles workers are placed in, but also the conditions of work they experience. The justifications that lie behind the queues, and the types of workers that are needed, are very different between the organisations and are determined based on the history of the sector in which the organisations are embedded. Within the hotel, notions of career progression and middle-class aesthetic are key, while in the care facility, gender and class are the determining factors.

In Chapter 4, JA2 seeks to answer the following questions:

- Is reliance on employers' voluntary action sufficient to bring about better long-run quality of work at the bottom of the labour

market, without more active state involvement in setting minimum standards, in combination with a strong presence of “collectively negotiated solutions”?

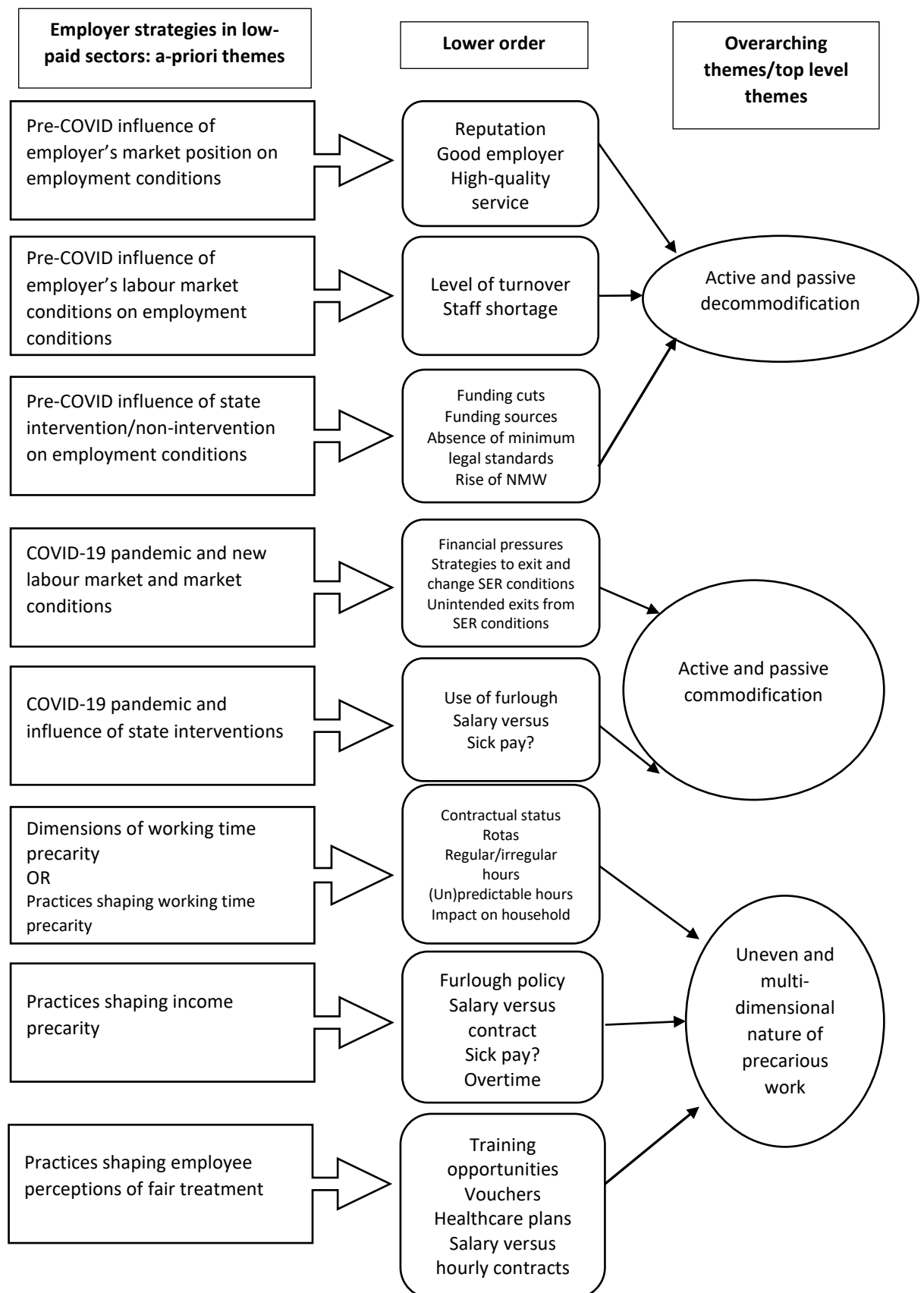
- To what extent did COVID-19 provide employers with an escape route towards commodification?

To answer the research questions, this article focuses on the case studies of the care facility and the art centre. These organisations were chosen because they both had a reputation of being good employers and could act as critical cases. The article takes a longitudinal approach, analysing data collected at two time points: the first prior to COVID-19 (2018–2019), and the second following the first wave of COVID-19 (June 2020–November 2020). At both time points, workers and employers were interviewed and company documents were collected and analysed; at the second time point, a trade union representative based at the care home was interviewed to gain an understanding of the union response at the workplace. Workers and employers interviewed for the second wave were chosen through purposive theoretical sampling, based on their role within the organisation but also on the level of precarity they had expressed experiencing in their first interview. The aim was to understand the conditions of employment pre-COVID-19 and post-COVID-19, and to analyse what the changes in conditions of employment were and the effect these had on workers.

We used the multidimensional approach of the SER, as set out by Bosch (2004), to guide our analysis. In this approach, commodification makes work more precarious while decommodification makes work less precarious and closer to an idealised SER

where workers can plan for themselves and their families' futures. Drawing on this conceptualisation and the data that had been analysed and coded for both case studies in phase one and two, we conducted further thematic analysis in order to gain a better understanding of what led to the changes in conditions of employment. This deeper analysis can be seen in Figure 2, which reveals how initial a-priori themes relating to employer strategies were populated with data that led to overarching findings of new patterns of decommodification and commodification of employment – conditions that were both passive and active. (Passive strategies are those where employers do not make explicit changes, accepting the status quo, while active strategies refer to those where employers input an intervention that deliberately changes the conditions of employment.) This led us to utilise and extend Jaehrling and Méhaut's (2013) notion of rule enactment to understand the ways in which employers find exit strategies to reduce conditions of employment, leading to us arguing that both active and passive strategies were deliberate. Most importantly, we find a substantial decline in conditions of employment following COVID-19 in both organisations, revealing the limits of relying on voluntary forms of actions by employers to improve working conditions.

Figure 2: Thematic analysis outline



In Chapter 5, JA3 seeks to answer the following questions:

- How do the spheres of employment, the household and the state intersect to shape the ways precarious jobs are experienced as precarious lives?
- What strategies do workers use to manage these intersections and mitigate their experiences of uncertainty?

JA3 makes sense of JA1 and JA2 by drawing on workers' perspectives of precarious work and its effects on their lives. The journal article seeks to answer the research questions through the analysis of thirty-one interviews with workers across all case studies, chosen on the basis that they experienced both precarious work and precarious lives, which enabled the development of a framework for managing uncertainty. This framework sees precarious work and precarious lives as being linked through workers' own work-life articulation strategies shaped by the context of the household, state and employment they are in. Using Heyes et al.'s (2018) definition of uncertainty (as the outcome of something being unknowable), a measurement was developed for both job-related income and time uncertainty, and subjective life-related uncertainty, to be utilised together within the framework based on workers' own narratives. Each measure consisted of a set of dimensions that were seen as contributing factors to the level of uncertainty experienced, and given a rating (2, 1 or 0.5) based on the level of importance that workers attributed to the dimension in shaping the level of uncertainty they experienced. Once the score was given to each dimension, the range was divided into three equal parts, and labelled high, medium and low. I ensured that the

division between these scores worked by checking that there were clear gaps between them. Appendix H gives details of the ways in which the distribution was checked to ensure that each of the categories of high, medium and low were distinct. Appendix G also gives a clear outline of the coding frame utilised for each of the participants. This shows the matrix used to determine what was included in each uncertainty measure and the ratings given to each dimension. Every worker interviewed was then given a score for the level of uncertainty they experienced, based on the measure. This score was also used to determine which workers experienced precarious work and a precarious life, and was utilised to determine who was to be included in the final discussion and analysis within the paper. (More in-depth details of this methodology are given in the article.) These measures were used to gain a better understanding of how different work-life articulation strategies were deployed by workers as they attempted to mitigate the levels of uncertainty they experienced, and the extent to which their relationships with the state and their households acted as buffers against uncertainty or barriers that served to heighten the levels of uncertainty they experienced.

While in the other chapters (JA1 and JA2) I use both the concepts of uncertainty and insecurity, for this article (JA3) I chose to use the concept of uncertainty and not that of insecurity. I felt that in order to understand the intersection between precarious work and precarious lives, JA3 needed to focus on measures of uncertainty rather than insecurity. The concept of job insecurity has often focused on subjective feelings about the risk of job loss. Burchell (2002, p.62) and Karapinar et al. (2019) note the subjective dimension is defined by workers' "*worries about*

the future of their work” (Karapinar et al., 2019, p.47). While this is an important defining feature of work, as risk of job loss and conditions of employment are important determinants of precarity, it does not capture how the uncertainty of jobs is shaped by factors beyond the job or how it creates fears about other aspects of life. Insecurity is not a term that can be used to explain experiences within life in general, while uncertainty can be used both to define experiences in life but also within work, as interconnected and/or independent entities. While insecurity can be measured in both subjective and objective ways, it is still very much related to the experiences of work itself and hence I feel that the term of uncertainty would be more useful to encompass the interconnectedness of uncertainty in work and life. The defining element of uncertainty stands in opposition to risk, as it is defined by the unknowability of a particular outcome (Heyes et al., 2018a).

To conclude, JA3 draws on workers’ management strategies and how the three domains of the household, employment and the state can act as either buffers against experiences of increased uncertainty or barriers that compound and increase the level of uncertainty experienced.

2.8 Ethical considerations

The research went through a rigorous ethics procedure in order to receive ethical approval by the University of Manchester Ethical Review Panel. While these processes were thorough and rigorous, there were some additional considerations

that I had to take into account to ensure that proper consent was given by participants and that they felt comfortable participating at all times.

Before participating in an interview, all participants were given a flyer which clearly stipulated the aim of the research, their role within it and what we were going to do with their data. Under the ethics procedure participants also need to be provided with a participant information sheet. However, this document was eight pages long and, in some cases for workers (especially for those with limited literacy), this was inappropriate as it made them feel very uncomfortable. This was particularly the case with the food and beverage worker I interviewed from the hotel. To overcome this barrier, while ensuring that participants were fully informed about the research, they were all initially given the flyer and were told to opt into the research if they wished to participate by informing me directly. They did this via text, email or in person if I was present at the organisation. Once they had opted in, I gave participants the full participant information sheet and consent form to look at prior to the interview taking place. Before starting the interview I would re-inform them about the research, in particular highlighting their right to stop participating at any point, and reassure them that I would be happy to remove anything they told me from the data. I then asked them for permission to record the data, and we would go through the consent form together – again asking for both verbal consent initially and then taking the time to ensure that they understood fully what the research involved – i.e., what the purposes of the research were as well as how the data would be used – before they gave written

consent. This process ensured that workers felt comfortable while they were able to give full and informed consent.

To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, all audio recordings were kept in a folder with end-to-end encryption. These recordings were sent via a secure mechanism to a University of Manchester approved transcriber who was required to adhere to confidentiality procedures and was fully aware of the General Data Protection Regulations. Following the transcription of data, all transcripts were anonymised, and participants were given a case ID. All identifiable information was kept in a separate folder encrypted from the anonymised transcripts. When writing up the data in all my journal articles, I ensured that quotations from transcripts could not be used to identify the person being interviewed. This was particularly important to ensure that when workers informed me about sensitive issues, this would not be to their detriment, nor lead to loss of jobs or benefits.

While this was the formal procedure surrounding ethics, in fact, as discussed, the ethical issues surrounding asking participants to talk about sensitive issues meant that the ethics behind why I was researching and what I planned to do with the data was always at the forefront of all my methodological decisions and the relationships I built with participants. I never wanted it to be a one-sided relationship where I extracted data from participants without any benefit to them. However, I know even if I tried to be “on their side” and give something back, the power relationship exists between the researcher and the participant. It is my hope that the research can be used in ways that redress their lack of power in some way. Being co-supervised by Oxfam ensures that my responsibility to make useful

knowledge is embedded in the research process as it maps onto my own personal ethics, to make a difference through research. My attempts to disseminate the data, with impact at as many policy events as possible, are integral to my personal ethical stance which extends beyond the official ethical approval process to inform all the decisions I make about how and where to publish and disseminate the findings.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the research methodology and philosophical underpinnings of the research project. It has highlighted how the research was embedded in a critical realist philosophical understanding and showed how grounded theory methodology was the cornerstone of the research process undertaken, enabling both the selection of theoretically sound case studies, and an iterative, qualitative mixed-methods design. Theoretical sampling and methodological triangulation enabled the selection of case studies, which built an understanding of both what shaped precarious work and the effect this had on workers. That is: findings were based on the differences in these realities. However, this description of my methods has also highlighted how the research process itself was messy, and how reflexivity and emotional sensitivity were core to the whole research process, enabling me to gain both an understanding of the data but also the ability to build a rapport with those who participated in the research.

I have also shown how the hybrid form of analysis was developed, which involved inductive and deductive theorising, as the interplay of data and analysis was ongoing throughout. The final section of this chapter has shown how this iterative process illustrated where and when it was not possible to make meaningful comparisons across the cases, which led to the decision to use the alternative thesis format. This legitimised my focus on different elements of the care case study, and the direct comparisons with the different cases within the hospitality sector – unlike the more traditional thesis format, which might have forced comparisons that were less meaningful, dynamic and responsive to new data. This was especially pertinent to the data gathered when I returned to the field during COVID-19, as this became a focus of JA2 which could never have been predetermined. The limitations of the research and the approach I took are discussed in the conclusion of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Job queues, labour queues: a comparative analysis of employment strategies in a residential care facility and luxury hotel

Abstract

Drawing on and developing the concepts of job queues and labour queues, this paper explores how precarious work is shaped and reshaped not only to reflect factors shaping the construction and organisation of work but also in response to changing labour supply conditions, as employers adjust conditions and contracts to fit their perceptions of the characteristics and behaviour of the available labour supply. Through case studies of a hotel and a residential care facility, the research extends previous literature by showing how employer stereotypes not only decide what role workers are placed in but also shape the contractual arrangements and conditions of work that they experience. This shaping of conditions of work by employers is based on their preferred workforce for a particular role and when this changes so do the conditions of employment provided. These findings complement the dynamic development of Thurow's concepts of job queues and labour queues by gender scholars (Reskin and Roos, 1990) and migration scholars (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003) to explain how preferred labour force groups change over time. The paper takes the argument a stage further both by focusing on the role of employers' stereotypes in the reshaping of precarious work conditions, and by showing that the historical sectoral context also has a direct effect on how employers shape their jobs, employment conditions and hiring practices. Thus precarious work is found to be segmented in very different ways across and within organisations, based on employers' perceptions of workers' characteristics.

Keywords: Precarious work, employer stereotypes, labour and job queues, employer strategies

3.1 Introduction

Within precarious work literature there is a tendency simply to associate precarious work with the growth of atypical forms of employment. Consequently, little attention has been paid to understanding the dynamic ways in which jobs may be shaped not only by demand-determined job characteristics but also by employers' perceptions of workers' characteristics, needs and behaviour. This wider perspective allows for the exploration of how employers may combine, for example, more standard employment contracts, including salaried contracts, with other precarious employment conditions such as long and variable working hours and low pay.

This article draws on the conceptual framework of job queues and labour queues to understand the way in which contracts and conditions of employment are shaped by both demand-side conditions and employers' perceptions of worker characteristics. This perspective started with Thurow (1972), and was further developed by both gender and migration scholars, who argued that the shape that both types of queue take is dynamic and constantly changing (Reskin and Roos, 1990; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003).²³ Job queues "*rank jobs in terms of attractiveness to workers*" (Reskin and Roos, 1990, p.29). This preference ranking reflects workers' notions of "good jobs" and "bad jobs" based on the key attributes of jobs that they value (e.g., stability, pay and benefits) (Waldinger and Lichter,

²³ Waldinger and Lichter call job queues "*hiring queues*". However, we use the term "job queue" following the gender scholar tradition of Reskin and Roos (1990), as it was considered to be a more rounded term, allowing us to analyse the process and the queue beyond just the point of recruitment.

2003). However, over time, the characteristics of jobs change, as do workers' priorities with respect to job attributes. The labour queue is shaped by employers' preferences for workers for a particular role based on their perceptions of workers' characteristics. However, over time, not only may the ranking of particular groups change, but also, as jobs change in attractiveness, employers may need to seek recruits from further down the labour queue.

This paper draws on this important queue literature but extends it by arguing that not only are workers placed in particular roles by employers based on their characteristics, but that employers' perceptions of these characteristics also have direct implications for the way conditions of employment and contracts are shaped. This is done by utilising Baron and Kreps's (1999) notion of consistency. They argue that employers only need to provide workers with consistent treatment if the workforce groups regard themselves as comparable. By drawing on two in-depth case studies, one a large hotel and the other a residential care facility, this paper explores how employers shape different dimensions of precarious work based on their perceptions of workers' characteristics, and how this process determines not only where workers and jobs are located in an particular organisation's labour queues and job queues, but also the contractual and work arrangements that they are offered. It also highlights the role that the historical and sectoral context plays in the shaping of employers' perceptions and strategies.

The study further reveals that the two case-study organisations faced very different staffing issues and adopted divergent strategies. These were shaped by the sectors in which they were embedded, as well as reflecting both their specific set of

temporal, demand, regulatory and economic conditions and their perceptions of the characteristics of their available and changing labour supply.

To develop the argument, we first identify the limitations of current theorisations of precarious work, and explore how the concepts of the double job queue and labour queue have evolved to capture the role of employers in shaping and reshaping precarious work. We then highlight the importance of sectoral context in the shaping of particular employment characteristics. Third, we explain the iterative methodology undertaken, before presenting the key findings from both cases. We conclude by arguing that analysing the interaction between the double queues develops a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of the processes by which work becomes precarious work and labour markets segmented. This further demonstrates the importance of extending the queue literature to include the role that employers' stereotypes play in determining the conditions of employment and the contractual arrangements into which workers are placed.

3.2 Segmentation and the shaping of precarious work

The UK labour market is highly segmented, across intersectional lines of gender, age, ethnicity, migration status and class. It is well known that this segmentation is found not only between occupations and sectors, but even applies to specialisms within occupations. Segmentation is also often associated with differences in the conditions of work experienced by workers. For example, the LPC (2020) found that minimum-wage workers were more likely to be female, non-UK born or to have a

disability. Further, it has been found that, where these inequalities intersect, workers are more likely to experience further inequalities: for example, women from lower classes are more likely to occupy lower-level part-time jobs than their higher-class counterparts (Warren and Lyonette, 2018). The segmentation of the labour market is nothing new, but as old as the labour market itself (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

There have been multiple attempts to understand the causes of segmentation. One key way is through Lester Thurow's job competition model, and his notion that jobs with fixed wages are filled according to a labour queue where workers compete for jobs based on perceived training costs. These concepts were put forward by Thurow (1972) in an attempt to critique neoclassical economic understandings of labour supply and demand that assume that wage competition drives the functioning of labour markets. Instead, this job-queue model sees good jobs as predetermined, and recruitment into these jobs as based on ranking the queue of available workers. Ranking is a continuum (i.e., the queue) based on employers' assessment of workers' trainability and associated costs. When it comes to jobs that are low in the ranking of good jobs, the background characteristics of workers become more important in determining who is selected for the job role – because these jobs are less likely to require specific technical skills or experience. Thus, in relation to selection for “entry-level jobs” and “new workers”, more general demographic, social and other indicators of apparent “trainability” from employers' perspectives come to the fore (Thurow, 1972, p.72).

Scholars from both gender and migration studies have drawn on and furthered the conceptualisation of job queues and labour queues by adding a more dynamic understanding. Instead of seeing the job queue as predetermined, as in Thurow's initial concept, they argue for an understanding of labour and job queues that interact and where their shapes are ever changing (Reskin and Roos, 1990; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). Emphasising the need to understand the changing shapes of both labour queues and job queues, these authors highlight how the ranking of jobs is shaped by workers' perceptions and preferences. Therefore, rankings may change as, for example, the quality of jobs reduces in comparison to similar ranked jobs, or as existing workers' subjective preferences for job characteristics change. Likewise, ranking may change as new groups of workers (for example, migrants or mothers with young children) with different perceptions or preferences become available in the labour queue.

At the same time, Reskin and Roos (1990), and Waldinger and Lichter (2003) emphasise that trainability and skills are not the only concerns for employers in shaping the labour queue. They argue instead that it is the social category to which a worker belongs and the stereotypes that come with this category that are key in determining a worker's place in the employer's labour queue. Gender scholars in particular have taken issue with the economists' view that employers rank workers *"in terms of potential productivity and labour costs"* (Reskin and Roos, 1990, p.35). Instead, these authors show that when it comes to the labour queue, the ranking of different workers by employers has never been set by any detailed analysis of the cost of different types of labour, but rather by customs and beliefs in relation to

their costs and productivity. For example, the belief that women are less productive, combined with other “sex biases”, leads employers to choose to hire men over women, even when women could have been hired at a cheaper rate (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

However, employers may have to confront their own customary beliefs if their jobs fall down the job-queue rank in terms of their attractiveness to workers: for example, if key aspects of work that workers value (e.g., stability, pay and benefits) decline in relative value (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). Reskin and Roos (1990) give multiple examples of how jobs may change their ranking due to changes in product markets, technology, ownership, consumer trends and the like, thus requiring employers to search further down the labour queue (Reskin and Roos, 1990; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003).

The ranking within the labour queue is set by employers’ preferences, which are not based solely on workers’ skills or experience but also by their social characteristics (sex, ethnicity, nationality, gender, etc.) and where these characteristics sit in the employers’ preference set (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). Nevertheless, new types of jobs may become available to lower-ranked workers when the employers’ supply of preferred labour is exhausted (Reskin and Roos, 1990). At the lower end of the labour market, employers may seek the group of workers that are the easiest to exploit, moving to the next group when a more exploitable group becomes available or the current groups of workers gain more agency (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). The shape of each queue is set by the number of workers and jobs available, as well as the “*intensity of rankers’*

preferences”, (Reskin and Roos, 1990, p.31). For example, some employers may prioritise the social group to which a worker belongs regardless of their qualifications (for example, not hiring a Black supervisor to supervise white workers), while for other employers such preferences make little difference (Reskin and Roos, 1990,).

Key to this argument is the recognition that these queues are constantly changing. Socioeconomic factors play a pivotal role in this (Reskin and Roos, 1990; Scott, 2012; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Reskin and Roos (1990) argue that the education of women and the increase in women as consumers led to particular groups of women rising up the labour-supply queue. Similarly, Alberti and Iannuzzi (2020) found in their study of hotels in Venice that new types of customers led to employers at different hotels forming new “*hierarchies of suitability*” based on gender, race and nationality, determined by managers’ perceptions of customers’ preferences.

State policies and regulatory changes have also been shown to be significant in the ordering of queues. Policies can have a direct effect upon the way workers are ordered in labour queues and on the conditions of work experienced by different demographics of workers – for example, women in comparison to men, and migrants in comparison to local populations. For instance, the gendering of conditions of work and roles goes as far back as 1948, when under the 1948 Assistance Act, local authorities were encouraged to hire women into health and education. Women were encouraged to take up roles in the health sector as “*home helps*” in exchange for casual contracts and partial payment “*in return for their*

good ‘neighbourliness’” (Hayes, 2017, p.40). Similarly the 1950s Factory (Evening Employment) Acts encouraged factories to introduce *“twilight shifts”*. This enabled employers to access female labour at a fraction of the price of male labour (Rubery, 2015). Both these state policies encouraged the placing of women in specific roles, with pay and contractual arrangements legitimised by notions of women as mothers and secondary earners seeking supplementary earnings.

When it comes to recent policies on migrant workers (such as opening up the UK borders to A8 and A2 migrants), they have been found to enable employers to reorder their preferences for workers along geographical lines based on immigration status and ethnicity (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Scott, 2012).

Employers in low-waged sectors, in particular, have been facilitated to get “more for their money” from migrant workers than local workers, as they are seen to be willing to work under worse conditions (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Scott, 2012).

While it is clear that labour queues exist, employers rarely explicitly state a hierarchy of preferences (Scott, 2012). Instead, they state the importance to their organisation of attributes that particular workers happen to have (Scott, 2012; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Within migration literature, studies have found that employers justify the preferential use of migrant workers based on expressed beliefs that they are *“good workers”*, *“more reliable”* or have a *“better work ethic”* than their local counterparts, hence placing them higher up the queue (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). The justifications for selection based on these attributes are argued to enable employers operating at the lower end of the labour market to

seek out the most vulnerable groups of workers (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009).

Others find that employers justify the need for migrant workers to fill skill shortages in the local labour market, as the “right worker” is not available at the given conditions of employment and wage levels (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010).

However, they note that these preferences are short-lived, as once workers start requesting better terms and conditions, employers turn to seeking the next most vulnerable group (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009).

The literature on gender also highlights how employers use stereotypes of men and women and their supposed innate attributes to justify employing them in particular roles. Authors highlight how the way these roles are gendered reflects a process of historical normalisation of women’s and men’s work, where women’s work is deemed to be closely associated with their household roles as housewives and mothers (Fredman and Fudge, 2016). Some authors also highlight how the gendering of roles is an ongoing process. Gendering is itself seen as a social process that is not static but always changing. This is discussed through concepts such as “doing gender”. Here, theories on embodiment and sexuality are drawn upon to form a new concept: that of aesthetic labour. Aesthetic labour describes the way in which the gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality and even the body of the worker are commodified as part of the job role itself (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009; Mooney, 2018; Rubery and Hebson, 2018; Bolton et al., 2019). In this context, line managers’ preferences may take on particular importance as they often hire workers based on their “middle-class aesthetic” in sectors such as hospitality and retail, to promote their corporate image (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007; Bolton et

al., 2019). The use of this aesthetic labour concept is argued to provide better a understanding of organisational strategies and how employers “*hire employees with particular looks*” to attract customers or create a particular “*corporate image*” (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009, p.399). In many cases, the image is based on heterosexual relationships that underlie hegemonic masculinities, with the aim of appealing to the senses of the dominant customer group (Calás et al., 2014; Warhurst and Nickson, 2009). The result is that workers have to act/perform in certain gendered ways in order to fit into the norms of the organisation in which they are working, with heterosexuality becoming a core part of organisational culture (Bruni, 2006). For example, where men are perceived as being homosexual in more masculine areas of workplaces, in particular in hospitality, they have been found to be more likely to be subject to sexual harassment (Mooney, 2015).

Core to understanding how inequalities persist is understanding how aspects of gender and sexuality intersect with other attributes, such as race and, in particular, class (Duffy, 2005; Warren and Lyonette, 2018; Bradley, 2016). Therefore, it is not just about who gets the customer-facing front office roles in areas such as hospitality and retail, but also how and why more “invisible” roles such as housekeeping and social care are female-dominated and racialised (Mooney, 2015; Duffy, 2005; Hayes, 2017). For example, Bradley (2016) found that the sex typing of dirty jobs as “natural for women” has led to women of colour disproportionately occupying the dirtiest jobs, such as maids (Duffy, 2005). Class plays an integral part in both workers’ access to roles but also workers’ roles and experiences of work, as they have to deal with what Skeggs (1997,p.75.) dubs “*the emotional politics of*

class" (in Boyle and De Keere, 2019, p.719). For example, Boyle and De Keere (2019) found that middle-class women working in luxury retail are pressured to fit in with upper-class styles, creating high levels of anxiety relating to their "*occupational competence*" and "*status display*", which comes at a high level of financial cost to these workers (Boyle and De Keere, 2019). Furthermore, students' increased share of employment in sectors such as hospitality has been found to have been enabled by their higher-class status in comparison to their working-class counterparts that traditionally would have undertaken such roles (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007). Hence, social class is key in the shaping of hierarchies, determining where workers are positioned, but so do workers genders and migration statuses. It is within this intersection that lies between class gender and migration status among other things in determining worker job roles and hierarchies that aesthetic labour becomes core (Duffy, 2005; Warhurst and Nickson, 2007).

While not necessarily discussed or recognised explicitly by employers, these justifications not only enable employers to rationalise employing workers in particular roles, but also allow for differentiation in treatment between different groups of workers. Duffy (2005) found a clear presence of racial hierarchies which were directly linked to wage inequalities experienced by workers. The research found that women of colour were more likely to occupy the least visible jobs in social care work. These types of justifications may therefore enable employers to treat particular groups of workers less favourably.

However, employers also shape employment conditions in particular jobs based on the perceived attributes of a workforce group, in order to attract members of that

group into job types and to manage them in particular roles. MacKenzie and Forde (2009), for example, found that firms started to add twilight shifts to their operations, under the assumption that women would take on these roles, as twilight shifts are assumed by employers to fit around their household reproductive responsibilities. This way, employers aim to gain monopsonistic power, trapping workers in jobs by offering working conditions (such as particular working hours) that may be harder for other employers to replicate. Manning (2021) explains how employer monopsony could be an explanation for larger gender pay gaps, as women's household commitments constrain the labour market choices such workers have. Thus, the lack of viable alternative employment for women (Manning, 2021) enables employers to gain power and control over workers. However, the ways in which employers shape the conditions of work and the perceptions they have of workers' attributes are not universal, but specific to the context in which they are operating (Baron and Kreps, 1999). Hence, it is important to understand that capital shapes employment relations based on the local labour market within which they operate (Carswell and De Neve, 2013).

Contracts are a key way in which differentiation in treatment can occur. While precarious work literature acknowledges the importance of contracts, they are often depicted as a way to increase control over workers, cut costs and offload the uncertainty of the labour process onto the worker (Moore and Newsome, 2018). Similarly, the queue literature shows how workers lower down the queue tend to be in worse contractual arrangements. These findings and insights are important, but there is a need to go further to understand how contractual hierarchies interact

with employers' assumptions about the characteristics and behaviour patterns of the workers they expect to hire from the labour queue – as well as to understand the forms of control over workers and labour costs that may stem from sectoral, organisational and occupational constraints and concerns. Hence, this paper extends both the precarious work and queue literature by showing the need to examine the content of the contractual arrangement (including its justification and the way it is shaped) as an integral part of the job queue itself.

This is in contrast to existing precarious work research, where a common assumption is that precarious work is only found in atypical contractual relationships that fall outside the SER. The focus of this literature is on part-time work, agency work, temporary contracts, zero-hour contracts, gig work and all areas where bogus self-employment is apparent (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2016; Heyes et al., 2018; Felstead et al., 2020). In this conceptualisation, anything that falls outside of the “typical model” of employment is seen to be “atypical” and in the realm of precarious work (ILO, 2011). However, this ignores the fact that atypical forms of work may not all be precarious (e.g., regular part-time work), and that there are dimensions of work under the typical model SER that may be considered precarious. For example, there may be some aspects of salaried work that in some contexts could be regarded as precarious. In the case of John Lewis, workers were moved onto salaried contracts to ensure that workers did not experience variability in pay, but this meant that overtime was no longer paid, and breaches of minimum wages totalling £941,355.67 were identified. Therefore, there is a need to go further than simply looking at the broad boundaries of

contractual uncertainty (Heyes et al., 2018), to explore the content of particular contractual arrangements and the factors that shape both the contract and its contents.

We argue for the need to understand how and why employers treat workers differently with respect to contracts. There is a requirement to overcome the idea that contracts are chosen purely on the way in which they can contain costs, where salaries are treated as fixed costs for core workers and hourly paid work is a variable cost, with the latter used at times of high demand (Lambert 2017). Instead, as Walsh (1990) found in the service sector, a hierarchy of job status determines the contract type of workers: it was in fact the “core” workers on which the service depended, such as chambermaids and cashiers, who were more likely to be on casual contracts and have less access to fringe benefits. While this argument is nothing new, with Pollert arguing in 1988 (Pollert, 1988, p.281) that the use of a core and periphery was “*confused, circular and value laden*”), there is an increasing need to keep this in mind in assessing the precarity of work faced by workers in particular contexts and on particular contracts. For example, recently employers have been found to use minimum-hour contracts when fixed hours (i.e., contracts to work the same hours every week) may be more suitable (IDR, 2018). Therefore, in order to understand employers’ contractual choices, there is a need to consider whether there may be a contractual core and periphery, which do not correspond with whether the tasks undertaken are core to the organisational functioning, but instead are based on workers’ characteristics. In many cases, the workers who are

most essential may be classed as peripheral in a contractual sense, due to social norms and their characteristics as socially disadvantaged.

One issue in the shaping of job and labour queues is the degree of freedom for employers to treat workers within the same organisation differently. Baron and Kreps (1999) argue that consistency is a core organisational HR practice, underpinning the legitimacy of management, which aims to prevent resentment among employees, and enable employees to comprehend what is expected from them. However, consistent treatment is potentially more expensive, and employers may seek to limit their commitment to it. One strategy is to treat workers differently if the groups are perceived to have different attributes and social expectations. Resentment and confusion about HR policies, Baron and Kreps (1999) argue, are only likely to occur if employees see someone who is comparable to them being treated differently. Hence, consistency across all employees may be unnecessary and *“social, economic, demographic, and even symbolic difference between groups of workers can serve as a workable point of discontinuity or change in employment practices”* (Baron and Kreps, 1999, p.50). The legitimisation of distinctions is dependent on the broader society in which the firm is embedded. Hence, the distinction used to legitimise where workers sit in the labour queues also legitimises differential treatment by employers. Further differential treatment of workers can occur, for example, through the use of job titles or different uniforms. In some cases, while the skills required and tasks undertaken may be broadly the same, these distinctions allow employers to treat workers differently.

Through the framework of the labour queue and Baron and Kreps' (1999) notion of consistency, this article extends the existing literature because it aims to explore how the characteristics of available workers in labour queues and the shaping of workers' contractual arrangements are interlinked. We seek to investigate how employers shape particular labour queues within their organisations, and how these relate to the contractual arrangements in which workers are placed. The research aims to understand how the queues change and how employers respond, including through using changes to contractual arrangements, justified by perceptions of workers' characteristics, to attract particular types of worker and also to gain as much control over them as possible. The research was undertaken shortly after the vote for Brexit, which has reportedly caused high levels of staffing shortages in key sectors reliant on migrant labour, such as hospitality (KPMG, 2017). This moment may be one such time where preferences have needed to change, as employers adjust to the new conditions and seek the next best worker in the labour queue. This is explored in the empirical findings.

3.3 Focusing on social care and hospitality

This article draws on a comparison of care and hospitality. These sectors were selected as key low-pay sectors with high levels of precarious work and need for unsociable working hours (Rubery et al., 2015; King et al., 2021). Despite these similarities, the shape that the contractual and employment relations take and the way the sectors are segmentation are completely different. A comparative

approach enables us to gain an understanding of how these different arrangements are shaped across and within different sectors.

The two sectors contrast starkly when it comes to the demographics of their workforces: social care is highly dependent on a predominantly white (79%), female (82%) workforce, the majority of whom are British citizens (84%), and with an average age of 44 (Skills for Care, 2021). Skills for Care found that Brexit had little impact on the makeup of the social care workforce. However, COVID-19 had a direct impact on furthering the already present staff shortage within the sector, with turnover rates increasing from 34% to 38%, and reports of a sharp increase in workers leaving the sector as the economy opened back up (Skills for Care, 2021). This means that while social care is suffering from a labour shortage within the sector, this has more to do with the nature of the role itself and its aging workforce than the loss of EU migrants due to Brexit.

For hospitality the picture is very different. In this sector there is a high reliance on migrant labour, in particular from the EU. In August 2021, Food and Accommodation Services was the sector which saw the highest growth in vacancies (75%), with the vacancy rate at 35% (ONS, 2021a, 2021b). This high vacancy rate is seen as mainly being due to the sector's high reliance on a migrant workforce, with many workers leaving the UK (Caterer.com, 2021). Recent events such as Brexit have seen a substantial fall in migrant workers in the sector, with the proportion of EU migrants making up the sectoral workforce falling from 41% in April 2021 to 37% in June 2021. This decline in the migrant workforce is associated with the high level of labour shortage (Fourth, 2021). The sector appears to be more balanced in

terms of gender than social care: of those working in Hotels and Similar Accommodation in 2019, according to Office for National Statistics (ONS) data, 42% were male and 58% were female. However, on closer inspection, there is clear gendered segmentation within the sector by occupation: for example, 79% of chefs are male, while 73% of waiting staff and 95% of housekeeping staff are female (ONS, 2020). The sector workforce is also much younger than that of social care, with the highest percentage of workers being between 25 and 34 (28%), shortly followed by those between 16 and 24 (25%). The stark difference in the worker demographics within the sectors points to different employer strategies, in terms of the way the different jobs are perceived, the type of staffing used and also in relation to the services that they provide.

The differences in shape between the two sectors are due to different kinds of logic that underpin the decisions employers make, and that arise from historical differences in terms of the services that these sectors provide and how the sectors are traditionally viewed. The high level of feminisation within the social care sector in the UK is often associated with the traditional roles of women as carers, not requiring high skill because this is something that women are seen to be “naturally good at” . Hence it is not a source of employment for all women but “*reserved for the working class*” (Hayes, 2017) generally, due to the low entry requirements into the sector and the lack of progression opportunities available to workers. The majority of roles within the sector are in the provision of direct care (76%), while only 7% of the sectoral roles are in managerial positions (Skills for Care, 2021). While there is some training within the sector, it is often not standardised or

transferable across establishments, and increases in responsibility rarely come with substantial increases in pay (Wilkes et al., 2021). The lack of training provision in the UK social care system is historically embedded in policy decisions which state that women do not need to be trained in roles for which they already have the required experience and skills (Hayes, 2017). This differs from other European countries where training in this sector has historically always existed (Hayes, 2017). Despite this, social care is one of the fastest growing sectors of employment in the UK, and it is experiencing an increasingly high staffing deficit (Houghton and Donohoe, 2021). While the sector predominantly relies on private-sector provision, the majority of funding comes from either the National Health Service (NHS) or local authorities (Hayes, 2017). The 2021–2022 funding provided by these public authorities is predicted to fall £641.7 million short of ensuring that all social care workers are paid at the minimum wage rate (Houghton and Donohoe, 2021). Hence the low funding, coupled with the low and feminised status of the work done by social care workers, is argued to have led to the low standards of employment within the sector (Hayes, 2017).

Hospitality differs starkly from social care, but comes with its own contradictions that contribute to the high levels of staff turnover, the types of staff chosen and the low levels of employment standards in the sector. Unlike social care, the hospitality sector has a long history of specialist professional qualifications. This varies from college-provided chef training to specialist university departments focusing on hotel management (Baum, 2019). These training systems provide many direct recruits into the sector, but those entering the sector in managerial positions do so

at substantially lower wages than their counterparts in other sectors (£17,000 compared to an average of £29,000) (Baum, 2019). This is partly due to the contradiction that sits within the system: namely that, despite the demand for managerial graduates, in order to progress and gain more senior managerial roles, it is necessary to have operational experience across as many different areas within the sector as possible (Mooney et al., 2015; King et al., 2021). This contradiction is seen to be one of the key reasons why there is both a crisis of retention in the sector but also a reduction in the number of applicants for these university courses. This would also explain why the staff in this sector are, on the whole, much younger than those in social care.

However, the shape of the sector is not purely based on the qualifications that workers gain, but is also directly related to the concept of aesthetic labour. While in social care the role of the worker is associated with women's natural ability to care, in hospitality front-facing staff are seen to form part of the organisation's corporate image (Bolton et al., 2019; Alberti and Iannuzzi, 2020). Therefore, aesthetic labour becomes key, and as with social care, class is a key component in this. Warhurst and Nickson (2007) argue that the decision to hire more students into the hospitality sector aimed to bring more of the middle classes and their aesthetic into the sector. Similarly, the use of migrants and the stereotypes associated with them confined this demographic to different roles within the sector (McDowell et al., 2007).

Therefore, despite both sectors suffering from high levels of precarious work, unsociable working hours and high levels of staff turnover, the way these issues are

shaped is completely different. A comparison of the two enables us to gain a better understanding of the processes that underlie different employers' decisions in relation to both worker characteristics and employment arrangements. Therefore, we are able to achieve more in-depth insight into the shaping of both labour and job queues.

3.4 Methods

The two organisational case studies – a residential social care organisation and a hotel²⁴ – were chosen using purposive theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), reflecting the sectoral demographic breakdown as well as the conditions of work associated with them. This enabled us to gain more of a grasp of how employers differentiated between roles and justified different treatment. Using organisations with a wide variety of roles, and drawing on comparison of two starkly different sectors enabled an iterative process of continuous theory building throughout the research and analysis process (Eisenhardt, 1989). This provided insights into employers' perceptions of workers' characteristics, and the different strategies used by employers in the shaping of employment and contractual arrangements.

²⁴ The hotel was chosen because it comprised the largest variety of roles within the sector, enabling us to gain an in-depth understanding of the different types of workers and contractual arrangements that existed within the sector, and of what lead to the differential treatment of workers. Similarly, the residential care facility was chosen because it contained a large variety of roles, and also enabled us to gain a clearer understanding of the different dynamics present.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven workers and four senior managers plus the HR manager in the hotel, and sixteen workers and six members of management and HR in the care facility. Follow-up interviews were conducted with two managers and three workers during COVID-19 within the residential care organisation, to assess if there had been changes in their employment strategies. Workers were selected based on their roles within the organisation, not their demographic breakdown, in order to give a more representative picture of the organisational structure. Management interviewees were selected based on their strategic importance to the organisation. The selected workers were asked about their work-life history and their daily experiences of the role. Management interviewees were asked about their staffing strategies. Interview guides were designed through an iterative process: following each interview, a new interview guide was produced for the next person, which ensured that data steered the development of the guide.

Nonparticipant observation was conducted in both organisations. In the residential care facility, this consisted of attending staff forums where key issues were discussed. In the hotel, this consisted of sitting in the hotel lobby as the day and night shift swapped over, which enabled observation of the changes in staffing dynamics and the different interactions that existed. Training manuals, company accounts and recruitment leaflets were also analysed. The use of a variety of sources enabled data triangulation to gain a better understanding of the employers' strategies, and how these shaped both the labour queues within the organisations and the contractual arrangements for particular occupational groups.

3.5 Findings

The findings draw on each of the case studies separately, to provide a clearer narrative and analysis of the different strategies deployed in each organisation. Both case studies reveal the utility of using the double queue concept to understand the distribution of precarious work across the two sectors, jobs and workers. The shapes of the queues were found to differ substantially, and were directly influenced by the specific sectoral dynamics in which both organisations were embedded. These dynamics shaped both the labour shortages experienced and the justifications for hiring particular groups of people, as well as the contractual arrangements in which these workers were placed. Within the hotel, the notions of progression and career held importance, as well aesthetic labour and presentability. These notions shaped the job hierarchy and types of workers targeted for roles. Hence, preference was given to migrant workers and students for particular roles, which influenced the conditions of work experienced by the different groups of workers. In contrast, within the care organisation, the job hierarchy was shaped much more around the role of care provision and the traditional gendered perceptions associated with this activity. Nevertheless, we found that, in both case studies, class (in terms of educational levels and being able to “pass” as middle class by displaying and embodying an aesthetic that fits customer expectations) played an integral role in where workers sat in the hierarchy and the way they were treated by employers. By revealing the role that the historical sectoral context and employers’ perceptions play in not only who is

hired but also the contractual arrangements workers are in, we show the importance of extending the literature to include an understanding of how employers' stereotypes shape the contractual arrangements that workers are offered.

3.5.1 The Hotel

3.5.1.1 Shaping of the queues

The case study of the hotel, and in particular the interviews with managers, revealed that they had been actively reshaping their job structures and associated employment conditions over recent years. In this context, it is vitally important to understand the stereotypes employers use as they reshape the conditions of work. This restructuring had been taking place under the influence of three main distinguishing factors that shaped the jobs hierarchy. As indicated in Table 4 below, these three factors are:

1. Where the job itself sits within the hospitality career hierarchy
2. The contract type associated with a particular role and service
3. The employer's preference for workforce groups.

Table 4 indicates how within this hotel – and as is typical for the sector in general – issues of careers and progression were important in shaping the way that job hierarchies were justified (which extends the extant queue literature). We find that the job queue was directly associated with the roles the employer perceived to

constitute a career offering opportunities for progression. Jobs such as housekeeping and food and beverage services were deemed to be at the lower end of this progression hierarchy, with these jobs perceived as non-career jobs; if employees in these roles sought to develop a career within the sector they needed to move out of these jobs and into a career-type job. However, managers still emphasised that such progression was possible, and reinforced the emphasis in research literature that operational experience was vital for progression to senior roles within hospitality. Indeed, the need for this varied operational experience informed the managers' explanations for the existence of the hierarchy – although such progression was only possible for particular types of workers, as shown later. The importance and extent of both progression and experience across different operational areas was clearly explained by the HR manager of a hotel.

So a lot of our F and B [food and beverage] assistants started out as housekeepers so when they first maybe came to the country and they couldn't get a job, they... started in housekeeping. We've got people who... started in F and B and are now on reception... people move around. My administrator in HR was the night manager next door and then became a day manager and now she's my administrator in HR because she wanted to go back to college, so yeah... there's flexibility within the company. (Jessica, hotel HR manager)

Table 4 shows the job hierarchy that existed within the hotel, based on progression possibilities. The next two sets of factors distinguishing the jobs hierarchy are contract type and conditions of work, and these directly reflect where the jobs sit in the progression hierarchy. In addition, the progression hierarchy maps onto a labour queue (that is, the hierarchy of worker type) based on gender, migration status, education level and labour market temporality. While we find that those at the top of the labour queue were British or migrants with high levels of formal

education, jobs at the bottom of the queue were held by students or migrants. The students were perceived as temporary but could, if they wanted to, progress up the hierarchy, whereas migrants without high levels of formal education were often seen as low skilled, with little English, and were often expected to stay on the bottom rungs of the hotel ladder. Sometimes progression from housekeeping to food and beverage services was possible if they were able to improve their English. The labour queue is not coincidental but deliberate, based on employers' stereotypes of both the workers' characteristics and attributes, including where they are in their life course, as well as stereotypes in relation to the preferences of the customers they serve.

Similar to the findings of Alberti and Iannuzzi (2020), the perceived attitudes of customers affected who was hired into particular roles, and created an integral part of the "*corporate image*" (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009). For example, the employer stated that the decision to hire a man for reception was because, "*I just think men sometimes... the ladies like the men and I just think it's nice to see male receptionists*" (Dawn, hotel front office manager). Similarly, it was noted that there was a desire for an older male concierge based on the fact that, "*We've had older in the past, which is great because people like that warmth you know, of the old generation*" (Dawn, hotel front office manager).

Further justifications for recruiting types of workers were based on perceptions of innate attributes that these workers held. It was noted that the concierge had to be male, "*because [customers] they've got a huge amount of heavy luggage[...] and they are obviously parking extremely powerful expensive cars*" (Dawn, front office

manager). In departments such as housekeeping (at the bottom of the hierarchy), gender segmentation was maintained by gendering the distinct roles done by women and men based on stereotypical perceptions of workers' own identities and traditional household roles. The HR manager justified these distinctions as follows:

Mainly female... we do have male maids. Our males in the department are mainly linen porters, but again, it's just more of a physical job and it just seems to attract males[...] I think it's culture, it's seen as a female role... they enjoy it more, a lot of them are homely ladies. (Jessica, hotel HR manager)

As has been found in the migration literature, the managers in the hotel emphasised clear preferences for migrant workers compared to the local counterparts for particular roles. This preference was justified by stereotypes and a clear distinction between the "typical" British worker and the migrant alternative. This was done for three distinctly different reasons, and was dependent on the type of job taken. The first reason given was that migrants were regarded as more willing to take on the worst types of jobs, without a need to improve conditions (this was particularly the case for back-of-house functions such as kitchen porters and maids). Secondly, migrants were viewed as more willing to work their way up the career ladder, and thirdly, particular groups of migrant workers were viewed as able to maintain the corporate luxury image (particularly important for front-of-house functions such as reception). The HR manager noted that her preference for migrant workers was based on their *"more long-term view which is quite interesting, whereas the British don't seem to have that"* (Jessica, hotel HR manager). They justified this preference by simultaneously painting the British workforce in a negative light, depicting them as being *"scruffy"* (Dawn, hotel front office manager), preferring to be on benefits, or having *"an attitude when it comes*

to work” (Jack, hotel food and beverage manager) or a lack of respect. This perception of the British versus the migrant worker meant that, until recently, the hotel had not hired British people for roles, particularly in reception, that were key to maintaining their corporate image.

It’s all overseas people. On my desk I have... and in fact for the first time ever... the last year I was the only British person on my desk.
(Dawn, hotel front office manager)

Further specific roles were depicted as belonging to a particular type of worker based on preconceived perceptions. Rather than improving the conditions of work, these were maintained based on the notion that migrant workers would do them:

Male[...] interestingly all international, not British because I think... the kitchen porter is seen as... a... because it’s a national living wage job but it’s a hard job, it’s not seen as the most attractive job to a lot of people... however... credit to them, they work hard, they do work hard. (Jessica, hotel HR manager)

Hence, within the hotel we can see the clear presence of the labour queue, as managers had clear preferences for hiring particular sets of workers depending on their role within the organisation. While at the top of the queue education level was key, lower down, clear preferences were expressed for workers based on both gender and migration status. This was class dependent, and based on whether they were seen to maintain the image of the hotel through their aesthetic labour if they were customer facing (i.e., whether they were better able to portray a higher/middle-class aesthetic than their British counterparts). For the lower-class migrant with more limited English, the preference was based on their perceived willingness to work harder under worse conditions.

Table 4: Hotel queues and hierarchies of preference

Job	Career job?	Contract type		Worker
Manager	Yes	Salaried	Full time/permanent	No preference/mixed gender and migrant expert
Back office/HR, admin, events, etc.	Yes	Salaried	Full time/permanent	Educated EU migrant or British
Chef	Yes	Salaried	Full time/permanent	Male (no specification) BUT stated preference for women
Front desk reception	Yes	Salaried	Full time/permanent	EU migrant/female, one man
Night reception	No	Hourly paid contract	Zero-hours contract	Non-EU migrant, mainly male
Concierge	No	Hourly paid contract	Zero-hours contract	Male
Food and beverage	No	Hourly paid contract	Fixed-term contracts for students (switched away from zero-hours contract)	Migrant worker/student/single mum
Kitchen porter	No	Hourly paid contract	Zero-hour contract	Male, older migrant worker, limited English

<i>Housekeeping</i>	<i>Linen porters</i>	No	Hourly paid contract	Zero-hour contract (switched from regular hours)	Male, older migrant worker, limited English
	<i>Maids</i>	No	Hourly paid contract	Zero-hour contract (switched from regular hours)	Female migrant, limited English

3.5.1.2 Shaping of the queues and contractual arrangements in a changing institutional context

The vote for Brexit, and the sharp rise in new hotels being built and offering higher wages had a profound effect on the hotel's access to migrant labour. Consequently, they had to deploy a new recruitment strategy to access a workforce with the desired attributes, that included levels of English. This new recruitment strategy highlights the importance of understanding not only the dynamism of the labour queue as the employer's preference for type of worker shifts, but also how new contractual arrangements were created in line with the shift in preferences. The three new strategies that were deployed had profound effects on both the workforce type and on the contractual arrangements offered. First, in the food and beverage department, shortages were addressed by targeting student recruitment. This was coupled with a shift away from zero-hour contracts to fixed-term minimum-hour contracts. In contrast, shortages in front-desk reception work were filled by recruiting more mature workers – in practice, women from the local area, who returned to work following childcare – with salaried contracts to both retain and recruit committed workers, and ensure adequate staffing to fill rota gaps. In housekeeping, where there was no reliance on language skills, there was a strategy to cut costs by shifting from regular-hour contracts to zero-hour contracts.

The student recruitment strategy for the food and beverage department was implemented through the deliberate targeting of universities and colleges, to promote the notion that working in food and beverage departments could be part of a bigger career pathway in hotels in general. This approach fitted into the

historical sectoral logic of career progression within the industry, but, as previously found by Warhurst and Nickson (2007), it also enabled the maintenance of a higher class of worker to fit in with the corporate image.

We've took a slightly different spin on recruitment... recruiting a lot of students as well... because we were struggling with recruitment, so we went down more of a part-time route and ultimately you get a lot more British coming in that way as well. (Jessica, hotel HR manager)

Additionally, the change in type of worker was seen as calling for a change in contractual arrangements. The employer faced problems with students on zero-hour contracts, as they were able to turn down shifts and would take leave over Christmas, creating problems for staffing. Hence, the employer made contractual changes, whereby the new student workforce was placed on fixed-term minimum-hour contracts. This enabled control over this workforce, as they were unable to turn down shifts or take unauthorised leave without breaking the terms of their contract. The change still allowed the employer to maintain flexibility over hours.

zero... which I dislike massively[...] They've [the worker] got more rights[...] "Well I can't sign the holiday." "OK, I'll have it as days off." My hands are tied! [...] People are unreliable these days, so you've got to find them contracts, especially good ones[...] I would do no less than eight hours, so... it'd be multiples of eight, the contracts will be[...] So eight, sixteen, twenty-four, thirty-two... forty[...] If you put someone on [an] eight-hour contract and said, "You're working every Thursday," and let's say they couldn't work any six days, that wouldn't be a good move as an employer to do that because... you're tying yourself down as well at the same time... and let's say on a Thursday you didn't need that person and you... sorry, you've got to come to work... only one person... you could probably make them work every day. Jack, hotel food and beverage manager)

On the other hand, students were not considered a desirable workforce in reception. The need was for a workforce that was able to work long hours, and who

could be called in at the last minute, while simultaneously maintaining the well-presented corporate image. At the time of the interview, the hotel was short of three members of staff at reception. However, placing people on salaried contracts enabled them to ensure that their staff took on the extra shifts without having to pay additionally for staffing. Further, the decision to fill the gaps caused by the decline in migrant workers by recruiting local women was seen as enabling the hotel to call staff in at the last minute, which led to the recruitment of the first two British members of staff for this position. The local women who were recruited were able to fit in with the organisational logic of maintaining the “middle-class aesthetic”, as they had returned to work following caring for children, as their partners had been able to afford to support them on their wages. Salaried contracts ensured that this type of staff was attracted to the role, as it was not perceived as casual, while the use of rhetoric that the staff all worked as a team and helped each other out guaranteed that workers felt responsibility for covering the overtime.

I've got three receptionist positions to fill. So we are really, really tight at the moment, but the team I've got are great because they all pull together, but it's a hard slog, you know and it is a hard slog. (Dawn, hotel front office manager)

One receptionist explained that this strategy meant that they were often required to work long days continuously without a break:

I can work anything up to ten days[...] before I get a day off.
(Elizabeth)

However, unlike the other two departments, there was less concern about recruiting and retaining staff in housekeeping, as those in post often had limited English language skills. Problems of recruitment and retention were not discussed

by the employer, and instead the focus was on reducing costs, particularly as there were sometimes difficulties providing enough work to match full-time contracts. Consequently, there was a decision to move away from regular-hour contracts, and only offer new recruits zero-hour contracts in an attempt to keep costs down (as noted in interviews with other departmental managers). This shows that the pressure to cut costs affects those at the bottom of the queue, leading to certain disadvantaged groups being targeted. However, the move to zero-hour contracts for this group of workers was justified based on allowing the workforce to have flexibility, as was noted by the HR manager:

*They [housekeeping] are again on zero contracts just because of the flexibility of it, so it just depends, but quite often you'll find they do work forty hours, but if they don't want to, they don't have to[...]
With the linen porters we did have full-time contracts in place... when those people left, we made the decision to go onto zero-hour because quite often they weren't getting forty hours... there wasn't the work there for them. Whereas the zero-hour gives them that flexibility now, so yeah, we probably will review it again in the future... if that needs to[...]
The maids, again, mix of contracts. Those that have been here a long time have anything between thirty-two and forty hours. Our new people are given zero-hour contracts, we usually review it between six and twelve months. (Jessica, hotel HR manager)*

In reality, placing housekeeping staff on zero-hour contracts enabled the employers to save money and have increased control over this workforce. The workers were perceived as having a higher reliance on these jobs; hence, the threat of job loss was enough to dissuade workers from turning down shifts.

Yeah, quite often if you're constantly saying no, we would then stop offer[ing] your hours. We will always try to give you hours, but obviously if you don't want to work them then we'll get somebody who does want to work them. (Jessica, hotel HR manager)

Thus, the case study of the hotel reveals that there is a direct connection between the organisation of the jobs, the contracts on offer, and the type of worker employed. When the local socioeconomic context changed, new strategies were deployed to change which workers in the labour queues were targeted, which also led to adjustments in the types of contracts offered to ensure both control and cooperation. This shows that, as argued by Baron and Kreps (1999), the employer was able to treat workers differently along demographic lines based on the role that they were in, while only maintaining consistency within groups of workers. It is clear that class, migration status, level of education and gender played key roles in deciding which jobs workers were placed in, and what contractual arrangements they were in.

We now turn to the care organisation, where the characteristics dominating the shaping of both job queues (including contracts) and labour queues were gender and class. The findings show the need to combine Baron and Kreps's (1999) notion of consistency with the concept of the double queue, to understand the role of employers' stereotypes of workforce groups in shaping job changes and contractual conditions.

3.5.2 The Care Home

As with the hotel, we found clear evidence that jobs and associated working conditions (including contracts) reflected not only the work requirements but also the perceived ways in which the available workforce could be controlled and

incentivised. Unlike the hotel, the contractual hierarchy in the care home was not driven by issues of career progression, but instead reflected the direct function that a job role played in the everyday running of the service. This adds to the literature by showing not only that employer stereotypes affect the contractual arrangements that workers are put in, but that the way that this is done differs by sector.

As explained by Linda (director at the care home), there was a clear distinction between the roles played within the organisation and the types of contracts offered.

It's sort of well, its hard to explain um usually the care side, so caring carers will be paid on hourly rate and anybody going into a management role we usually salary them, so that's how it sort of works, and then we do like have zero contract hours which are like your bank staff or sessional workers. (Linda, care home director)

In short, those whose labour was not required for the hands-on functioning of the service and who instead provided a back-office function (such as fundraising, management, HR services, community support and volunteer coordination) were placed on salaried contracts. In contrast, those whose jobs were to cover the direct operational needs of the service (such as the provision of care, customer services or catering) were placed on regular-hour contracts, where the hours were set by a fixed, rolling rota that ensured that the needs of the service were covered. Having workers on hourly pay rather than salaried contracts was held to encourage overtime and facilitated gaps in rotas being covered. The policy was for any gaps not covered by those on regular-hour contracts to be covered by those at the bottom of the queue on zero-hour contracts (bank staff); thus such contracts were

used to plug gaps in staffing rotas. The availability of bank staff, as we detail further below, was an indirect outcome of the long and challenging full-time rota for regular care staff. Those who could not meet the challenge were mainly only offered the zero-hours contract option. The bank staff's flexible labour was essential to ensuring that staffing levels were maintained and that the service was still able to operate.

Despite the rigidity of contractual norms within the care home, there was a clear worker hierarchy present, which interacted directly with both job and labour queues. However, unlike the hotel, this hierarchy mainly reflected prejudices and preferences related to gender and class stereotypes rather than migration status. As Table 5 below shows, there was clear segmentation in job roles by gender. This occurred through the deliberate strategy of the employer, and manifested in two ways. The first way (as was the case in the hotel) was based on the employers' stereotypes of their customers and what they believed their preferences and behaviour to be. These were based on the notion that customers had "*traditional views*" of women as carers, in which both male and female clients would not want a man to care for them. This preference was apparent from recruitment all the way through to the strategies used in creating rotas. That is, when it came to the hiring of care workers, it was felt that hiring men would do little to overcome issues of understaffing, and could exacerbate the issue. The HR manager interviewed discussed this.

Some of the residents wouldn't want a male to give them personal care so we just have to accommodate that as and when so say we were to recruit a male carer[...] because you might think we've got too many if we appoint him on the nursing floor that might mean

we've got too many male carers and we might not have enough hands on deck that because the residents don't want a male carer to provide them with personal care. (Mary, care home HR manager).

The second reason given for gender segmentation was differences in job content.

This led to a gendered hierarchy, directly associated with terms and conditions such as pay. Differentiation was not only present between people doing different roles within the care home, but also between those doing similar ones. As can be seen in Table 5 below, there was a gendered distinction between night and day workers in customer services, with those working nights being predominantly male while those working days were female. Night customer service workers, who were all male, were paid the highest of all the regular hour contract workers, at a rate of £9.70; while daytime customer service workers, who were all female, were paid at minimum-wage level. The distinction was justified by the employer on the basis that the tasks the workers did on night shifts included acting as security guards, while the roles of those working days were described more along the lines of administration. Nominally, both roles are similar: ensuring that residents do not leave the facility and unwanted visitors do not enter, while at the same time acting as the space where any queries are dealt with.

The day staff do the normal jobs, do any admin that we need them to do they are there. It's a bit different now under COVID as there is no one coming in[...] they do a lot more security at night they check the different areas check that we are all locked down[...] They usually let in visitors in and out later on in the evening. (Linda, care home director)

However, this distinction was not made for care workers, who were not paid premiums for working nights, even though staffing levels were lower and the contents of these roles to some extent differed. The customer service workers who

worked nights earned a higher wage even than care workers, who acted as shift leaders and earned only £9.50 an hour. Here Baron and Kreps' (1999) notion that the rule of consistency can be broken through segmentation between social groups (in this case, gender) is found to be put into practice. This shows the importance of combining an understanding of consistency with the understanding of the queue.

Table 5: Residential care queues and hierarchies of preference

Job	Pay	Career job?	Contract type	Worker
Back office and management	Market rate	Yes	Salaried	Female (British) (75% female)
Community activity worker	Market rate	Yes	Salaried	Predominantly female British (from local community)
Nurse	£17.00	Yes	Regular-hour contract	Migrant female (90%)
Team leader	£12.33	Yes	Regular-hour contract	50/50 male/female (no specification)
Chef	£9.90	Yes	Regular-hour contract	Male 100% (no specification)
Activities team	£8.70	Yes	Regular-hour contract	Female British
Maintenance	n/a	Yes	Regular-hour contracts	Male 100% (no specification)
Porter	£8.72–£8.95	No	Regular-hour contract	Male 100% (no specification)
Customer service, night	£8.72	No	Regular-hour night shift contract	Male 100% (no specification)
Customer service, day	£8.72	No	Regular-hour daytime shift contract	Female British
Shift leader, social care staff	£9.50	No	Regular-hour daytime shift contract or Regular-hour night shift contract, depending on which team they are part of	Majority female (85%) (mixed)
Regular care staff, day (8am–8pm)	£8.72–£8.90	No	Regular hour daytime shift contract	Majority female (85%) (mixed)

<i>Regular care staff, night (8pm–8am)</i>	£8.72–£8.90	No	Regular-hour night shift contract	Majority female (85%) (mixed)
<i>Care staff twilight/day break</i>	£8.72–£8.90	No	Set-hour contract	Female (no specification)
<i>Catering staff</i>	£8.72	Yes	Minimum-hour contract	Mixed (British) (50/50)
<i>Catering staff</i>	£8.72	No	Zero-hour contract	Mixed

As for the hotel, the Brexit vote had a significant effect on the care facility's ability to hire some staff, in particular nurses. However, COVID-19 was seen as having a greater impact on the availability of social care staff. The employer noted that there was a lack of available staff in the local labour market; however, unlike the hotel, the staff shortage was not seen as occurring due to migrant workers leaving the country but rather due to changes in the availability of the local working-class women they had previously relied on – as these women had left social care to take up jobs in other sectors, such as retail, following the pandemic. This led the employer to start recruiting nurses in early 2020, and social care staff in early 2022, from outside the EU through a specialist agency. These workers were awarded food and board for their first months of employment. However, unlike in the hotel, there was no reliance on the middle-class aesthetic, and therefore no contractual changes had to be made to attract these workers.

As stated above, the care organisation was highly reliant on a female care workforce. Preference was given to those from working-class backgrounds who were seen to have the characteristics needed to be able to provide care for the residents, as well as being more willing to be flexible and to do the work. Further preference was given to younger female workers, as there were concerns that their workforce was aging; however, this group of desired workers were in the life stage where they were likely to have their own care responsibilities. In order to ensure an adequate level of staffing twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, so that the service could be run, a rigid rota was put in place in which workers were expected to work twelve-hour shifts. This left the employer with a contradiction, as the rota

was leading to high staff turnover, due to conflicts with the female workforce's own reproductive responsibilities. While the employer was aware that this was a key issue, they felt unable to accommodate the needs of women with care responsibilities. The HR manager explained:

So obviously you have to look at how you put your children you know how you can accommodate the working hours. So say they work thirty-nine hours that's four days out of seven. That can include weekends. Um obviously because it's any four days from seven. We can't guarantee what days they are going to work and the challenge for that with new parents is that nurseries don't accommodate random days. (Mary, care home HR manager)

This lack of flexibility and the expected clash with the desired female workforce's caring responsibilities led the employer to justify the creation of particular contractual arrangements designed with these workers in mind. In reality, however, the "new contractual" arrangements also served the interests of the employer, by allowing peak business times to be covered within the caring day without incurring the costs of continuous shifts. The alternative shorter shifts were called the "daybreak" and "twilight" shift, from 7am to 11am, and 5pm to 10pm. These shifts were seen as being ideal for mothers, and were justified based on the employer's assumption of knowledge of these workers' household dynamics and structures.

We have introduced different shifts like 7 to 11 which is like a daybreak shift. 7am to 11am sometimes that helps because a partner can take the kid to nursery. Um and they have to try and work it out with their partner really. (Mary, care home HR manager)

The justifications for these shifts were very much based on traditional notions of women's roles within the household, and women as secondary earners.

So yeah... people tend to pick what will fit their lifestyle, so yeah, you might get... the mums doing the 7–11s or the 5–10s. When their partner comes in at teatime, they can then come out. (Linda, care home director)

But people are on anything from five hours we do what we call twilight shifts and day break shifts so we have people that come in and just work 5 in the evening until 10 at night so which works quite well sometimes for people with childcare responsibilities because [their] partner is maybe coming home as they are going out and they have done their kids' tea. (Connor, care home CEO)

In reality, these shifts did little to overcome the personal issues that the employers claimed they would. Those interviewed who were working these shift patterns reported clashes with personal caring responsibilities, mental illness and the need for familial support.

Despite this, it was argued by the employer that where these “new” contractual shift patterns (which were still regular-hour contracts) did not work for workers, other forms of flexibility could be found. Notions of workers' needs for flexibility were used to justify the creation and maintenance of zero-hour contracts or bank work. These contractual arrangements worked well for the employer, as they allowed gaps in the rotas to be covered and enabled them to overcome staff shortage issues. In reality, these shifts were based on the predetermined patterns of the twelve-hour rota or the twilight and daybreak times. As with the other contracts, women's roles within their households, and their reproductive responsibilities therein, were used to justify the creation of these contracts at the bottom of the contractual queue.

No, it depends... we... we like them to fit in with shift patterns, however, we used to have one girl who could only do... half 9 'til 2 to fit in around her children, dropping them at school, coming in. So it's

our decision then, do we... have that person coming in at those times because that's what she can do... that helps us, so it's up to us really, we're quite flexible with bank. So if somebody says to me, "I can only do that..." and if I think, "Well, that's great, you can come in at half 9." And that means that regular staff can't sort of say, "Well, I want that shift pattern," well... join the bank then and... then you just dictate what you can do and then it's up to us if we accept that or not. (Linda, care home director)

Therefore, the use of zero-hour contracts through bank staffing enabled the employers to justify that they provided flexibility, without having to set a precedent of enabling more family-friendly forms of employment for this set of workers. This fits with Baron and Kreps's (1999) arguments of consistency: the employer can justify placing workers on more precarious contracts as it allows for consistent treatment between a similar group of workers. While the practice differed from other workers in the organisation, the employer felt that this consistent treatment prevented resentment through direct comparators, and it was therefore a legitimate action to reduce the level of security experienced by workers. However, for those workers at the lower end of the queue, flexibility comes at the cost of increased insecurity as they go further down the contractual hierarchy.

As with the hotel, each of the contractual arrangements that existed within the care home served a particular purpose, showing the need to include an understanding of employers' use of contracts to the queue literature. They used a regular-hour day-shift contract, where workers worked twelve-hour shifts on complex, two-weekly rolling rotas, structured in a way that gave an illusion of a light week and heavy week. Starting the rota on a Sunday, this structure meant that in the light week workers were required for two twelve-hour shifts and one six-

hour shift, and in the heavy week they worked a total of fifty-four hours, consisting of four twelve-hour shifts and one six-hour shift. If the rota had started on a Monday, the illusion of the heavy and light week would not have existed, as the workers would have worked forty-two hours every week, consisting of three twelve-hour shifts and one six-hour shift. The illusion of the heavy and light week allowed the employer to ensure that staffing levels were guaranteed, as workers would do overtime in their light week as they felt they had time to do so. The shorter-hour shifts (daybreak and twilight shifts) enabled peak times to be covered, while zero-hour contracts served to ensure that no rota gaps were missed. Further generous overtime allowances for regular-hours workers meant that any further gaps in the rota could be covered and agency staff were not required. However, while the purposes of the contractual arrangements were evident, the need to justify these contractual arrangements based on workers' reproductive responsibilities provided the employer with legitimate arguments to explain both the gendering of the roles and the use of more precarious contracts. While these contractual arrangements were far from family-friendly for workers, the employer "got away" with them because they were perceived by the workers as better than alternative workplaces, where unpredictability and zero-hour contracts are rife (Moore and Hayes, 2017). In this way, the employer was able to gain monopsony power over the workers, as the hours they provided were better than the alternatives available.

Similar to the hotel case, there was a clear connection between the shaping of the job and the labour supply queues, with contracts being used to achieve staffing

objectives. However, unlike in the hotel, the labour supply queue was justified predominantly through traditional gendered norms and notions of care. The employer's rhetoric in relation to gender was based on both preconceived stereotypes of the customers and job content, which led to clear inequalities between gendered roles as well as a justification for the contractual arrangements lower down the queues. In contrast to the hotel, where contractual arrangements were predominantly designed as a form of control based on stereotypes of the workers, within the care organisation the contractual arrangements, while justified based on the needs of the worker, were primarily chosen to meet the needs of the service to ensure hands-on, continuous delivery of care. The regular-hours contract did this by creating a rigid rota that could not be deviated from, while at the same time encouraging the take-up of overtime; the minimum-hour contracts ensured that peak times were covered; and the zero-hour contracts ensured that no gaps occurred.

While Brexit did influence staffing, COVID-19 had a greater impact due to high levels of workers leaving the sector. Unlike the hotel, the care home did not require a middle-class aesthetic, and due to funding constraints, it was easier to recruit workers from outside the EU rather than improve the working conditions. The employer adjusted to this staffing shortage through recruitment strategies of seeking non-EU migrants rather than seeking new workers in the UK, and through changing contractual arrangements to meet their needs, similar to those strategies used in the hotel.

3.5 Conclusion

The findings from these two contrasting case studies have revealed the importance of both labour and job queues in understanding occupational segmentation.

Drawing on the frameworks set out by both gender scholars such as Reskin and Roos (1990), and migration scholars such as Waldinger and Lichter (2003), we have shown that where workers are placed on the queue and whether they are perceived as appropriate for a role is determined by employer's stereotypes based on their assumed innate attributes. For example, we found in the hotel that preference was given to migrant over British workers, as they were seen as being better presented, harder working and having a longer-term view, while within the social care facility, women were preferred over men to be the providers of hands-on care.

As these scholars have shown in their earlier studies, the shapes that both job queues and labour queues take are not stagnant but ever changing. For example, the vote for Brexit required the hotel to change its preferences for roles such as food and beverage workers away from migrants towards a student workforce, and for hotel reception towards mature women returners who were living locally.

However, we have also shown the need to extend our focus beyond how the stereotypes held by employers determine job roles, to include how employers' preconceptions of workers' characteristics shape the contractual and employment arrangements into which they place workers. This was done by drawing on Baron and Kreps's (1999) notion of consistency, which shows how employers can treat workers differently if the workers are perceived to have different social

characteristics and therefore are not comparable to each other. For example, within the hotel we found that the employers changed the workers' contractual arrangements as they started hiring new types of workers (e.g., students instead of migrants), and within the care home they paid male night receptionists higher than their female counterparts working days, or care workers working nights. In both cases, this differential treatment was legitimised by differences in the characteristics of these workers as well as by the requirements of their roles.

Drawing on the case studies of a hotel and a residential care facility, we have highlighted the need to take greater account of the contextual sectoral and historical dynamics in which an organisation is embedded. We have shown that the shapes that labour and job queues take can be completely different, as determined by the historical context of the sector in which they are embedded, by the local labour market and by wider social political factors. This determines both an employer's preference for workforce groups as well as the contractual arrangements they offer. Within the hotel, the job queue was shaped by the notion of career progression, which was determined by the historical contradiction that sits between specialist hospitality higher-education courses and the need for operational experience. The labour queue, on the other hand, was shaped by class and aesthetic labour, with front-of-house roles (such as reception) forming part of the corporate brand and aesthetic – therefore requiring presentable workers, able to pass as middle class, to be in these roles. The preference pre-Brexit was for migrants, but post-Brexit it was switched to British women who had returned to the labour market after their children had grown up. Roles at the back of house,

such as housekeeping and kitchen porters, were reserved for migrants with limited English, justified based on their ability to work hard, which allowed employers not to improve the quality of work.

In contrast, in social care the job queue was shaped based on the hands-on provision of services, with those providing the caring roles being at the bottom of the queue. This is associated with the historical normalisation of care work being low skilled and belonging to lower class women. Therefore, less priority was given to migration status by employers, and more to the worker's gender. However, in both cases, as was found by Alberti and Iannuzzi (2020) in their study, employers justified their worker hierarchy preferences based on stereotypes of their customers and what they felt their customers wanted. Within the hotel, the choice to hire male reception staff was based on women appreciating a man serving them, while in the residential social care case, preference for women was justified based on the notion that residents would not want to have a man performing personal care.

Both case studies also reveal that the employers of particular types of workers result in particular contractual and employment relationships. These arrangements change as the workers filling those roles change, as new ways to attract and control them need to be found. This was particularly apparent within the hotel, where we found that Brexit and the reduction in migrant labour required the employer to recruit new types of workers in particular roles, without losing the corporate aesthetic. Hence, the choice was made to hire students for food and beverage services and local women for reception. However, changes to contractual

arrangements needed to be made for students to ensure they did not turn down shifts; hence they were placed on minimum-hour contract rather than zero-hour ones. Meanwhile, reception staff shortages remained, and led to recruits being placed on salaried contracts, to enable the employer to attract this group of workers and also ensure that they worked long hours.

Contrastingly, in social care, contractual arrangements were shaped by the need to cover the service. However, this conflicted with the type of worker the employer required (women of child-caring age) as it clashed with their own caring responsibilities. The creation of daybreak and twilight contracts was justified based on these workers' needs. However, in reality, for workers these contractual arrangements did little to overcome the issues of core working hours clashing with workers' own household caring responsibilities. Despite this clash, because the conditions of employment remained better than alternative employment within the sector, the employer was still able to exercise some monopsonistic power. However, in both case studies, the workers who were the most reliant on the work provided by that employer, who had the least amount of power and were at the bottom of the labour queue (mothers needing flexibility in social care, and migrants with little English in the hotel) were placed on zero-hour contracts, as it was unlikely that they would turn down shifts. Therefore, other forms of control were not required.

This paper extends and adds to current literature by arguing that to understand processes of labour market segmentation and the various forms that precarious work may take, there is a need to explore and analyse the factors behind the

differing shapes that labour queues and job queues take in particular organisations and sectors. Precarious work can take many different forms, dependent on the ways employers need to assert control. Consequently, to understand both the shape of precarious work and the lines of labour market segmentation, we need to consider how stereotypes of workers are used by employers to justify conditions of work, and how these rationales may change in response to evolving national, sectoral, organisational and local contexts.

3.6 References

- Alberti, G. and Iannuzzi, F. E. (2020). 'Embodied intersectionality and the intersectional management of hotel labour: The everyday experiences of social differentiation in customer-oriented work', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 27(6), pp. 1165–1180.
- Baron, J. and Kreps, D. (1999). *Strategic Human Resources*. New York: Wiley.
- Baum, T. (2019). 'Does the hospitality industry need or deserve talent?', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 31(10), pp. 3823–3837.
- Bolton, S. C., Laaser, K., McGuire, D. and Duncan, A. (2019). 'A neglected pool of labour? Frontline service work and hotel recruitment in Glasgow', *European Management Review*, 16(3), pp. 567–578.
- Boyle, B. and De Keere, K. (2019). 'Aesthetic labour, class and taste: Mobility aspirations of middle-class women working in luxury-retail', *Sociological Review*, 67(3), pp. 706–722.
- Bradley, H. (2016). 'Gender and Work', in Edgell S, Gottfried H, and Granter E. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Work and Employment*. London: Sage, pp. 73-93
- Bruni, A. (2006). "'Have you got a boyfriend or are you single?': On the importance of being 'straight' in organizational research", *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13(3), pp. 299-316.
- Calás, M. B., Smircich, L., and Holvino, E. (2014). 'Theorizing gender-and-organization: Changing times... Changing theories?', in Kumra, S., Simpson, R. and

Burke, R. J. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 17–52.

Carswell, G. and De Neve, G. (2013). 'Labouring for global markets: Conceptualising labour agency in global production networks', *Geoforum*, 44, pp. 62–70.

Caterer.com (2021). *The impact of Brexit and Covid on the UK hospitality workforce*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.caterer.com/recruiter-advice/the-impact-of-brexit-and-covid-on-the-uk-hospitality-workforce#_ftn1. (Accessed: 3 June 2022).

Duffy, M. (2005). 'Reproducing Labor Inequalities: Challenges for Feminists Conceptualizing Care at the Intersections of Gender, Race, and Class', *Gender and Society*, 19(1), pp. 66–82.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). 'Building theory from case study research', *Academy of Management Review*, 14, pp. 532–549.

Felstead, A., Gallie, D., Green, F., and Henseke, G. (2020). 'Unpredictable times: the extent, characteristics and correlates of insecure hours of work in Britain', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 51(1–2), pp. 34–57.

Fredman, S. and Fudge, J. (2016). 'The Contract of Employment and Gendered Work', in Freedland, Mark, (ed.) *The Contract of Employment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 231–252.

Fourth (2021). *The Hospitality Workforce Report: August 2021*. [Online]. Available at: https://get.fourth.com/rs/144-GQL-770/images/WP_The-Hospitality-Workforce-Report-August-2021_0821_UK.pdf. (Accessed: 30 March 2022).

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. London: Aldine Transaction.

Hayes, L. J. (2017). *Stories of Care: A labour of law: Gender and class at work*. London: Springer.

Heyes, J., Moore, S., Newsome, K. and Tomlinson, M. (2018). 'Living with uncertain work', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 49(5–6), pp. 420–437.

Houghton, A. and Donohoe, T. (2021). *The Homecare Deficit 2021: A report on the funding of older people's homecare across the United Kingdom*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.homecareassociation.org.uk/resource/the-homecare-deficit-2021.html>. (Accessed: 21 March 2022).

IDR, (2018). *Minimum and zero hours contracts and low-paid staff*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/772558/Minimum_and_zero_hours_contracts_IDR_October_2018_FINAL.pdf (Accessed: 30 November 2022).

- ILO, (2011). *Policies and regulations to combat precarious employment*. [Online]. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_164286.pdf. (Accessed 21 March 2022)
- King, C. Madera, J. M., Lee, L., Murillo, E., Baum, T. and Solnet, D. (2021). 'Reimagining attraction and retention of hospitality management talent – A multilevel identity perspective', *Journal of Business Research*, 136(2021), pp. 251–262.
- KPMG, (2017). *Labour Migration in the Hospitality Sector*, (March), p. 59. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ukhospitality.org.uk/general/custom.asp?page=LabourMigration> (Accessed: 3 March 2022).
- Lambert, S.J., (2014). 'The limits of voluntary employer action for improving low-level jobs' in Crain, M. and Sherraden, M. (eds.) *Working and Living in the Shadow of Economic Fragility*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 120-139
- LPC, (2020). *Non-compliance and enforcement of the National Minimum Wage: A report by the Low Pay Commission May 2020*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/885382/Non-compliance_and_enforcement_report_-_2020_-_amended.pdf. (Accessed: 3 March 2022).
- MacKenzie, R. and Forde, C. (2009). 'The rhetoric of the "good worker" versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers', *Work, Employment and Society*, 23(1), pp. 142–159.
- Manning, A. (2021). 'Monopsony in Labor Markets: A Review', *ILR Review*, 74(1), pp. 3–26.
- McCollum, D. and Findlay, A. (2015). "'Flexible" workers for "flexible" jobs? The labour market function of A8 migrant labour in the UK', *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(3), pp. 427–443.
- McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2007). 'Division, segmentation, and interpellation: The embodied labors of migrant workers in a Greater London hotel', *Economic Geography*, 83(1), pp. 1–25.
- Mooney, S. (2018). 'Jobs for the girls? Women's employment and career progression in the hospitality industry', in Burke, R.J. and Hughes, J.C, (eds.) *Handbook of Human Resource Management in the Tourism and Hospitality Industries*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. pp 184-216
- Mooney, S. K., Harris, C. and Ryan, I. (2015). 'Long hospitality careers – a contradiction in terms?', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 28(11), pp. 2589–2608.

Moore, S. and Hayes, L. J. B. (2017). 'Taking worker productivity to a new level? Electronic Monitoring in homecare—the (re)production of unpaid labour', *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 32(2), pp. 101–114.

Moore, S. and Newsome, K. (2018). 'Paying for Free Delivery: Dependent Self-Employment as a Measure of Precarity in Parcel Delivery', *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp. 475–492.

ONS (2021a) *Hospitality businesses are most likely to be struggling to fill vacancies* - Office for National Statistics. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/hospitalitybusinessesaremostlikelytobestrugglingtofillvacancies/2021-09-16>. (Accessed: 3 June 2022).

ONS (2021b) *Vacancies and jobs in the UK: September 2021 Estimates of the number of vacancies and jobs for the UK*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/jobsandvacanciesintheuk/september2021>. (Accessed: 3 June 2022).

Pollert, A. (1988). 'The "flexible firm": fixation or fact?', *Work, Employment and Society*, 2(3), pp. 281–316.

Reskin, B. F. and Roos, P. A. (eds) (1990). *Job Queues, Gender Queues*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.

Rubery, J. (2015). 'Change at work: feminisation, flexibilisation, fragmentation and financialisation', *Employee Relations*, 37(6), pp. 633–644.

Rubery, J. and Grimshaw, D. (2016). 'Precarious work and the commodification of the employment relationship: the case of zero hours in the UK and mini jobs in Germany', in Bäcker, G., Lehdorff, S., and Weinkopf, C. (eds.) *Den Arbeitsmarkt verstehen, um ihn zu gestalten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 239–254

Rubery, J. and Hebson, G. (2018). 'Applying a gender lens to employment relations: Revitalisation, resistance and risks', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 60(3), pp. 414–436.

Rubery, J. Grimshaw, D., Hebson, G. and Ugarte S. (2015). "'It's all about time": Time as contested terrain in the management and experience of domiciliary care work in England', *Human Resource Management*, 54(4), pp. 753–772.

Ruhs, M. and Anderson, B. (2010). 'Introduction', in Ruhs, M. and Anderson, B. (eds.) *Who Needs Migrant Workers? Labour Shortages, Immigration and Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp 1–15.

Scott, S. (2012). 'Food Industry', *Food Industry*, 471(October), pp. 459–471.

Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class and gender*. London, UK: Sage.

Skills for Care, (2021). *The state of the adult social care sector and workforce in England*, Skills for Care, (October), pp. 1–142. [Online] Available at: www.skillsforcare.org.uk. (Accessed 30 March 2022).

Thurow, L. C. (1972). 'Education and Economic Equality', *The Public Interest*, 28(66), pp 66-81.

Waldinger, R. and Lichter, M. I. (2003). *How the Other Half Works : Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor*. London: University of California Press.

Walsh T. J. (1990). 'Flexible labour utilisation in the private service sector', *Work, Employment and Society*, 4(4), pp. 517-530.

Warhurst, C. and Nickson, D. (2007). 'A new labour aristocracy? Aesthetic labour and routine interactive service', *Work, Employment and Society*, 21(4), pp. 785–798.

Warhurst, C. and Nickson, D. (2009). "'Who's got the look?' emotional, aesthetic and sexualized labour in interactive services', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(3), pp. 385-404.

Warren, T. (2016). 'Work-life balance and class: in search of working class work-lives', in Lewis, S., Anderson, D., Lyonette, C., Payne, N., & Wood, S., (eds.) *Work-life balance in times of recession, austerity and beyond*. London: Routledge, pp. 112-131 .

Warren, T. and Lyonette, C. (2018). 'Good, Bad and Very Bad Part-time Jobs for Women? Re-examining the Importance of Occupational Class for Job Quality since the "Great Recession"', *Britain, Work, Employment and Society*, 32(4), pp. 747–767.

Wilkes, M., Gable, O. and Walker, T. (2021). *Social care, Social care: a guide to attracting and retaining a thriving workforce*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/work-foundation/publications/social-care>. (Accessed 20 March 2022).

Chapter 4: A case of employers never letting a good crisis go to waste? An investigation of how work becomes even more precarious for hourly paid workers under COVID²⁵

Abstract

The fragility of employers' voluntary, business-case-based improvements to employment standards for front-line hourly paid staff is revealed in two organisational case studies from the art and care sectors. For different reasons, COVID-19 provided a catalyst for employers to enact passive and active exit strategies that made work more precarious.

4.1 Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has raised interest in and concerns about how work is changing. Even within low-paid service sectors there have been contrasting employment effects. Care staff have had to work intensively at risk to their health, while hospitality and art venues have often been closed. Workers in these sectors have either lost their jobs or been put on furlough, that is, kept temporarily on

²⁵ This paper has been published. The reference is Herman, E., Rubery, J., and Hebson, G. (2021). A case of employers never letting a good crisis go to waste? An investigation of how work becomes even more precarious for hourly paid workers under Covid. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 52(5), 442–457.

their employers' payroll with the state funding 80% of their wages. Although the sector and type of activity are shaping COVID-related work experiences, limited attention has been paid to employers' reactions to the pandemic and how their actions and strategies are reshaping work. In the weakly regulated UK labour market, characterised by limited collective bargaining, employers have considerable scope to shape employment arrangements, only subject to limited legal regulations and specific product market conditions (Grimshaw et al., 2016). Current legal regulations in the UK fall short of what can be considered necessary to render work non-precarious, that is, to decommodify employment by enabling workers not only to better survive and reproduce themselves, but also to plan for their own and their families' futures (Bosch, 2004). This does not mean that all employers in these sectors conform to the very lowest common denominator; some offer improvements on minimum conditions, sometimes to address specific company or sectoral concerns, or alternatively because of organisational inertia or concerns not to destabilise employment relations. Such voluntary actions by employers could be considered a partial decommodification of employment if the outcome is to protect workers from insecurity, low income and irreconcilable work and life demands (Bosch, 2004). At the other extreme, some employers seek to evade regulations, thereby moving employment conditions towards even greater commodification than that implied by the minimum set of legal protections in the UK (Clark and Herman, 2017; Dickens, 2012).

Employment arrangements that rely on voluntary employer policies and are not protected by organised worker power (Johnson et al., 2019) may not be enduring.

Events such as the COVID-19 pandemic could act as a catalyst for change, encouraging employer action either to address specific pandemic effects or to change their long-term employment practices. This study draws on two organisational case studies, offering the contrasting examples of a care organisation and an art centre, to explore employers' strategies pre-COVID towards employment arrangements for their lower paid staff, and how these have been changing in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Both these organisations place great emphasis on their reputations as being good employers in their sectors, claiming to provide better employment conditions than their local counterparts. We seek to assess how they were able to make these claims using Bosch's (2004) decommodification framework, which identifies nine dimensions that can be used to assess whether the "*substance*" of the conditions of work that enables workers to "*reproduce both themselves and the society in which they live*" and plan for their own and their families' futures (Bosch, 2004, p.620). Although decommodification of labour can only ever be partial under capitalism (Esping-Andersen, 1990), it cannot be achieved solely through the welfare state but requires employer actions to guard against excessive work, facilitate investments in training and enable a private life, as well as to ensure adequate income. However, what the study revealed was that, even pre-COVID, these claims to being good employers resulted in only a limited degree of decommodification, often providing conditions only marginally above legal minimum standards. Workers valued these minimal improvements, leading to subjective evaluations of these employers as "good employers", which is indicative of how poor quality jobs were in the area and how subjective job quality is based on an assessment of the opportunities available

(Findlay and Thompson, 2017; Brown et al., 2012). Even so, by the end of the first wave of the pandemic, both employers had retreated in part from these provisions. Although their motivations for providing better conditions in the first place and for reversing the advantages were found to be variable and context specific, the reality of retreat in both cases indicates the fragility of relying on employer voluntary actions to improve conditions, and sounds a warning for how employment conditions could deteriorate in a post-COVID and post-Brexit Britain.

The article is organised as follows. The next section identifies the importance of employer voluntary policies for improving working conditions in the lower-paid and non-organised services sectors in the UK context, and develops a framework building on Bosch (2004) for analysing how employment practices can contribute towards reducing or increasing precarity. After describing the methods used and the data collected, the main section presents a comparative sectoral and time-period analysis of employer strategies. We conclude by discussing the theoretical and policy implications of the findings for the post-COVID recovery if there are no policies to oblige employers to develop more secure and decommodified employment relations.

4.2 Precarious work, employers' strategies and the shaping of the low paid labour market

The UK has a large and increasing share of jobs that can be considered to constitute precarious work in the sense that, without state or family subsidies, they would not provide sufficiently for adults to survive and reproduce or to plan their own and

their family's future (Lewchuk, 2021; Fudge, 2017; Bosch, 2004). This applies particularly to nonstandard forms of employment including freelance, gig economy, zero-hour contracts (ZHC) and agency work as well as more regular part-time work. It also increasingly applies to some full-time permanent jobs (although with limited legal redress if terminated) that are precarious in the sense of offering only low incomes and/or working time requirements that do not respect needs for personal or family life. This era of "*Increased Precarious Employment*" (Lewchuk, 2021) has come about in the UK through a long-term process of decline in voluntary collective bargaining and the erosion of social norms with respect to fair employment conditions. Such norms pervaded even non-organised firms in the period when there were credible threats of unionisation if organisations did not follow sectoral norms shaped by collective regulation (Cunningham and James, 2021). Some partial compensation for the collapse of collective regulation has come from the increase in individualised legal regulation, often driven by EU protective standards (Dickens, 2012). Nevertheless, with the exception of the minimum wage that is now positioned towards the top of EU standards (measured relative to median earnings), regulations in the UK remain weak, either restricted to EU minimum standards (sometimes even with opt outs, for example on maximum working hours) or indeed absent where there are no EU obligatory measures – for example, in relation to guaranteed working hours or working-time scheduling.

In a system of weak legal and voluntary regulation, variation is likely in the employment conditions offered, particularly in sectors where labour costs are not the critical factor or where too poor conditions may result in high turnover or low

workforce motivation or skills (Dickens, 2005). Within organisations, strategies may vary by class of worker; a key divide is between salaried workers, regarded as both core workers and a fixed overhead, while hourly paid workers represent a variable cost where minimising the unit costs of additional staff hours matters (Lambert, 2014). However, Walsh (1990) disputes the link between core status and contractual conditions, as in services it is often the hourly paid who perform service-critical roles under poor employment conditions. Employers may still be motivated to “decommodify” employment relations for those at the bottom for business case reasons, whether linked to product market or labour market conditions. Product market conditions could include encouragements to upgrade employment conditions if procurement in the public sector emphasises social value (Wright and Conley, 2020; McCrudden, 2012) or where employers anticipate improving their business through a reputation for high-quality service or as an “ethical” provider (Werner and Lim, 2016; Deakin et al., 2012). Labour market factors may also influence employers’ decisions, leading to decommodification strategies to lower workforce turnover. Wills and Linneker (2012) found the main reason employers gave for paying the living wage was its positive impact on both reputation and retention, amounting to an average 25% reduction in staff turnover in the sample. Without effective union organisation, voluntary organisations such as the Living Wage Foundation have emerged to establish parameters for what being a good employer might entail, and to encourage employers to improve conditions based on “*sound business decisions*” including “*ethical*” and “*reputational benefits*” and their own market positioning (Williams et al, 2017; Werner and Lim, 2017). One weakness of this approach is that these standards are

not embedded in collective bargaining agreements (Heery et al., 2018) and may do little to improve conditions even for workers just above the lowest grade, due to a lack of ripple effects to maintain wage differentials (Johnson et al., 2019). A key question is thus whether reliance on employers' voluntary action is sufficient to bring about better long-run quality of work at the bottom of the labour market, without more active state involvement in setting minimum standards (Warhurst and Knox, 2020; Lambert, 2014; Sisson, 2019), in combination with a strong presence of "*collectively negotiated solutions*" (Deakin et al., 2012, p.135).

Not all employers' employment strategies arise out of rational and informed calculations, as the actual costs and benefits of different human resource practices are rarely calculated (Dickens, 2005). Employment arrangements may also be driven by inertia and the continuation of past practices, either because of neglect of HR issues or because of fears of reputational damage or staff demotivation (Brown and Nolan, 1988). However, changes in conditions may spur employers into action, particularly if they face few consequences from withdrawing voluntary improvements. Thus, when the context changes, employers may seek out exit points and gaps to enable them to change current practices and recommodify work conditions. Jaehrling and Méhaut (2013) argue that changes in conditions of work occur not only due to changes in regulation but also to changes in "*rule enactment*", that is, the creative strategies employers use to find exit options at the micro-firm level in response to new economic challenges. When market advantages from good employment practices decline or market pressures increase, deliberate commodification strategies may be enacted. Jaehrling and Mehaut's (2013) findings

stem from service sectors in Germany and France, where strategies of avoidance included outsourcing or use of casual contracts. Likewise, in the UK, pressures from the market and competition have been found to have led to downgrading of work quality as employers attempt to maintain their competitive advantage (Baines and Cunningham, 2021). This process is also found in the public sector, where funding cuts have led employers to transfer risk onto their workforces by cutting wages and increasing flexibility, or by outsourcing work to lower-paying employers (Rubery et al., 2015; Moore and Hayes, 2017).

To provide a framework for identifying positive and negative changes in workers' employment conditions, we draw on Bosch's (2004) "idealised" definition of the standard employment relationship (SER) as a set of conditions that serves partially to "decommodify" employment. We regard employers' strategies that take conditions closer to the SER and above minimum legal employment rights as decommodifying labour, while actions that take conditions away from the SER are commodifying labour. Drawing on Bosch (2004), Rubery and Grimshaw (2016) provide a multidimensional approach to what constitutes precarious work (that is the absence of the conditions in Bosch's "idealised" SER). Nine dimensions are identified, covering income support (guaranteed hours, adequate real wages, income during non-work periods, access to social security), employment guarantees and fair treatment at work, divisions between work and non-work time, maintenance of employability through skill development, opportunities for voice, and adjustments for individual needs due to health or care responsibilities. In the UK context, the onus lies very much on individual employers to provide for such

employment conditions, as the state only mandates very minimum conditions.

Exploring how individual employers make their decisions that affect the conditions of work provides insights into how trends in the UK labour market may revive or further challenge the survival of the decommodifying substance of the SER.

We use the concepts of “active” decommodification and active commodification to refer to whether an employer intervened by putting in policies that change conditions of work, while a “passive” strategy is to accept the status quo without making explicit changes, even though as relatively unconstrained employers they are free to take action. Decisions not to intervene can be considered a deliberate strategy, just like decisions to make changes.

The COVID-19 crisis already provides evidence suggestive of employers’ deployment of “exit” strategies; Cominetti and Slaughter (2020) note that workers in low-paid sectors were twice as likely to lose hours and pay than those in higher-paying sectors. This article therefore investigates how far COVID-19 may be revealing the limitations of employer-led voluntary decommodification by providing employers with an escape route towards commodification. The COVID-19 crisis provides a lens through which to explore changing employer strategies over a very concentrated time period, as labour market conditions and state interventions, alongside competitive pressures, changed dramatically. A key issue is whether employers are using the crisis as an active exit strategy to worsen employment conditions in the long term or if changes are more unplanned consequences of the pandemic to which employers fail to respond.

4.3 Methods

This article draws on two case studies from a wider study investigating the causes and consequences of precarious work in a UK city-region. Cases were selected to explore the influences of the state, the employer and the household on the shaping of precarious work. The two cases examined here, one an elder-care residential and nursing facility, the other an art centre specialising in cinema and theatre, were selected through purposive theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) to reflect their strategic importance within their local area as a “good employer”, and their relationships with the local state and community. Management in both organisations were keen to note that their organisations recognised unions, but in reality employment conditions were effectively set by the employer. Within the care home, union membership was relatively high, with 160 of the 386 staff in membership. The trade union representative noted that they had a close relationship with the management. The art centre employed 113 members of staff and had recognition agreements with two unions, BECTU and Equity, but none of the workers studied was a member or felt they had union representation in their role.

The data was collected primarily during 2018 and 2019, with additional data collection after the peak of the first COVID-19 wave but before the second (June to November 2020). This second phase was added to explore how employers were responding to the pandemic in sectors situated at opposite ends of the closure spectrum under COVID-19 (for example, in May 2020 only 7% of social care staff

were on furlough, the lowest share, while 75% of arts, entertainment and recreation staff were furloughed, the second highest level (ONS, 2020)).

In both cases, methods included semi-structured interviews with senior management, workers and volunteers alongside key informant interviews with regional sectoral policy actors, analysis of company documents and recruitment materials, as well as some participant observation in the care case. Managers were selected for interview based on their strategic positioning within the organisation; three were interviewed in the art centre, and six in the residential care facility. The workers interviewed were chosen to reflect the demographic distribution of the workplace (including life stage) and key job roles.²⁶ COVID-19 follow ups were conducted with managers based on their strategic positioning within the organisation. Workers were chosen according to the effect COVID-19 was having on their job role, and according to their household situation as revealed in their first interview. Interviews were conducted with a trade union representative in the care facility. However, this was not possible in the art centre, where the unions were not actively involved with the group of front-of-house staff being researched.

The interview guide for the semi-structured interviews was iteratively adapted to follow up on emerging new issues. Pre-COVID, managers were asked about their product and labour market challenges (including the impact of state policies) and their HR and business strategies. Workers were asked about their work-life histories and their work, personal and household experiences. For both managers

²⁶ Table indicating the workers interviewed is available in an Appendix online under “Supporting Information”.

and employees, the detailed data collection on employment practices was guided by the nine dimensions identified as examples of decommodification (Bosch, 2004; Rubery and Grimshaw, 2016). The selection of workers and managers for the COVID-19 interviews was based on their contracts and roles within the organisation under COVID to allow comparisons across the cases and time periods. Each participant was asked to outline changes in their employment experiences, employment conditions and the organisation since the onset of COVID-19. Email correspondence from management to workers detailing employment changes in the context of COVID was also used as data.

An initial a-priori template structured both the interview questions and the analysis of the transcribed interviews and company documents (King, 2012) to ensure that they were guided by the multidimensional conceptualisation of precariousness and by the framework that employer strategies can be expected to be influenced by changing labour markets, product markets, state policies and employees' work and household positions. Initial a-priori themes relating to employer strategies were populated with data that led to overarching findings of new patterns of decommodification and commodification of employment conditions, both intended and unintended. These structure the presentations of the findings below.

4.4 Findings

4.4.1. Pre-COVID employment strategies

The two organisations were selected for the COVID-19 follow-up study on the grounds that, pre-COVID, both had expressed desires to be regarded as “good employers” and “ethical” service providers, and offered some improvements on basic minimum employment conditions for employees in lower level jobs. This led workers in both organisations and the trade union representative in the care organisation to speak highly of the employers. This was the case despite the minimal level of improvements, suggesting that job quality was assessed in relation to other jobs on offer in the sector rather than based on any objective measurement of job quality. Further analysis revealed that, despite these similarities, the motivations for and the processes by which these improvements were enacted diverged, such that the care organisation provided an example more of active, and the art centre more of passive, decommodification.

4.4.1.1 Active decommodification in the care organisation

The care organisation was a large and well-established residential and nursing care home, operating as a not-for-profit and deeply rooted within their local community. The organisation positioned itself as a high-quality care provider in order to maintain its status with the community and help ensure an income stream, but suffered, as is common in care, from high labour turnover (22% between 2017 and 2018). Its core strategy was to maintain and develop its reputation as a good

provider despite funding shortfalls, as a senior manager explained: *“We’re keen to keep quality standards... you know and we don’t want to go below that”* (Linda, care home director)

As high turnover impinged on quality ambitions, it also adopted an HR strategy of being a good employer, compared to the poor conditions generally prevailing in the care sector. While the trade union has an annual meeting with the employer where terms and conditions of employment are discussed, they have little say over the final decision. Strong budget constraints, exacerbated by having to implement significant rises in the national living wage (NLW), led to the care home no longer paying a premium above the minimum wage. The trade union representative noted that this meant that little could be done to improve conditions of work. The care home’s core strategy of promoting high-quality care was retained, but the management did not feel able to address directly the two key reasons they were aware of why staff left, namely the higher wages paid for less stressful jobs outside the sector and the high demands of the rota system, involving not only long hours but also schedules that clashed with workers’ household caring needs and personal lives. Wage premiums were ruled out, even for those on night shifts, due to constrained budgets: *“We look at the feedback from the exit interviews. If it’s about pay then... there’s not that much we can do”* (Mary, care home HR manager).

Likewise, shorter hours were deemed unaffordable and rota flexibility was considered to jeopardise service provision. In practice, only those willing to commit to the rigid rota were “beneficiaries” of the “good” employer strategy. Those who were unable to manage the rota might be offered, if available, daybreak or twilight

shifts (still on the rota including weekends), but the main option was joining the bank on a ZHC where they had to bid for fill-in shifts. As a senior manager explained, their objective was to deter regular staff from requesting more family-friendly patterns. Their response to such requests was said to be, *"Well... join the bank then and... then you just dictate what you can do and then it's up to us if we accept that or not"* (Linda, care home director).

Thus the employer's policies to address its HR objectives were designed to be low cost and not to jeopardise its care quality. The key expressed aim was to retain staff for at least twelve months. After that time, according to the HR manager *"they end up becoming loyal employees and staying maybe to five years plus"* (Mary, care home HR manager). A twelve-month HR loyalty scheme was instigated, ensuring that training and management needs of workers were met and policies were introduced to increase certain entitlements with tenure (for example, annual leave increased with tenure, with two days over the legal minimum after two years, rising to nine days with twenty years' service). These policies provide some elements of decommodification: for example, enabling senior staff to enjoy more paid time away from work. Likewise, the provision of a week's compassionate leave policy on full pay was considered by the HR manager to demonstrate that, *"We are loyal to our staff"* (CHO9), and constituted a contribution to fair treatment at work.

However, some of the policies introduced to boost retention can be considered to stop short of contributing to decommodification, as their aim was more to foster an image of the care organisation as a good employer, and were designed with the employers' perception of the worker's household and their position within it in

mind. For example, the management took the view that, *“One of the people that you have to convince that you are good employer is [your employee’s] spouse”* (Connor, CEO) to encourage, for example, tolerance of *“Why isn’t my tea on the table”* (Connor, CEO). To persuade workers’ families that the care home was a “good” employer, low-cost perks were offered including Christmas vouchers, employee-of-the-month schemes and healthcare plans for the whole family, while letters were sent to home addresses if employees were praised for doing a good job. Although in some ways augmenting rewards or fostering fair treatment at work, these measures lacked substance, as was evidenced by low take up of the benefits by the workforce.

More significant as policies for improving employment conditions, and more appreciated by the interviewed workers, were the practices introduced primarily to support its claim to be a high-quality care provider. Three practices were of relevance here: working time policies and rotas, staffing levels and training provision. Management’s espoused top priority was ensuring adequate staffing cover for the care home. Its rota system was not to be tampered with, even though it was an acknowledged cause of turnover. Everyone had to work an average of forty-two hours on a two-week rota (one heavy week, one light), with the workforce divided between permanent days and permanent nights, all working weekends but with no premiums for unsocial hours. Although the rota system conflicted with staff’s work-life balance needs, it had the benefit of providing both high guaranteed hours and, through the heavy/light week design, opportunities to top up earnings through overtime. Despite the rigid rota, cover was still needed for

holidays, sickness and the like, so that the arrangements in many respects were mutually beneficial, despite the long hours implied by adding extra shifts as overtime. The pill was sugared both by the payment of overtime premiums (not available to bank staff) designed in part to compensate for the intrusion on their free time, and by a “pick-a-shift” app that allowed staff to choose if and when they did extra work. These working time arrangements were thus seen by workers as offering at least a route to making ends meet within this low-paying sector, even if at the cost of very long hours.

The working time arrangements were also linked to another part of the strategy to be seen as a quality provider, namely ensuring above-average staffing levels in the care home. As a senior manager explained,

We usually work on something like one-to-four... on the dementia areas... it's less than that, we usually do one-to-two, one-to-three. I know in the bigger world out there, people have staffing ratios of like one-to-five, one-to-six. (Linda, care home director).

This reputational and quality care strategy also proved attractive to the care staff, as many had had experience of working in other short-staffed homes that added to work intensity. As one care worker described it:

Coming here is heaven basically. Yeah... I could be a carer here... because I can have the time [to] speak to someone or... have a chat and stop for a minute... there [another care home], there was no chance, it was just constantly working so it was hard. (Marysia)

This strategy therefore contributed to feelings of fair treatment and made the long hours more sustainable, even though it was enacted to improve patient care and reputation.

The third aspect of the quality care strategy to have beneficial effects on staff's perceptions of the care home as a good employer was training. The key motivation for management was to enhance care quality, although some benefits for the staff were identified by senior leadership as, *"Their job is easier because they know how to handle things better or manage things more proactively"* (Connor, CEO). Training was not only available beyond basic levels, but was also provided face to face rather than via the much-disliked computer-based training in their own time which some had experienced elsewhere. Also, staff could attain a certificate that enabled them to change employers in care without repeating the mandatory training (not provided by all care homes). However, although the staff appeared to recognise and value the training on offer, many felt that the pay rise associated with qualifications (18 pence an hour for NVQ2, nothing extra for NVQ3 and 60 pence an hour for shift leader) was not sufficient for the additional work or responsibilities. Although training was done in paid work time, assignments had to be completed in their own time, which proved too difficult for some due to their long and unsocial working hours. For both reasons, take-up was low (e.g. 35% of staff registered compared to a target of 50% with completed NVQ2 training). Thus, although opportunities were available for progression through training, workloads were too high and rewards too low for many staff to feel able to engage.

4.4.1.2. Passive decommodification in the art centre

In contrast, improvements in employment conditions above legal minimums in the art centre did not stem from the employer's concern with turnover or their overall

market position. Indeed, unlike the care organisation, staff turnover was very low, a factor that the employer even regarded negatively (*“golden handcuff”*) because they felt it made workers resistant to change. Positive provision above legal minima arose more out of a process of passive decommodification, shaped by a combination of their funding sources and legacy employment policies. The art centre was formed through a merger of two art venues, a cinema and a theatre. The employment legacies of each of these remained after merger, as staff were TUPE-transferred (Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations) with protected terms and conditions, and before COVID-19 little had been done to develop a common employment culture or conditions. At the time the first interviews were conducted, the organisation had only just appointed its first HR professional.

The key groups focused on in this case study are front-of-house staff, that is box office, cinema and theatre attendants and ushers. A key improvement in conditions was said to be paying the legal NLW for adults over twenty-five to those under age twenty-five – even though this fell short of local area expectations of a good employer, namely paying the Living Wage Foundation’s recommended higher rate.

Now we’ve always wanted to pay the living wage... but we’ve not got there in terms of our budget and affordability. What we do do is we pay everybody the National Living Wage whether or not they’re over twenty-five or under twenty-five. (Darren, art centre director)

Other areas of improvement included providing regular working hours and, in some departments, paid breaks. These policies reflected the history of the formation of the organisation: the theatre had been state owned and the cinema owned by a charity. Front-of-house staff were divided between four departments: cinema,

theatre, gallery and box office. Cinema and box office work contracts were regarded as the dream, offering permanent contracts to work a particular shift on a particular day. These workers thus had very predictable working hours. Breaks were organised by each department so that length and payment varied. Box office staff received paid breaks organised informally between team members on shift, while cinema shifts had periods of unpaid breaks set by the timings of the films. Many of the workers in these two departments had worked for one of the previous organisations and had taken these regular hour shifts with them when the merger occurred. These regular shifts were hard to come by, and only when workers left were there opportunities to get an extra set shift. One worker explained how extra shifts might be accumulated:

There was an assistant manager, and he was just like, yeah, "We've got an extra four hours, if you want to do it because you already work on a Sunday anyway," so it was like, "Yeah, cool." [...] So, it was just the extra four to make it 12–9 instead of 12–5. (Rishi)

Although core hours were predictable within the cinema and box office, getting enough core hours to make ends meet took time, so that many workers relied heavily on overtime. Unlike in the care organisation, no overtime premiums were provided, as there were plenty of core staff and also volunteers ready to bid for shifts in the gallery and theatre, both of which were staffed on an ad-hoc basis due to long periods of "darkness" when no work was available. These shifts were advertised via Facebook or email to core staff and ZHC workers, and were allocated on a first-come-first-serve basis, as one worker explained.

That email goes to... maybe fifty or sixty people... so the emails get answered really quick. So it's like... a metaphor would be somebody on a big table full of gold... and lots of people on the floor, dying of

hunger... [clicks his tongue] and I just flick a ring finger... a golden ring on the floor and see who picks it up... you want to work, you really need to be constantly on the phone. (Carlos)

Despite not signing up to the Real Living Wage (RLW), the art centre still laid claim to being a good employer due to paying non-age-related minimum wages and employing more paid staff than other art venues where unpaid volunteers filled almost all ushering roles. There were also some perks offered, such as free theatre or cinema tickets. Again, this continued a pre-merger practice and in contrast to the care organisation were not designed to increase retention.

In relation to training provision, both similarities and differences emerged in comparison to the care home. As in care, front-of-house staff received training in paid work time for their specific areas, but unlike in care, this did not lead to any externally recognised certificate. In the art centre, pay enhancements were not related to training (unlike in care), but instead reflected task responsibilities; thus the RLW was paid to those responsible for the cash, even though it was supposed to provide a minimum floor to the wage structure. Both organisations were under obligations to provide funded training as a prerequisite for local authority support. In the care organisation, this was used to develop workforce skills as a means of furthering its position as a quality provider, but in the art centre, additional training was not made available to the front-of-house staff but to external people through internship, apprentice and volunteer schemes.

What can be seen is that most of the admittedly limited elements of decommodification offered by the art centre persisted mainly as legacies from past organisations and from requirements attached to their funding. These legacies

provided workers with predictable and some guaranteed working time, but without any pay enhancements (at least for adults), nor any offer of progression and training opportunities. Even so, the art centre, like the care organisation, still considered itself to be a good employer on grounds of offering some conditions above the mandatory ones, or which compared favourably to competitors' practices in the local area.

4.4.2 Employment strategies during and after COVID-19

The COVID-19 crisis revealed the limitations of the employers' voluntary improvements above minimum conditions. In the care home case, it was the shift of focus from recruitment and retention to infection control that led to changes in employment conditions, while in the art centre it was pressure to reduce costs that led to the enactment of changes to legacy conditions. The care home case can be considered an example of passive commodification, as the changes were partly unintended consequences of its infection control strategy, but the implications for staff were not a key consideration and no actions were taken to mitigate the impacts. In contrast, the art centre actively brought in a new HR policy that aimed explicitly to reduce staffing levels and associated costs.

4.4.2.1 Passive commodification as the care home focuses on infection control

The key role played by care staff in frontline care and ensuring infection control might have been expected to lead to policies to provide additional support. Instead, there was a stripping away of some of the employment benefits from the pre-COVID period. A much harsher approach was taken towards the hourly paid care staff than salaried staff. All salaried staff were not involved in hands-on roles, and were therefore either asked to work from home or were placed on furlough at 100% wages. In contrast, hourly paid staff had to work on site, and if they were not comfortable being present or willing to comply with new work demands, they were furloughed at 80% pay and perceived by the employer as being troublemakers. Only if they had been issued with a shielding letter from the doctor were they given 100% pay. Bank care workers were not even regarded as eligible for furlough (even though this was allowed under government rules). Hourly paid workers with additional caring responsibilities had to take leave to cover them (either annual or unpaid).

The change in the care home's priorities had major implications for the rota, overtime and redundancies. To contain infection, each care unit went into lockdown, so that workers could only work within their rota team and not across units. Consequently they could no longer do the overtime they had relied on, making the "pick-a-shift" strategy redundant. In the short term this also led to job intensification, as staff could not move from overstaffed to understaffed units. As a care worker explained:

I was here by myself. They couldn't send anybody onto the unit because I had COVID and their units were clear. So, they didn't want anybody to be infected, which I could understand, but didn't help me any. (Angela)

Later, following the deaths of residents, units became overstaffed and there was no more work for bank staff. In the short term, core care staff were redeployed to tasks previously done by volunteers who were no longer allowed access. However, there was no long-term budget for these additional support tasks, so management anticipated making significant redundancies.

I think... two, three months down, if we run out of money, we have to make a lot of people redundant. (Connor, care home CEO)

With thirty-five empty beds we are losing in the region of about £30,000 a week so it's like oh my god how are we going to recover from this. (Linda, care home director)

These changes to staff incomes were not fully anticipated, but as they moved from being under- to overstaffed and as the financial position of the home deteriorated, no action was taken to compensate for these changes. Some positive benefits were added under COVID, including full sick pay for COVID (as costs were covered by the local authority and not available to bank staff) and free meals on duty. However, these were motivated by the anti-infection strategy, in response to fears that staff were returning too early to work because of the low statutory sick pay (which was retained for non-COVID sickness), and to restrict movement within the building at meal times.

The COVID-19 crisis thus revealed how the pre-COVID elements of decommodification were driven by the employer's concerns to cover the rota, but that during the pandemic these objectives were fully subordinated to the

imperative of infection control. The interview with the trade union representative revealed that she had not opposed the changes put in place by the employer, and that she considered that the workers had been treated well during the period. However, interviews with senior management revealed that the union had not been involved in discussions regarding these changes, on the grounds that the union had not been in contact with the care home during the pandemic. The employer had expected both the representative and the central union to be in touch with them to discuss COVID-19-related changes with the employer and the effect they may be having on the workers. This, in the employer's view, placed an onus on the union to communicate, rather than on the employer to include them in management discussions. Further, the trade union representative noted that she had not had any communications from the union's central office regarding campaigns or what her role should be during the pandemic. Hence, there had been a lack of worker voice, allowing for the commodification of work and worsening of conditions of work for hourly paid workers. Although a health and financial crisis for the organisation could be expected to lead to changes in conditions, the harsh treatment of the frontline care staff who bore the burden of the health crisis stands out in comparison to the voluntary top-up to 100% pay for furloughed salary staff.

4.4.2.2. Active commodification in the art centre's streamlining policy

In contrast to the care organisation, in the art centre the COVID-19 pandemic led to a complete closure of the building followed by a relatively slow reopening over the summer. Initially the organisation adopted a good employer stance towards all

staff, furloughing them on 100% wages. However, once employers were expected to make more contributions to furlough costs in the summer, furlough was reduced to 80% pay – but salaried staff were allowed to rotate between being on furlough and at work to limit the impact on incomes. More significantly, the impending financial crisis at the organisation led to the development of a more active HR policy aimed at streamlining employment arrangements through consolidating contractual arrangements and increasing flexibility for the hourly paid staff. This was justified to workers as, *“This is part of a range of cost-saving measures to respond to the financial challenges brought on by COVID-19”* (staff email). Employer interviews revealed that this had been something that they had wanted to do for a while, and COVID-19 provided a perfect opportunity to do this.

So there’s been a lot of standardisation within customer services that we hadn’t got before. And we know this has given us the opportunity to do that and to change their working practices. (Janet)

A senior manager interviewed noted that one union had been consulted about the restructuring, but this had prompted more rapid implementation of the changes by management, as the union had mistakenly communicated the plans to staff as a *fait accompli*.

Previously separate departments were consolidated into one “customer services” department. Workers were still mainly given a fixed number of hours a week, though they might differ from their previous contract. They were also required to be more flexible as to when they worked, and those unable to work these hours were seen as inflexible and made redundant. Key to the restructure was the consolidation and standardisation of employment conditions coupled with more

internal flexibility across areas. ZHC workers were no longer needed, as the flexible rota could cover gaps, and overtime was encouraged. For those on core-hour contracts, this came with a change in job description and a standardisation of pay and breaks. Where breaks remained paid, these became shorter and were only provided if the workers had worked longer hours.

This standardisation of working conditions represented a reduction for core workers in the quality of their jobs, as they were no longer specialised in their area of work. One worker noted:

What I didn't like at all was the email that said you are not a cinema usher anymore as I have always been, now you are called Customer Service Agent[...] if I am needed in a different department I am just put there. (Carlos)

The standardisation also meant reduced breaks at work and more difficulties in planning their lives around work, because the scheduling of their core hours now fluctuated. This increase in working time uncertainty can be considered a reduction in working time decommodification. The employer also removed any perks such as cinema tickets that workers previously received, citing income and capacity issues.

COVID-19 provided the art centre employer with the opportunity to standardise previously complex employment conditions, thereby actively commodifying workers' conditions of work and removing elements that previously provided the workers with stability and protection. The workers considered this to represent a major change in their jobs and conditions. The outcome was a deterioration in conditions of work for core hourly paid workers post-COVID, both compared to the

situation before the crisis and to their salaried counterparts, while ZHC workers lost their access to employment.

4.5 Discussion and conclusions

Three key themes emerge from the case studies: the weakness of relying on a business case to improve conditions of work, the potential for employers to use both passive and active exit strategies to lower employment conditions, and how these exit strategies tend to reinforce traditional contractual organisational hierarchies.

For the care home, the business case was key in driving its improvements in employment conditions pre-COVID. For the art centre, its adoption of slightly better conditions than the minimum was more accidental, and its vague ambition to be a better employer than its competitors was mainly to improve its standing in the sector. Even in the care home, the improvements that really mattered to staff arose out of their strategy as a quality care provider. In contrast, their direct actions to address recruitment and retention were limited and not necessarily effective, making very little material difference for workers. Furthermore, policies that offered more income security had negative implications for working time regularity. In both cases, the degree of improvement was remarkably low for organisations that aspired to be good employers. However, the true feebleness of the business case became apparent when COVID-19 set in, and strategies fell to the wayside as retention was no longer an issue. No compensation was offered to staff for loss of income due to infection control measures, thereby supporting Warhurst

and Knox's (2020) contention that the state has to act to improve job quality as employers' voluntary actions cannot be relied upon.

The two cases also provided confirmatory examples of Jaehrling and Méhaut's (2013) argument that a change in context, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, could act as a catalyst for employers to enact exit strategies away from decommodification, either because the business challenges change or because the crisis provides an opportunity to review longstanding practices. Exit strategies, according to Jaehrling and Méhaut (2013), may vary between creative solutions or simple exploitation of gaps in protective nets, but these case studies call for an extension of the framework to include both active and passive exit strategies. Passive strategies occur when employers fail to act to offset employees' loss of decommodification, as in the care organisation when overtime opportunities disappeared due to COVID-19 infection measures. In contrast, in the art centre, COVID-19 provided an excuse for management to actively create new contractual arrangements for their hourly paid staff that made employment conditions more precarious by design, particularly working time schedules. Nevertheless, both types of strategy can be considered deliberate insofar as their impacts could be readily understood by employers.

One similarity across the two cases is the impact of COVID-19 in increasing internal divisions between staff on different contracts. In both cases bank or ZHC staff were excluded from furlough and eventually lost their jobs. Salaried staff received more privileged treatment, and major negative impacts were felt by hourly paid regular staff. Contractual hierarchies thus still remain crucial in shaping terms and

conditions of employment. In both cases, managers did not question the provision of more generous protection to salaried staff in relation to furlough, even though the front-line service staff, the hourly paid staff, were at greater risk of commodification, job loss and infection. These findings suggest that salaried workers do benefit from being treated as a fixed cost or an overhead, as argued by Lambert (2014). However, in the care home it was the hourly paid workers, not the salaried workers, who were core to the functioning of the organisation rather than auxiliary to it – but they were treated as less valuable than their salaried counterparts, echoing Walsh's (1990) findings: status not service criticality determines contract type.

Both case studies have provided insights into how emerging trends of reduced wages and job quality for those at the lower end of the labour market may be being enacted through employer responses to the crisis. These increases in precarity may apply along different dimensions: in care, the main impact for regular hourly paid staff was on income, but in the art centre it was on working time, while for ZHC workers the outcome was unemployment. This emphasises that precarious work is a multidimensional phenomenon (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2016).

These results could indicate that employers' responses to the pandemic could lead to widespread deterioration in the quality of work, as conditions of work are further commodified – whether through passive practices arising out of new ways of working, or active strategies where COVID-19 provides an excuse to enact exit strategies due to changing labour and product market constraints. These cases also demonstrate that union recognition is insufficient, and that effective collective

bargaining is needed to hold employers to account. In a crisis, where taking actions to be a good employer may no longer be considered advantageous, employers are effectively free to seek exit options. All this suggests that, instead of reliance on voluntary employer action, there is an urgent need for more state intervention to bolster the level and range of minimum standards in employment, and to ensure better enforcement. Such a strategy was already unlikely in a post-Brexit Britain where the focus has been on deregulation, but the pressure on businesses in the pandemic may make a change in that direction even more unlikely, despite much policy talk of “levelling up” or “building back better”.

4.6 References

- Baines, D. and Cunningham, I. (2021). ‘Understanding Austerity: Its research and presence in the changing context of work and employment’, in Baines, D. and Cunningham, I. (eds.) *Working in the Context of Austerity: Challenges and Struggles*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, pp 3-26
- Bosch, G. (2004). ‘Towards a new standard employment relationship in Western Europe’, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 42(4), pp.617-636.
- Brown A, Charlwood, A. and Spencer, D.A. (2012). ‘Not all that it might seem: Why job satisfaction is worth studying despite it being a poor summary measure of job quality,’ *Work, Employment and Society*, 26(6), pp.1007–1018.
- Brown W. and Nolan, P. (1988). ‘Wages and labour productivity: The contribution of industrial relations research to the understanding of pay determination’, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(3), pp.339-361.
- Clark, N. and Herman, E. (2017). *Unpaid Britain: Wage Default in the British Labour Market*. London: Middlesex University and Trust for London. [Online]. Available at https://trustforlondon.fra1.digitaloceanspaces.com/media/documents/Final_Unpaid_Britain_report.pdf (Accessed: 26 July, 2021).
- Grimshaw D., Johnson, M., Keizer, A. and Rubery, J. (2016). *Reducing Precarious Work: Protective Gaps and the Role of Social Dialogue: The case of the UK* Manchester: European Work and Employment Research Centre, University of Manchester [Online]. Available at:

<https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=48496> (Accessed 30 November 2022).

Comenitti N. and Slaughter, H. (2020). *Low Pay Britain 2020: Resolution Foundation Annual Report*, (London, Resolution Foundation). Available at <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2020/09/Low-Pay-Britain-2020.pdf> (Accessed: 26 of July, 2021).

Cunningham I. and James, P. (2021). 'Trends in collective bargaining, wage stagnation and income inequality under austerity', in Baines, D. and Cunningham, I. (eds.) *Working in the Context of Austerity: Challenges and Struggles*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, pp. 71-69.

Deakin S., McLaughlin, C. and Chai, D. (2012). 'Gender inequality and reflexive law: The potential of different regulatory mechanisms', in Dickens, L. (ed.) *Making Employment Rights Effective: Issues of Enforcement and Compliance*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp 115-138.

Dickens L., (2012). 'Introduction—Making employment rights effective: Issues of enforcement and compliance', in Dickens, L. (ed.) *Making Employment Rights Effective: Issues of Enforcement and Compliance*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp. 1-7.

Dickens, L. (2005). 'Walking the talk? Equality and diversity in employment' in Bach, S (ed.) *Managing Human Resources: Personnel Management in Transition*, 4th ed. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 178-208.

Esping-Andersen, G., (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Findlay, P. and Thompson, P. (2017). 'Contemporary work: Its meanings and demands', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 59(2), pp. 122-138.

Fudge, J. (2017). 'The future of the standard employment relationship: Labour law, new institutional economics and old power resource theory', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 59(3), pp. 374–392.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company

Heery, E., Hann, D. and Nash, D. (2018). 'Trade unions and the real Living Wage: survey evidence from the UK,' *Industrial Relations Journal*, 49(4), pp. 319-335.

Jaehrling, K. and Méhaut, P. (2013). 'Varieties of institutional avoidance: employers' strategies in low-waged service sector occupations in France and Germany.' *Socio-Economic Review*, 11(4), pp. 687-710.

Johnson, M., Koukiadaki, A. and Grimshaw, D. (2019). 'The Living Wage in the UK: testing the limits of soft regulation?', *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 25(3), pp. 319-333.

King, N., (2012). 'Doing template analysis' in Symon, G. and Cassell, C. (eds.) *Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges*. London, SAGE, pp. 426-450.

- Lambert, S.J. (2014). 'The limits of voluntary employer action for improving low-level jobs' in Crain, M. and Sherraden, M. (eds.) *Working and Living in the Shadow of Economic Fragility*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.120-139.
- Lewchuck W. (2021). 'The age of increased precarious employment: origins and implications' in Baines, D and Cunningham, I (eds.), *Working in the Context of Austerity: Challenges and Struggles*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, pp. 29-48.
- McCrudden, C. (2012). 'Procurement and fairness in the workplace', in, Dickens, L. (ed.) *Making Employment Rights Effective: Issues of Enforcement and Compliance*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp. 87-115.
- Moore, S. and Hayes L.J.B. (2017). 'Taking worker productivity to a new level? Electronic monitoring in homecare—the (re) production of unpaid labour', *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 32(2), pp. 101-114.
- ONS, (2020). *Comparison of furloughed jobs data: May to July 2020*, [Online] Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/businessindustryandtrade/business/businessservices/articles/comparisonoffurloughedjobsdata/maytojuly2020> (Accessed: 26 July, 2021).
- Rubery, J. and Grimshaw, D. (2016). 'Precarious work and the commodification of the employment relationship: the case of zero hours in the UK and mini jobs in Germany', in Bäcker, G., Lehdorff, S., and Weinkopf, C. (eds.) *Den Arbeitsmarkt verstehen, um ihn zu gestalten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 239-254
- Rubery, J., Grimshaw, D., Hebson, G. and Ugarte, S.M. (2015). "'It's All About Time": Time as contested terrain in the management and experience of domiciliary care work in England', *Human Resource Management*, 54(5), pp.753-772.
- Sisson, K. (2019). 'The Fair Work Wales report: a manifesto for all of us', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 50(5-6), pp. 564-579.
- Walsh, T. J. (1990). 'Flexible labour utilisation in the private service sector', *Work, Employment and Society* 4(4), pp. 517-530.
- Warhurst, C. and Knox, A. (2020). 'Manifesto for a new Quality of Working Life', *Human Relations* 75(2), pp. 304–321.
- Werner A. and Lim, M. (2016), *Putting the Living Wage to Work - Strategies and Practices in Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (SMEs)* London: University of Middlesex [Online]. Available at: <https://www.livingwage.org.uk/sites/default/files/University-of-Middlesex-Putting-the-Living-Wage-to-Work-October-2016.pdf> (Accessed: 26 November 2021).
- Werner A. and Lim, M. (2017), 'A new living contract? Cases in the implementation of the Living Wage by British SME retailers', *Employee Relations* 39(6), pp 850-862.
- Wills, J. and Linneker, B. (2012). *The Costs and Benefits of the London living wage*. London: Queen Mary [Online]. University of London. Available at: <https://trustforlondon.fra1.digitaloceanspaces.com/media/documents/Living-wage-costs-and-benefits-FULL.pdf> (Accessed: 26 July, 2021).

Williams, S., Abbott, B. and Heery, E. (2017). 'Civil governance in work and employment relations: how civil society organizations contribute to systems of labour governance', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 144(1), pp.103-119.

Wright, T. and Conley, H. (2020). 'Advancing gender equality in the construction sector through public procurement: making effective use of responsive regulation', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 41(4), pp. 975-996.

Chapter 5: Precarious work and precarious lives: managing and navigating income and time uncertainty in the context of employment, households and the state

Abstract

This paper seeks to understand the intersections of precarious work and precarious lives, by drawing on thirty-one worker interviews in the hospitality and care sectors. Key to our approach is the recognition that precarious work does not automatically lead to a precarious life. Instead that connection is shown to be dependent on how the precarious job interacts with workers' household situations and their relationship to the state benefit system. Drawing upon workers' narratives, we develop a framework and measure of income and time uncertainty, based on Heyes et al.'s (2018) conceptualisation of uncertainty where the outcome is unknowable. This framework also makes use of Smith and McBride's (2021) utilisation of work-life articulation, as a way of going beyond the limitations of work-life balance debates to explore the ways workers mitigate and manage time and income uncertainties. We expand their conceptualisation by drawing on Lain et al.'s (2019) framework of the state, employer and household, by showing that each of these domains shapes the level of uncertainty workers experience, as they can act to buffer or compound their level of income and time uncertainty. The paper concludes by presenting a framework in which work-life articulation and uncertainty mitigation strategies can be conceptualised.

Keywords: precarious lives, uncertainty, precarious work, benefit system, childcare, managing uncertainty, work-life articulation, work-life balance

5.1 Introduction

There is a burgeoning research agenda around the nature, form and experiences of precarious work, and whether we are now currently living in an “*era of precarious work*” (Lewchuck, 2021). Precarious work has come to be particularly associated with growing forms of “atypical” work such as zero-hour contracts, agency work, gig work or second jobs, though not all atypical work is precarious and not all standard employment protects against precarity (Grimshaw et al., 2016). However, the British government commissioned a review into modern-day work practices, known as the Taylor review, which argued that the flexibility of the UK labour market was a strength and that these nonstandard employment forms are “*usually chosen and valued by the individuals concerned*” (Taylor et al., 2017, p.16).

The assumption that workers have freedom to choose such work has been robustly challenged (Heyes et al., 2018a; Moore et al., 2018; Smith and McBride, 2021). Such choices may be beneficial for some groups who have buffers and safety nets outside of employment: for example, many students are able to rely on parental income as a safety net. Hence, for these workers being in a precarious job is different from experiencing what Millar (2017) describes as “*a precarious life*”. The reality for many others is that precarious employment is not “*freely chosen*” (Smith and McBride, 2021), but is taken up due to the context within which the worker is embedded. Furthermore, even if there may be reasons why someone “chooses” a job with shorter or more flexible hours, they are not choosing the low pay and limited access to social benefits that may follow (Rubery et al., 2018). The ways these jobs are experienced as precarious lives is often taken for granted and

appraised from employment conditions. In this paper, we try to understand how these choices are made and experienced, by drawing on the work of Lain et al. (2019) to argue that if employment researchers are to understand how precarious jobs are experienced as precarious lives, we need an approach that recognises the intersections between employment, the household and the state.

This article draws on the thirty-one (out of a total of thirty-seven) interviews with workers in the care and hospitality sectors where their position in a precarious job was found to interact with, and lead to or compound, precarious lives. Utilising Heyes et al.'s (2018) definition of uncertainty as a defining feature of precarious work, we analyse the context and strategies deployed by this group of thirty-one workers to mitigate their uncertainty. Our focus is on how uncertainties of income and working time in precarious jobs interact and are shaped by factors beyond the labour market, exploring in particular the intersections between precarious employment, the household and the state. Such an approach recognises that precarious work creates major uncertainty over whether a worker and their household will have enough resources to live on, due either to low pay or insufficient hours – particularly hours that fit with other non-work responsibilities. These conditions are shaped not only by employers, but also by the state and its benefit and care support systems, and by the households in which the workers are living. Furthermore, this approach recognises that strategies to overcome this insufficiency and uncertainty may also lead to uncertainties around working time, involving excessive hours of work and/or work in multiple jobs, where workers are able to do this. Some workers are unable to deploy these strategies due to

contractual, state or household arrangements. The outcome may involve financial and psychological uncertainties associated with different schedules, costs of childcare, and conflict with timing of work schedules, non-work commitments and the time schedules of others in the household.

This focus on the ways precarious work interacts with and is shaped by factors beyond the labour market has become an important debate in employment research, with a particular focus on the intersections between precarious employment and the household. Warren (2008) uses quantitative survey data to show the importance of situating discussions of precarious work in the context of the household, and Smith and McBride (2021) build on Crompton's (2006) concept of work-life articulation to emphasise the challenges faced by those working in multiple jobs to make a living, together with the household strategies that may be deployed to manage these challenges. We also follow Lain et al. (2019) in extending our focus beyond just the household to include the role of the welfare state alongside the domains of employment and the household, to show how precarity in one domain can buffer or heighten precarity in another for older workers. Building on this new agenda, we use empirical data to show that the contexts that shape this experience of uncertainty cannot be reduced to a static set of constraints or supports, but involve constant and often changing intersections and interactions between workers' employment, their households, and the state benefit support system.

This article begins by outlining recent academic and policy debates on precarious work which have put the links between precarious employment, the household and

the state at the fore. To take the analysis further, we draw on Heyes et al.'s (2018) definition of uncertainty, to develop a measure of uncertainty to classify the level of precarity experienced (in lives and at work) by our sample across the dual uncertainties of time and income. We then utilise Lain et al.'s (2019) adoption of a three-level analysis of precarious jobs, precarious welfare state and precarious households, to analyse older people's experiences of precarious lives, and to explore the interviewees' experiences of precarity and how they are shaped by the intersection of these three levels. Their experiences are classified based on the thirty-one workers' own narratives about how their household situation and their interactions with the state and welfare system served to heighten or modify their experiences of the uncertainty derived from their employment situation.

The findings reveal how the domains of the state, household and employer practices shape their experiences of uncertainty, and the strategies and resources they draw on to manage their lives and mitigate their uncertainties as best they can. The article concludes by arguing for an agenda for employment researchers to analyse precarious work as a dynamic product of intersecting employment, household and state contexts, that illuminates how the direct uncertainties associated with forms of precarious work, problematic as they may be, are converted for many workers through these interactions into a wider problem of a precarious life.

5.2 Precarious work and the role of employer strategy

Lewchuck (2021) has argued that we are currently in an era of precarious employment (reflected in the rise of more insecure forms of employment), while research by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) makes the link between these forms of work and the incidence of rising in-work poverty (Innes, 2020). Sissons et al. (2017) find the highest level of in-work poverty to be in accommodation and food services (nearly a quarter), shortly followed by administrative and support services (15.6%), residential care (14%) and retail (13.9%) (Sissons et al., 2017, p.8). Significantly, the precarious nature of work in these sectors cannot be captured by consideration of only the direct employment conditions, such as hourly wages and contract type, but depends instead on the interconnections that lie between income and working time. Warren (2008), for example, shows that those working shorter part-time hours had lower economic wellbeing than those working longer hours, when the household was the unit of analysis. More recently, Warren (2022) found that the growing number of men working in part-time jobs were more likely to suffer financial hardships than their full-time counterparts.

Heyes et al. (2018) argue for the use of the concept of uncertainty as a defining element of precarious work. This is drawn from Frank (1921), who defines uncertainty as the unknowable outcome of a situation, whereby “*the odds of specific outcomes occurring cannot be determined in advance*” (Heyes et al., 2018, p.421). While workers develop strategies to manage these uncertainties and reduce their intensity, the extent of their control over their labour market options is strongly shaped by employers’ strategies with respect to staffing and contracts (see

Chapter 3 (JA1) of this thesis). For example, overtime can only be a means to overcome low income if the extra hours worked are paid, and if the hours available fit with current work rotas. Those on full-time salaries may be expected to work extra hours without any extra pay. This explains why the LPC found that salaried workers were more likely to be paid below the minimum wage than hourly paid workers (LPC, 2020). The JRF (2021) also found that even workers on permanent contracts could still face precarious conditions. For example, if they depended on overtime to address income insufficiency, its availability might be unpredictable, thereby maintaining income uncertainty. Even working full time may be insufficient to escape precarity, as it may result in loss of benefits or having to pay for childcare (JRF, 2021). Furthermore, opportunities to take on a second job are limited if working times are irregular and inflexible in the main job.

5.2.1. Precarious work and the role of the household in shaping precarious lives

The extent to which strategies are needed to reduce uncertainty depends on how important the worker's wage is to ensuring against household income insufficiency. The importance of the household in understanding experiences of precarious work has recently been explored by Smith and McBride (2021), who found that holding multiple jobs was one way people attempted to make ends meet. They found that all of these people worked highly fragmented work schedules (working unsociable hours and weekend) in order to balance household caring responsibilities, often relying on "*patchwork care strategies*" that drew on grandparents, extended families and neighbours (Smith and McBride, 2021, p.16). They advocate the use of

the concept of work-life articulation, first developed by Crompton (2006) and furthered by Crompton and Lyonette (2011), in preference to work-life balance to describe challenges and complexities of attempting to accommodate work and life in lived experiences of low-paid multiple employment. This adds to a wider critique of the “classist” assumptions of the work-life balance debates (Collins, 2007; Warren et al., 2009; Smith and McBride, 2021). Work-life articulation is a particularly important concept in the context of the UK’s family model, which can be depicted as a one-and-a-half breadwinner model, and where there is still a reliance on women performing caring roles in the households in the absence of affordable childcare for all (Warren et al., 2009; Warren and Lyonette, 2018; Crompton, 2006). For high-income women there is a possibility of outsourcing this care. In poorer households the care responsibility falls to the woman (Collins, 2007; Warren et al., 2009), yet the household is still reliant on both partners being in paid work.

To manage both work and care responsibilities, be it elder or childcare, requires the use of complex, interactive and dynamic strategies. As household needs and responsibilities change over time (due to children growing up, divorces, sickness, elder care changes), so too do the strategies deployed and the associated degree of household uncertainty experienced (JRF, 2021; Lain et al., 2019; Shildrick et al., 2012). The support networks that surround these households act as safety nets that enable people to deploy different strategies and manage different aspects of precarity. However, these safety nets can also disappear and precarity can thereby increase. For example, grandparents can go from providing care to grandchildren to

requiring care themselves (JRF, 2021). Therefore, the uncertainty experienced at the household level goes beyond just the nuclear family, to include the broader networks involved in providing and requiring financial and income support, as well as those providing and receiving care.

Heyes et al. (2018) examine the consequences of unpredictable working time and work-related incomes for workers' wellbeing, and show that unpredictability in employment creates unpredictability in workers' personal lives. Unpredictable working hours create a pressure to be always available for the "possibility" of work, which causes problems for the organisation of care. Low hourly pay and unpredictable earnings cause many to struggle financially on a day-to-day basis, and restrict access to mortgages or other types of loan. However, implicit in Heyes et al.'s analysis is the role of the state in shaping the context in which these struggles take place. We therefore need, as Lain et al. (2019) argue, to bring in this third dimension – that of the state – more explicitly to fully understand the process of work-life articulation.

5.2.2 Precarious work and the role of the state in shaping precarious lives

There are two main roles of the state that need to be considered in shaping the extent and form by which precarious work may or may not lead to precarious lives. The first is in providing support for care that otherwise would fall to the family, and women in particular; and the second is in shaping the income available to the individual and the household. In both cases, we argue, the state can provide a

buffer to protect against the implications of precarious work, or alternatively can heighten the uncertainties experienced. While in many contributions to the precarious work debate, the role of the state is implicitly recognised as part of the context in which uncertainty is played out, we argue that the relationship with the state's provision of both care and income support may be more appropriately considered as an independent causal factor in the uncertainty experienced. For example, Heyes et al. (2018) show how workers' financial uncertainty is intensified by the possible loss of benefits, and Smith and McBride (2021) show how the problems of unaffordable and inflexible childcare limit the possibilities of work-life articulation. In both cases, it is the form that the state policies take that acts as a contributor to the uncertainty of precarious work, rather than acting as simply a contextual factor. Thus, we follow Lain et al.'s (2019) argument that this is a domain in its own right, that needs to be analysed alongside the domains of employment and of the household, if we are to recognise how precarious work is experienced as a precarious life.

The role of the state in shaping the precarious work of women in particular is well researched and as relevant as ever. Smith and McBride (2021) use of Crompton's (2006) concept of work-life articulation puts the focus on the state acting as either an enabler or disabler for women re-entering work after childbirth. The focus here is on the role of women as carers and the lack of affordable childcare support (Crompton, 2006), which is particularly problematic in liberal market economies such as the UK (Collins, 2007) where there has been a long-term substantial gap in policy in this arena (Warren et al., 2009). However, while recent changes have done

something to fill the gap, they still remain inadequate: only those on state benefits have access to fifteen hours of free childcare for two-year-olds, and while fifteen hours of free childcare are available for all three- and four-year-olds, both parents have to be in work and earning above the threshold for National Insurance contributions in order to receive it (Coleman and Cottell, 2019) . Nevertheless, in 2019, research found that for some households the cost of childcare still led to them being worse off going to work after the cost of childcare has been paid (Coleman and Cottell, 2019).

There are also problems with a lack of provision and limited flexibility of childcare both in terms of after school clubs and early years care that also contribute to a sense of precarity (Hignell, 2014). For example, only 57% of local authorities in England could provide enough childcare for parents who were eligible for thirty hours of childcare (Coleman and Cottell, 2019). This lack of state provision could lead to increases in precarity in this domain, but also has direct implications for workers' availability, the childcare costs of working and the income able to be earned – particularly if workers do not have informal care support arrangements that they can draw on.

The state's role in providing means-tested income support has an even more direct influence on decisions about how many hours someone can or should work, and how much they are able to earn without their income being impacted. Lain et al. (2019) extend Millar's (2017) understanding of precarity as both an economic and an ontological experience, and draw on research with older workers to argue that the experience of precarity must be situated within the three domains of the state,

employment and the household. They extend this by arguing that the domains of the precarious welfare state, precarious households and precarious jobs should be understood equally, as they are directly interlinked, and the nature of precarity experienced in one domain can either act as a buffer or heighten the level of precarity experienced in the others.

Within this approach, precarity and security sit in opposition to each other; therefore one or two of the three domains can act as buffers to reduce precarity in another, thereby reducing the level of precarity overall. Alternatively, each may heighten the level of precarity experienced and interact to create even more uncertainty (Lain et al., 2019). For Lain et al., this link may not necessarily relate to the precarity experienced in a particular role, but relate to the precarity in one of the other domains (state or household) that constrains the choices that workers are able to make to manage the time and income uncertainty they experience (Lain et al., 2019, p.2,223).

Lain et al. (2019) focus on older workers nearing retirement, and view the welfare state mainly as a safety net rather than as a factor promoting labour market participation (as under Universal Credit). However, broadening this approach to other demographic groups can reveal the welfare state as a source of heightened uncertainty. Research has found that the UK benefit system can be a source of precarity for those who are able to access it as well as those who are unable to do so (Greer, 2016; JRF, 2021). When people can access benefits, it is often insufficient to keep them above the poverty line (Shildrick et al., 2012). As a recent report by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) found, the basic payment in Universal

Credit equates to only 12.5% of average earnings in the UK, much lower than at any other time in history (McNeil et al., 2019). This is because the UK benefit system is based on individualised conditionality, which comes with punitive sanctions such as fines if people fail to comply (Dwyer and Wright, 2014). Based on the idea “*to make work pay*” and to discourage benefit dependency (Dwyer, 2004, p.23; Dwyer and Wright, 2014) the system is a punitive Workfare model of Active Labour Market Policies, which Greer (2016) argues serves to heighten precarity because it allows for a decrease in the quality of jobs available (even if there is no increase in the quantity of jobs). Not only are workers pushed into more precarious jobs, but they become unwilling to leave “*secure jobs*” for fear of sanctions (Greer, 2016). These systems have also a direct impact on the number of hours people are able to work, as time spent working has a direct effect on the benefits received and on any sanctions imposed.

Furthermore, the precarity experienced by those on benefits is not just about the low income from benefits but also the uncertainty associated with claiming them. This is due to delays and disruption to claims, sudden changes to eligibility and problems if benefits are later found to have been overpaid. Uncertainties are caused by changes in household circumstances: for example, children becoming older than the child tax credit threshold, or increases in earnings from the claimant or other members within their household. The transition to Universal Credit at the time of this study also created new uncertainties, as payments changed from weekly or two-weekly to monthly, and some people on disability benefits such as the Personal Independence Payment (PIP) faced the removal of these benefits if

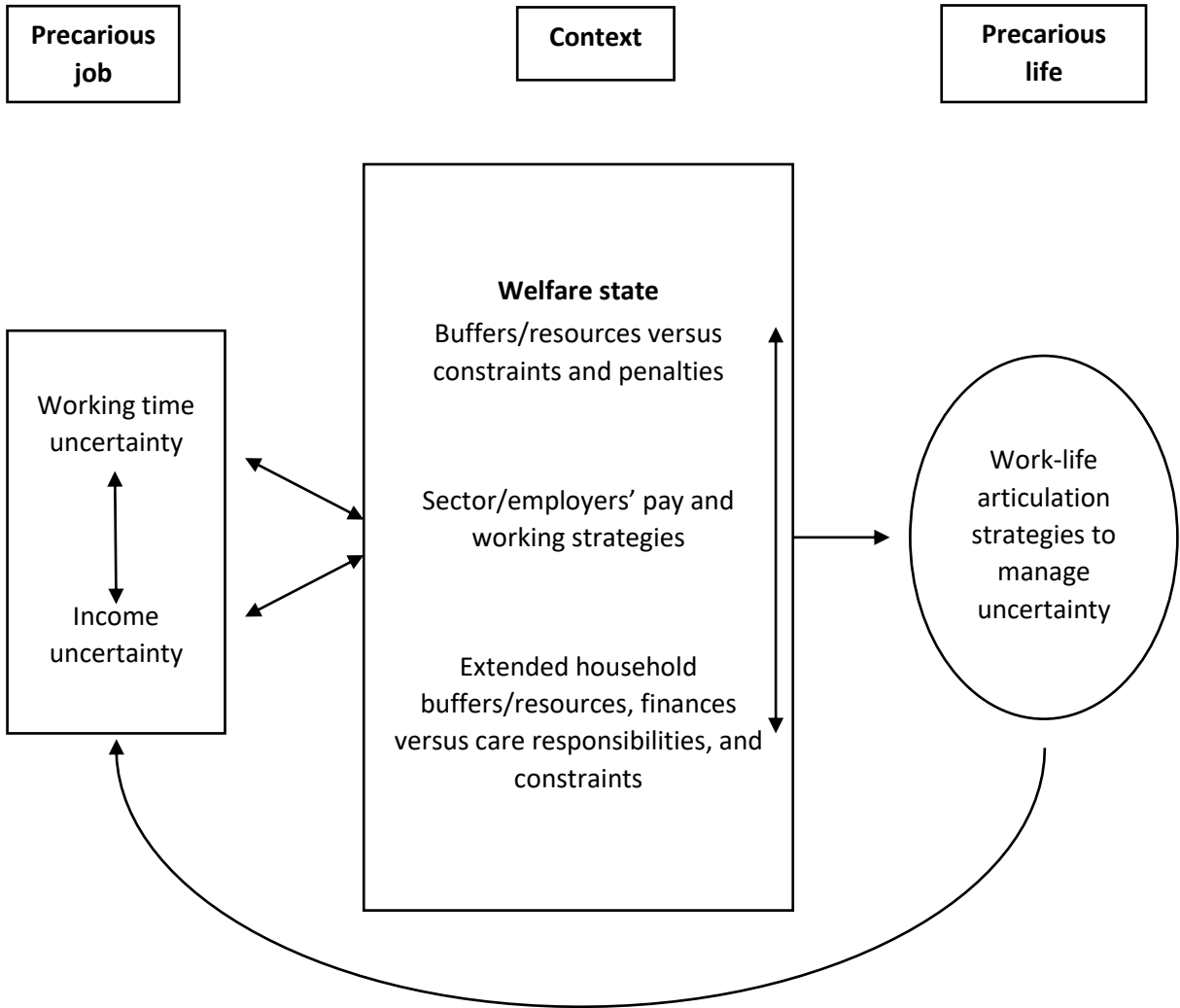
their assessments changed the criteria of eligibility (JRF, 2021). Further research has found that the complexity of claiming benefits has stopped people from accessing them (Rotik and Perry, 2011).

5.3 Framework for analysis

In this article, we use the domain analytical framework of Lain et al. (2019) to argue that employment, the state and the household are all needed to explore how, using Millar's (2017) ontological perspective on precarity, precarious work becomes precarious lives. However, while Lain et al. (2019) present these contexts as static, either as buffers to precarity or heightening it, in contrast we explore how the state, employment and the household intersect in dynamic ways to shape how workers manage combinations of time and income uncertainties. We combine Lain's framework with the concept of work-life articulation to explore how different strategies are used to mitigate experienced uncertainties, as defined by Heyes et al. (2018). Figure 3 summarises the roles of the three domains in shaping the experience of precarious work as a precarious life. It shows how the domains may provide the resources to support work-life articulation strategies to mitigate subjective experiences of uncertainty and on the other hand may act as constraints that heighten the level of uncertainties experienced. In turn it shows how the context of the buffers/constraints shaped by the state, household and employer shaped the way work-life articulation occurs, particularly in terms of the types of work people can access and the objective job-related uncertainty they experience.

Our framework aims to capture how, at an ontological level, precarious jobs are managed and experienced as a precarious life. It treats this process as dynamic, with different strategies adopted according to the buffers and resources in place and life-stage priorities – for example, the “choice” between minimising income uncertainty or minimising time uncertainty. The next section discusses the methods used, and the development of a typology of uncertainty using workers narratives, before applying the framework to understand how precarious jobs become experienced as precarious lives in different ways.

Figure 3: Managing uncertainty model



5.4 Methods

To explore the factors shaping the intersections that lie between precarious jobs and precarious lives, and the strategies workers deploy to limit the levels of uncertainty that they experience, semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty-seven workers between 2017 and 2020. This comprised sixteen participants in one residential care facility and twenty-one workers across three hospitality case-study organisations, (a sports stadium, an arts centre and a high-end hotel). The sectors were chosen because of the high propensity for household poverty among employees and because employment relations were characterised by high levels of fragmented time and precarity/uncertainty (Rubery et al., 2015; Sissons et al., 2017). We interviewed workers (both men and women) with a variety of roles throughout each organisation and who were employed on a range of different contracts (zero-hour, minimum-hours, salaried and set-hour contracts). This enabled us to explore how the effects of gender and different work arrangements intersected with the domains of the household and the state in which workers were embedded. The interview guides were informed by questions related to the three domains in Lain et al.'s (2019) framework, of the state (in terms of care and benefits), households and employment. Workers were asked to give biographical accounts of their work-life history, followed by an account of their current work and life situation, with detailed questions pertaining to the organisation of their job, working conditions and their household situation. This included who they lived with, their financial circumstances, the working patterns of household members and the organisation of their care responsibilities, as well as how these experiences were shaped by the welfare state in relation to benefits and childcare. The

biographical focus facilitated an analysis of a dynamic understanding of how work-life articulations changed over time and shaped through changing uncertainties experienced in each of the three domains.

5.5. Towards a measure of uncertainty

Drawing on the different narratives put forward by workers, an inductive thematic analytical approach was taken, whereby the key themes emerged from the data themselves rather than trying to pull out themes based on pre-existing theory (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-stage process of thematic analysis was followed:

1. Data familiarisation,
2. Initial code generation,
3. *"Searching for themes"*,
4. Reviewing themes,
5. *"Defining and naming themes"*,
6. *"Producing the report"* (Braun and Clark, 2006, p.87).

During the data familiarisation phase of the research I listened to the interviews again as I read through the transcripts that had been generated. This enabled me to familiarise myself with the data and also understand not only what was said by participants but also how the participants spoke about particular themes. This allowed for an emotional reflexive approach to be taken, which goes beyond just the words spoken, as the emotions of both the participant and researcher during

the interviews are taken into account when analysing the interviews. This enabled me to gain a better understanding of workers' actual lived experience (Smith and McBride, 2019).

During the analysis process it became clear that workers defined their precarity in their lives and their jobs around the uncertainty that they experienced, both in terms of time and income, and their attempted strategies to overcome it. When workers discussed their lived experience of work, there was evidence of a clear interaction that sat between the uncertainty of time and income. For example, when Simon, who worked as a cinema usher on a minimum-hour contract, explained how he managed income uncertainty, he spoke about the importance of working time in his calculations:

Well because... because the pay... the pay is not that much more than minimum wage, so it is what it is... it's... the... total... the total number of hours... just... prescribes... the amount of... prescribes the level of income that I have... available to me from month to month and when it exceeds... sixteen hours... entitles me to that... tax credit. (Simon)

However, this intersection between income and time was not just discussed in relation to choosing the number of hours worked based on income solely mediated by the workplace. It extended into the further reaches of workers' lives as they tried to define what a non-precarius job would entail. For example, Imran held multiple jobs with zero-hour contracts, working for different sport stadiums as a waiter on match days and in a factory as a pot wash. When asked what a secure job to him would look like, he explained:

I would say [long pause] work regularly so when I go to sleep tonight I know somewhere I can go tomorrow and by working the money will come in and pay for my expenses. My family can live happily and I can

book holiday as well[...] you need to relax as well not just work.
(Imran)

The importance of time and income became even more apparent as I moved to Stage Two of coding, where initial codes were generated and I moved systematically through the data. In this stage I noted that the importance of a regular, predictable income went side by side with the ability to plan life and take annual leave. In the quote above from Imran, he spoke about hoping for the certainty of being able to know he was working and being able to plan holidays and relax. For him, that was how the uncertainty of his income was felt in a more encompassing level, as it shaped his world and his family's world beyond work. At Stage Two it therefore became important that the analysis of workers' narratives could capture both the objective uncertainty of income and time but also their subjective experiences of uncertainty, which expanded beyond their jobs.

The analysis here was framed by Heyes et al.'s (2018) call for greater precision in defining precarious work, to include uncertainty as a key characteristic in our definition. This theme of uncertainty pervaded the narratives of the participants as they spoke about their experiences of precarious work but significantly their experiences of precarious work could not be recognised from their objective working conditions alone, and were very much related to how intersections of their jobs with specific state and household dynamics also shaped the time and income uncertainty that they experienced. This aim to capture precarity more precisely via the notion of uncertainty led to the development of two sets of measures of uncertainty as the analysis proceeded. Together with workers' narratives, it enabled the development of two sets of measures of uncertainty. The first was

objectively measured working time and income uncertainty using the characteristics of the job (not related to the social and household position of the interviewee), i.e., job-related income uncertainty (JRIU) and job-related working time uncertainty (JRTU). The second set of measures were coded based on participants' subjective accounts of their experiences of the uncertainty they faced in life, in relation to income and time, i.e., subjective life-related income uncertainty (LRIU) and subjective life-related time uncertainty (LRTU).

During Stage Three, I consolidated all the themes, as can be seen in Table 7 under one theme headed "Subjective life-related uncertainty", which was then divided into two subthemes, those of "Subjective life-related income uncertainty" and "Subjective life-related time uncertainty". These subthemes were further divided into what we call dimension themes: all of these emerged from the data and were included by workers as dimensions defining both subjective time-related and subjective-life related uncertainty.

During Stage Four of the thematic analysis, in which the themes were reviewed, it became clear that while the dimension themes were correct, the dimensions had variable impacts on the level of uncertainty they created. For example, some dimensions such as "Unable to meet basic needs" or "Unable to take rest breaks in work and at home" had a greater impact on the level of uncertainty that workers stated that they experienced than, for example, the dimensions such as "Unable to save" or "Unable to make social plans". However, these dimensions had compounding effects, such that where workers experienced more dimensions of uncertainty, they ultimately experienced a higher level of subjective uncertainty.

Therefore while it was important to be able to save and pay for a holiday, it was more important for workers to be able to meet their basic needs. Hannah, who worked as an apprentice carer, explained this well when she was discussing why she did not see being a care worker as a career job.

Being a carer is a job, it's not a career[...] like loads of people that come here, they're, you know, they're still struggling, do you know what I mean? With rent and stuff like that and so that's just a job to me, that's not a career. (Hannah)

Here, she places an emphasis on the need to be able to pay bills in terms of defining what a career job is, and is equating a career job with certainty. However, she went on to explain that it is vital to be able to pay for your basic needs, but that it would also be nice to save or go on holiday:

You... need... not having any problems with getting that and the things that you want as well. Obviously food, paying the electric, council, gas, water, rent or your mortgage... anything on finance and stuff like that, you can pay that comfortably without having any stresses. And... and just, you know, things that you want, not like... bit like... you know really expensive cars and stuff like that... just something[...] I'm not really a materialistic person to be honest. I just want to get a career so that I can... get a house really. So like I've been saving up for that as well[...] So just house and car so... just saving up for that and then I want to travel the world when I get a career. (Hannah)

Here she starts to go beyond the notions of paying rent, and talks about saving and having some choice to spend and go travelling, and being able to pay for things without finance “*comfortably without having stresses*”. This goes beyond the notion of a career job providing the basics to stay alive, and expands into more a nuanced subjective understanding of what constitutes certainty, an understanding that captures what is needed for workers to not experience a precarious life. The

way each dimension is shaped may change for each participant, but I still aimed to capture its importance by illuminating why it could not be deduced solely from objective conditions, and should instead be measured independently if I were to start to come to terms with a more precise definition of precarity.

Other workers made similar comparisons based on what were seen as dimensions that were essential to survive, and other dimensions that were important to them as a way to feel more certain that they had choices and could plan beyond the immediate short term. These could differ in importance from one participant to the next, but it also became clear that these dimensions compounded uncertainty, and that the greater the number of these “nonessential” dimensions that were lacking, the more uncertain the workers’ lived experiences were. I wanted to capture this idea of levels of uncertainty, to understand the compounding effect of subjective dimensions of uncertainty that could not necessarily be extrapolated directly from objective income and time uncertainty in jobs. I gave each of these dimensions a coded weighting to reflect the importance given to it by workers. I moved to Stage Five, where I not only defined and named the themes in line with Braun and Clark’s (2006) methodology, but I also gave each theme a weighting, thereby creating an index of subjective life-related uncertainty, as can be seen in table 7 below.

Each of the four measures of uncertainty was an aggregate of a set of different dimensions. Each of the dimensions was given a score, 0.5, 1 or 2. These weights reflected the importance they were accorded in the workers’ interviews in relation to the uncertainty that they were experiencing. Scores for the dimensions that the workers viewed as having the greatest impact on their level of uncertainty were

given a weighting of 2, while those that had the smallest impact were given a weighting of 0.5. The scores and the key dimensions are shown in Tables 6 and 7 below. Once a score was given to each of the dimensions and an aggregate score across the four dimensions calculated, we divided the range of the aggregate scores into roughly three equal parts – high, medium and low – and checked that the division made sense, with clear gaps between median and modal scores (see Appendix H). For example, in JRIU, the scores ranged from 0 to 7: we therefore divided the scale into Low <3, Medium 3–4 and High ≥5. For all the measures, this division into three equal parts in practice provided divisions in the population that could be considered relatively distinct from each other, with only a minority of cases on the borders: see the data in Appendix F for further details.

Table 6: Coding framework: job-related uncertainty

Job-related uncertainty			Job-related working time uncertainty		
Job-related income uncertainty			Job-related working time uncertainty		
Combined scores Low <3			Combined scores Low <4		
Combined scores Medium 3–4			Combined scores Medium 4–7		
Combined scores High ≥5			Combined scores High ≥8		
Measure	Dimension	Code/weighting	Measure	Dimension	Code/weighting
Rate of pay	Earns below RLW	2	Work pattern	Expected to work long hours (shifts more than 8 hours)	1
	Earns between RLW and median pay	1		Expected to work weekends	1
	Earns above median pay	0.5		Expected to work hours that clash with reproductive times (e.g., dinnertime, early mornings, nights, etc.)	1
Stability of pay	Base pay 0–16 hours	2	Work scheduling	Expected to work more than 5 days in a row	1
	Base pay 16–35 hours	1		Lack of control over when overtime is done	1
	Base pay 35+ hours	0.5		Regularly works more than 48 hours in a 7-day period	1
	Not paid for expected extra hours worked	2		Variable rota (hours scheduled to work vary regularly with no regular work pattern)	1

Forced variation in monthly pay	2	Last-minute scheduling (rota made/changes made to rota with 1 week or less notice)	1
Overtime not paid at enhanced rate	1	Rigid rota (rota with no flexibility or made over a month in advance)	1
		No set end time to shifts/variable end time of shifts	1
		Inability to turn down shifts (or having to find replacement to cover)	1

Table 7: Coding framework: subjective life-related uncertainty

Subjective life-related uncertainty					
Subjective life-related income uncertainty			Subjective life-related time uncertainty		
Combined scores Low < 3			Combined scores Low < 4		
Combined scores Medium 3–5			Combined scores Medium 4–6		
Combined scores High ≥6			Combined scores High ≥7		
Measure	Dimension	Code/weighting	Measure	Dimension	Code/weighting
Base household income	Unable to meet basic needs (bills and non-luxury goods)	2	Time to rest	Unable to take rest breaks in work and at home	2
	Unable to save	1		Unable to take annual leave	1
	Unable to afford to go on holiday	1		Unable to get proper sleep	1
	unable to pay for emergencies	1	Ability to plan	Unable to make social plans	1
Income volume/risks	High variation in household income	1		Difficulty planning life	2
	High risk of income loss	2		Difficulties balancing care responsibilities and working hours	2

Table 8 shows the analysis of job-related uncertainty based on “objective” working conditions and subjective measures of uncertainty. JRIU depended on the level of hourly pay, the extent of guaranteed pay and the variability of income. JRTU was taken to include length of working hours and/or continuous days of work, unsocial hours of work, variability of hours and scheduling, including amount of notice and lack of control.

The outcome (shown in Table 8) was that only three workers experienced both low JRIU and low JRTU as measured by the objective job-related dimensions. This meant that thirty-four workers in our sample were in jobs considered to be precarious, at least to a medium level, in at least one dimension. We then measured our sample based on the subjective measure of uncertainty (see the lower section of Table 8). The subjective life-related income uncertainty (LRIU) captured the interviewees’ accounts of not being able to make ends meet, to save, to pay for emergencies or go on holiday, alongside high variation in income or perceived high risk of income loss. Subjective life-related time uncertainty (LRTU) reflected interviewees’ accounts of not being able to rest, take leave or sleep, and difficulties planning their lives, whether around social events, longer life plans or balancing work and care. Five participants were found to be experiencing low LRTU and low LRIU. These included the three workers who had experienced low objective job-related uncertainty, and two more who had sufficient household buffers and labour market buffers to mitigate the level of objective job-related uncertainty they experienced at all levels. All five of these participants were removed from the sample as they were unlikely to experience precarious work and precarious lives.

We removed one more participant from our sample, who despite having high time uncertainty in the job where she was interviewed, held another non-precarious job that was her main source of employment and income. Her second job (which was the focus of the interview) had been taken to pay for extra luxury goods, such as specialist dance classes for her daughter. She was excluded because her main job allowed her to be sufficiently buffered against the volatility of her second job, so much so that loss of the second job would have minimal impact on the overall subjective level of income uncertainty she experienced. This left us with a total of thirty-one participants, all of whom experienced high or medium subjective life-related uncertainty in at least one dimension.

Table 8: Sample uncertainty level experienced

Job-related working time uncertainty					
<i>Job-related income uncertainty</i>		<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	1	2	13	16
	<i>Medium</i>	2	11	5	18
	<i>Low</i>	3			3
	<i>Grand Total</i>	6	13	18	37
Subjective life-related time uncertainty					
<i>Subjective life-related income uncertainty</i>		<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	1	4	14	19
	<i>Medium</i>	4	4	1	9
	<i>Low</i>	5	3	1	9
	<i>Grand Total</i>	10	11	16	37

The findings of the paper draw on the subjective measures of uncertainty to investigate people's work-life articulation strategies as they mitigate the uncertainty that they encounter, through the embedded contexts of household,

state and employment. We use this measure as it encompasses workers' experiences beyond just the workplace, allowing us to understand their total level of uncertainty and the intersection between precarious work and precarious lives. Through this we recognise that objective job-related uncertainty is only one aspect of the uncertainty people experience in their lives, and does not capture the experiences of uncertainty that were expressed in the participants' narratives around the state and household.

As can be seen from Table 9, there is not necessarily a direct correlation between the level of objective job-related uncertainty and subjective life uncertainty. For example, only five of the eleven participants who scored a medium level of objective JRTU also scored as experiencing a medium level of subjective LRTU. Similarly, of the seventeen workers who had experienced medium JRIU, two had low, six had medium and nine had high subjective LRIU. In general, a much higher share of the sample experienced high subjective LRIU than high JRIU – i.e., nineteen as opposed to fourteen respectively.

For example, Elizabeth experienced a medium level of objective income uncertainty but high subjective income uncertainty. Working on reception at a hotel, she was on a salaried contract earning £22,000 a year, well above minimum wage for a 35-hour working week. However, she was not paid for the overtime she was regularly expected to work. The guaranteed salary meant that her objective uncertainty was medium but her subjective uncertainty was high, because once you took into account her household situation – particularly her position as the sole earner for a family of four – she experienced a high level of subjective income uncertainty. Her

husband, who was too ill to work, had lost access to disability benefits due to what was later found to be a mistake made in his assessment. This quotation highlights the importance of measuring subjective uncertainty in order to understand the connection that lies between precarious work and lives.

It was awful, just could manage, [...], by the time you paid all your bills there was nothing left, we couldn't do anything[...] I don't like loans, I don't like credit cards, if I haven't got it, I don't have it[...] I could get paid on the 31st and by the 4th, I'd have like £2 in the bank[...] all the bills were paid, I have food in to last us for the month[...] Yeah [I was the only earner], my partner was ill so he didn't earn anything[...] Four of us [in the household on £20,000 a year][...] Yeah. Well so I think that's why we split up now, it had a lot of pressure on me. (Elizabeth)

In general, a much higher share of the sample experienced high subjective LRIU than high JRIU – i.e., nineteen as opposed to fourteen respectively. For time-related uncertainty, the number recording high uncertainty was very similar between the objective and the subjective life-related measures (seventeen compared to sixteen), but while the distribution was similar the makeup of the sample varied. In both the time and the income objective/subjective comparisons, ten out of thirty-one participants scored highly on both income measures, and eleven out of thirty-one scored highly on both time related measures. That said, the composition varied between time and income, with only eight interviewees scoring highly on all four measures.

Table 9: Comparison of subjective and objective uncertainties

		Subjective life-related income uncertainty			
<i>Job-related income uncertainty</i>		<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	1	3	10	14
	<i>Medium</i>	2	6	9	17
	<i>Low</i>				0
	<i>Grand Total</i>	3	9	19	31
		Subjective life-related time uncertainty			
<i>Job-related working time uncertainty</i>		<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	2	4	11	17
	<i>Medium</i>	1	5	5	11
	<i>Low</i>	2	1		3
	<i>Grand Total</i>	5	10	16	31

5.6 Findings

Table 10 below shows the levels of both subjective and objective uncertainty experienced by each of the workers. It shows that objective and subjective levels of uncertainty do not map neatly onto each other. Furthermore, time and income uncertainty also do not necessarily coincide with each other, with some workers experiencing low subjective time uncertainty with medium-level subjective LRIU (as was the case for Susan), while others experienced the same subjective levels of time and income uncertainty. The analysis of participants' narratives of both their work-life histories and their current situations revealed the ways in which these levels of subjective uncertainty were shaped. The strategies that workers deployed to mitigate these levels of uncertainty involved clear but complex and multi-layered interactions between the worker's household position, their engagement with the state and their employment situation. In order to identify the key challenges our participants faced in articulating work and life to mitigate uncertainties, we start

with an exploration of the interactions between employment and the state, followed by a consideration of employment and the household. We conclude by showing how these three dimensions are deeply intertwined.

Table 10: Levels of uncertainty experienced by participants

Pseudonym	Job-related income uncertainty	Job-related working time uncertainty	Subjective life-related income uncertainty	Subjective life-related time uncertainty
Daisy	High	High	Medium	Low
James	High	High	High	High
Sandra	High	High	High	High
Imran	High	Medium	High	High
Fernanda	Medium	High	High	High
Carlos	Medium	Low	Medium	Low
Simon	High	High	High	High
Rishi	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium
Stephanie	High	High	High	High
Sarah	High	High	High	High
Donna	Medium	High	Medium	High
Patricia	Medium	Medium	High	High
Daniel	Medium	Medium	High	High
Kasia	Medium	Medium	High	Low
Emily	Medium	Medium	High	High
Susan	Medium	Low	Medium	Low
Marysia	Medium	Medium	High	Medium
Jacob	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Angela	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Hannah	Medium	Medium	High	Medium
Anne	High	High	High	Medium
Amanda	High	High	High	High
Agnese	High	Low	Medium	Medium
Lucia	Medium	High	High	Medium
Jason	High	High	Low	Medium
Janelle	Medium	Medium	Low	High
Jean	Medium	High	Medium	Medium
Elizabeth	Medium	High	High	High
Sajan	High	High	Medium	Low
Abid	High	High	High	High
Chantelle	High	High	High	High

5.5.1 Employment and the state

This section focuses on the places where participants' narratives highlighted the role of the state in relation to provision of benefits, feelings of uncertainty and actions that reduce uncertainty and meet households' financial and temporal needs. We recognise that the state also has a role in shaping the availability of support for care and workers' caring strategies, but these issues are discussed in the next section on the household.

Where benefits were discussed in interviewees' narratives, the topic almost always came up as a negative issue. For participants who had current access to benefits, their narratives of uncertainty and work-life articulation were dominated by the state. Discussions were shaped by intricate calculations of how to minimise the uncertainty experienced, with attempts to balance uncertain working time and income with the benefit system. For these workers, the benefit system often exacerbated uncertainty. For those who had lost access to benefits, the state was still important, but more in terms of its role in creating current and past forms of uncertainty. It had less direct impact on the shaping of current working time arrangements (apart from the requirement to work more hours to make ends meet for those experiencing high income uncertainty). For those who had never claimed benefits, not doing so was often a deliberate choice, citing fear of making a mistake or the stigma associated with claiming benefits. This approach was justified by arguments that they were physically able and therefore could work. Such workers did not consider benefits when they were thinking about when they could work and the number of hours they could work, but their lack of access to income

support from the state often required them to work more hours to make ends meet. This resulted (in some cases) in a heavy reliance on their household as buffer, either by covering care needs to enable them to work additional hours or by providing some form of economic support.

When analysing the relationship that existed between benefits and the level of uncertainty workers experienced, we found that of the interviewees who had access to benefits, all experienced high or medium income uncertainty, while the majority experienced high time uncertainty. The latter was associated with irregularity of working time and the consequences in terms of risking loss of benefits (discussed in more depth below). For the two interviewees who were classed as having medium and low time uncertainty, this was due to their household situation, not the benefit system. Both needed to work regular hours to fit with regular shared parenting arrangements with their ex-partners, thereby precluding strategies in relation to working time to mitigate their income uncertainty. Carlos explained:

I work around my son's school times. And that's a massive sacrifice financially[...] Because there are not many jobs that start at 11 o'clock in the morning or finish at 5 or you know, 4.30 if you need to shoot off[...] because I... I prioritised time over money[...] So... I went for a job and[...] focused on me being able to... take care of [my son][...] the relationship was on the rocks so I could foresee that I was going to end up on my own... with my son... and his mum on her own or whatever. So... I said, I need to prepare for this. So... I just went for jobs that were slightly flexible" (Carlos)

In both cases, benefits acted as a small buffer, giving them access to a limited amount of extra money that allowed them to experience medium income

uncertainty. This was mainly due to reductions in fluctuations of income, but the amount they earned still often barely covered basic needs.

For those who had lost access to benefits, the majority still experienced medium or high time and income uncertainty. The one worker with low-income uncertainty had been taken off benefits when she found a job which paid her a high base level of income. For the others, the loss of benefits occurred as a result of changes in disability benefit assessments for family members, rises in the minimum wage, increases in hours worked in one job or working multiple jobs (even where this was temporary due to fluctuations in working time and pay). Moreover, the loss of benefits not only resulted in a loss of regular income from the state, but often also in them having to pay back money to the state. Where this sanction was due to variations in income, it was often unclear to the interviewees why they lost access to benefits or how what they owed was calculated. For this group, the loss of benefits served to further heighten their income uncertainty. Stephanie, who held multiple jobs, working both as an actor and in front-of-house catering for the art centre, explained:

I used to have tax credits, but then I think... I think I got overpaid in them... but I'm not quite... it's a bit of a mess, so I kind of... because of the two sources of income... I... probably still could get tax credits but I find... I found it hard to calculate what I needed to... my change in income because it changes so much so I think I hadn't... let them know about something and then they were kind of like, "Oh, well you've got to pay it all back." And it got to a point where it was too late for me to go, "Well actually, no I don't think you did overpay me,"[...] I think... what was it? They were saying I owe them £500. (Stephanie)

To resolve this, many worked increased hours, resulting in greater working time uncertainty and pressure to develop new work-life articulation strategies as they attempted to manage the uncertainties. For Stephanie, this meant often working extra shifts at the end of the month when she ran out of money to ensure that she could buy food with the tip money she received.

Getting tips really does help because... there've been times where I ran out of money very quickly in the month and then just lived off tips. (Stephanie)

For those who had never had access to benefits, the uncertainty experienced in both the realms of time and income was more mixed than for the other two categories, but the majority still experienced medium or high uncertainty. In the case of the two workers with low-income uncertainty, this was due in one case to savings accrued from previous jobs, and in the other to more stable minimum hours at work and a strong household safety net of parents who were able to support them financially. With respect to the four workers with low time uncertainty, the main factor was lack of care responsibilities, which gave them more control over their own time. Two of these workers had, however, experienced high time uncertainty in the past when their children were younger. The other two were younger and, due to a lack of household care responsibilities and some financial safety nets (one through savings and the other through familial networks), they were able to take proper rest breaks away from work. While many of the interviewees in this category were likely to be eligible for benefits at the point of interview or at some point in their life course, their negative associations with state benefits in terms of both complexity and stigma prevented them from claiming support. By not seeking a buffer from the state and instead accepting their

plight, their income and time uncertainty increased, and for many the household became the key buffer by which uncertainty could be managed.

For in-depth insight into how benefits acted as either a barrier or as a buffer to uncertainty and how this fed into interviewees' work-life articulation strategies, we look now at the experiences of interviewees in receipt of benefits. For this group, the state and issues around access to benefits dominated their discussion of work-life articulation. It shaped their working time decisions and their feelings of anxiety, as well as the ways in which they managed and tried to mitigate uncertainty.

5.5.2.1 Access to benefits as a barrier to uncertainty

For some interviewees, benefits acted to heighten the ontological and economic precarity they experienced. The uncertainty was related to the conditionality associated with benefits, in particular when it came to the number of hours worked and the reaching or breaching of thresholds in relation to hours or income. Heightened uncertainty resulted from the complex interplay between working time and income thresholds in the benefit regulations. These problems were exacerbated by the uncertain working time arrangements set by employers and by limits on the individual's capacity to work more hours due to disabilities or childcare responsibilities. Interviewees' work-time articulation stemmed from the need to navigate this interplay and their attempts to minimise the uncertainties of income and time. For these interviewees, benefits were a necessary evil that acted as a safety net if they were physically unable to carry on working. However, the

anxiety related to ensuring they could maintain that buffer became, in itself, a cause of their heightened sense of time and income uncertainty.

Two interviewees clearly highlighted how they had negotiated this. Both were male, disabled and highly reliant on disability-related benefits. In both cases they had been told that they had to find work in order to keep receiving the Employment Support Allowance (ESA). Simon complied with this by finding a job as a volunteer in an art centre. He decided not to turn down any of the voluntary shifts in the hope that he would get some paid work to supplement the income he received from benefits, thereby increasing his income certainty. After a few months he was given a zero-hour contract and took on as many shifts as possible, eventually securing a set-hours contract for four hours a week. Despite this, he still felt he had to take on extra shifts to reduce his income uncertainty, fearing that turning down shifts would lead to him not being offered more in the future, thereby increasing his income uncertainty. However, he had to decide whether to risk taking on more shifts: if his working week exceeded sixteen hours, he would forgo the protections of the ESA and be moved to tax credits, where the benefit payment was lower, with increased income uncertainty in the long run, particularly if he became unwell or was not offered extra shifts. However, in the short term he could remain “the apple” of his manager’s eye by taking all the shifts he was given.

It was... you know, I was just hovering round about... sixteen hours, you know... give or take a few hours and just thought... “Yeah, I’m not certain of this and I don’t know how long, you know...” So still... you know, my mental health was still up and down in a big way and... so it was... so I was uncertain but I... sort of... dropped ESA and started... claiming tax credits and actually... it pretty much worked out. I think I’ve pretty much exceeded sixteen hours per week since. (Simon)

For James, the story was similar: he moved directly onto tax credits when he found employment. At the time of the interview, he was working as a cleaner for a sports stadium, and had just started cleaning a pub his daughter managed at the weekends. As with Simon, he had to negotiate between the uncertainty of getting the hours he needed, his physical ability to work and his benefits.

But as long as I do more than sixteen hours a week I am ok[...] I can still claim working tax credit because on fifteen hours I couldn't afford to do it[...] now it's coming Christmas its going to get loads of hours from me. But if I do too many hours I lose part of [my benefits] [...] Well it varies. I have done twenty-five I have done thirty one week[...] I wanted to be on forty hours a week but I can't[...] Because my body won't handle it. (James)

James was struggling to decide whether he should keep his second job at the pub, as it could lead to him working over the tax credit limit if there were many shifts available at the stadium. However, this high working-time uncertainty coupled with the threat of losing benefits for working too many hours led to both interviewees experiencing heightened ontological precarity. The interviewees sought to articulate their employment and their benefit support not only in relation to current opportunities but also with respect to how this might impact them in the longer term – i.e., turning down hours now might limit future work opportunities, but working too much could limit their benefit support if their health deteriorated. These problems derived from the specific benefits regulations and from the lack of rights to guaranteed hours.

5.5.2.2 Benefits as a buffer helping to reduce working time and income uncertainty

Some workers were able to negotiate the limits set by benefits, and for these workers the benefit system went some way towards providing a buffer against their experience of uncertainty. As with those for whom the state acted as a barrier to less precarious lives, these interviewees' work-life articulation was dominated by the context of the state and the way it enabled them to shape their working time arrangements. However, the reason the state could act as a buffer for these workers was that they were able to rely on their households to support them, in particular in relation to caring arrangements. Furthermore, regular-hour contracts and predictable overtime opportunities enabled some interviewees to calculate and optimise their income potential without surpassing the limits set by benefits. A key example is Emily, a single mother and a recipient of Universal Credit. She worked part time as a residential care worker on a two-weekly rolling rota. Her family had been able to support her with care for her son after she was no longer able to work night shifts. She had carefully calculated the exact amount of overtime she could work to ensure she could reduce her income uncertainty. The cost was still high time uncertainty: in particular, she had to work weekends every other week and two twelve-hour shifts a week. She also had to do as much overtime as she could, up to the limit of the Universal Credit work allowance. Nevertheless, her benefits enabled her to balance caring for her child more easily than if she had to work full time as she had previously been doing, although the time she worked was

perfectly calculated within the confines of the benefit system and the availability of her familial support.

I've been on like benefits since being eighteen with me having a child and then obviously working as well and then going on to Universal Credit. It is a lot better because it's more... managing your money as well 'cause it is paid to you in like a lump sum every month. So I know that... now, with me doing two and a half days[...] No, it [benefits] changes, unless I have the same wage... every month, but I always try and do like an extra... like day, just to cover... 'cause I pay like my pension and my National Insurance, just to make sure I'm not losing any money. (Emily)

What we can see is that benefits have a direct impact on the way workers are able to articulate their working time and the level of uncertainty they experience. Even when benefits act as a safety net, they can at the same time act as a barrier to increased certainty. This applies especially when the worker's capacities are uncertain due to disability, and when the conditionality built into the benefit system interacts with high variability in the availability of working hours. However, where benefits are coupled with household support or with scheduled, controllable employment, they serve as a buffer against the level of precarity experienced. For the interviewees who relied on benefits, it was their relationship to benefits that was the central focus of their narratives on working time and income decisions.

This section has shown how workers' relationships with benefits affected both the levels of uncertainty they experienced and the ways in which their work lives were articulated. What can also be seen is that household arrangements and conditions of work were interlinked with these experiences. The next section will focus more on workers' narratives about their households, and how the households exacerbated and buffered their experience of uncertainty.

5.5.3 Employment and the household

This section considers the interactions between another subset of the domains in our framework, those between the household and employment. We investigated workers' narratives to understand the roles that their immediate and extended household played in their ability to negotiate and navigate both uncertainty through specific work life articulations.

All the interviews indicated that workers' immediate and extended household circumstances had a direct effect on how they were able to manage their income and working time uncertainty. I found that those without caring responsibilities were more likely to experience low pay and time uncertainty. Even so, the majority of this group of workers still experienced high or medium levels of both pay and income uncertainty, albeit that the context that created the uncertainty differed greatly between those with and those without caring responsibilities. For those without caring responsibilities, uncertainty was experienced in relation to the job they were working in rather than exacerbated by their household situation. Both Sarah and Stephanie, who worked for the art centre catering company (as well as having other jobs in the arts), explained that once workers had children, they left their catering company jobs, as the working time arrangements were not conducive to caring responsibilities, due to the high level of working time unpredictability and the days of the week and times of day they were expected to work.

Well... the two women who've worked there in the bar who... have been pregnant and had children, like... they've both left... like they've intended to come back but they just haven't[...] Well, I think that is... I

suppose it's like if you've just had a child... you can't[...] I think... maybe if... for people whose partner works nights as well, it means... unless they can get all days at home, it won't quite work. (Stephanie)

Sarah elaborated on this point further, stating:

I don't think you – I'd be scared, um, I'd then go back to being scared like the security of it if I had a child[...] Um, I don't know, like being late nights and, uh, I don't know if it would be enough money then. I've only ever had to look after myself, so. (Sarah)

Hence, for these workers it was the lack of household caring responsibilities that enabled them to work in jobs with highly precarious working time and income arrangements. Therefore, uncertainty for these workers was heightened by their jobs but not buffered by their households. However, for those with caring responsibilities, it was their household situation and the intersection between caring and working time that dominated their narratives and their experiences of uncertainty.

The interviewees' work-life histories revealed that the uncertainty they experienced shifted throughout their life courses, as caring responsibilities changed and the circumstances of those in their extended households altered. This is similar to what the JRF (2021) found, but the narratives also revealed that the way working time was articulated and negotiated at a household level also changed throughout their life courses. For example, as Kasia explained, some interviewees worked night shifts when their children were younger, and moved on to day shifts once their children were of an age where they could get themselves ready for school.

Because I was on the night, working on nights, was little bit different because my husband was working on days, yeah? And... I was coming from work[...] like 8 o'clock in the morning, waiting on the front door, only brush her hair and was going to school[...] My contract was

forty-four hours, but I was doing... because... this time the first few months my husband was only at... you know, like at home, he wasn't at work because he can't find the work, for a few months. And I was working like... six nights a week, sometimes more you know, because I need to have overtime to keep my house to pay the... rent, the house, you know[...] After, when my daughter start going to... secondary school. After five and a half years exactly I was here five and a half years and I moved [to days][...] Because I don't want to work on nights... it's hard... it's not a life[...] Because she was in the secondary school and she can take herself. (Kasia, Social care workers)

Kasia's story was not unique. Others told very similar stories: for example, Marysia had taken a job doing night shifts in a pizza factory when her son was young, but had to leave the job after a divorce. In later life, these interviewees ensured that their shifts matched those of their children so that they could support the care of grandchildren or of older relatives (see the story of Patricia below). In the case of Sandra, she went back to work when her husband retired, which supplemented his pension and meant he became the full-time carer for their grandchildren.

I am married[...] we've just got guardianship of two of our little grandkids[...] So we've swapped roles, he stays at home and I am working. (Sandra)

In these examples, the household's care strategies acted both as a buffer against uncertainty and also as a major factor that shaped the working time practices of different household members. Household members' availability for care in many cases shaped the hours the interviewees were able to work. Karen explained how she negotiated her work and caring pattern in light of both her mother's and husband's working patterns.

I started on... I think it was thirty hours a week, Monday to Friday my contract which was great because obviously[...] we knew we wanted to start a family, so... 'cause he's always worked weekends as well... so you've got to fit round your family life haven't you... when I came

back after having [first child][...] ... I cut my hours down to twenty-seven and a half hours, which meant start at half past nine in the morning... so I did the school run and then came straight to work. And... finished at 4... that was Monday to Thursday and then Friday was half past 9 'til 1, so perfect really for the school [...] my mum worked here and she always did the early shift here, she did 8 in the morning 'til 2, that was her shift, 8 'til 2, so then she'd go and pick my children up from the childminder or school for me, whichever they were at at the time. So... and she helped me out right through having [my children], so that was a big help [...] I couldn't have done it without mum. (Karen)

However, opportunities to extend working hours to decrease income uncertainty came with the risk of increased working time uncertainty – as can be seen, for example, in the quotation from Kasia above about working at least six night shifts a week when her daughter was young, a strategy that reduced income uncertainty but at a cost to her own mental and physical health. Therefore, how hours were negotiated at a household level and how caring responsibilities were shared among the household (immediate or extended) had direct effects on the working time strategies that workers were able to deploy.

This affected not only what jobs they could accept, but also what hours they were able to work to mitigate income uncertainty within the job or, indeed, whether they could hold multiple jobs. In practice this, was only possible for workers who did not do most of the care within their households, especially when working multiple jobs led to high time uncertainty. Only one worker interviewed Carlos held multiple jobs and had caring responsibilities, and he was only able to do this as both jobs had the exact same hours every week, which fitted around his child's schooling and when his child was at his mother's house. While the interviewee still faced medium income uncertainty and struggled financially, the fact that both jobs

had high working time certainty enabled him to balance care and work. Similarly, in the social care facility, it was only possible for interviewees to commit to a full-time two-week rotating shift pattern including early mornings, late evenings and weekends if they had a partner or parent to support them with their caring responsibilities. In the social care facility, the choice to do overtime and mitigate income uncertainty depended strongly on the shift patterns of other household members. However, in some cases the rolling rota shift pattern was seen as preferable to some other jobs, as it had some predictability, allowed for school pick-up on the days off, and could accommodate other household members' shift patterns. As Susan explained, now her children were older, she tried to do overtime when her husband was also working:

He does earlies and lates and twelve-hour shifts, yeah, so... that's why I like my Monday to Friday, I know it's... you know, it's set, I know what I'm doing and then the weekends are a bit sort of hit and miss. I'll try and pick up a shift when I know he's working... so if I see that he's working, I think well, [husband is] in work anyway, so I may as well go to work. The kids are older now, they're not so bothered about me being around, so... yeah. I do it that way. (Susan)

This was particularly the case for workers who had previously worked nine-to-five office jobs or who had worked in roles such as chefs which required long hours, as such arrangements clashed with caring responsibilities and other household members' shift patterns. Emily explained why she left her job in sales to move to work in residential social care.

So it [the old job] was quite Monday to Friday... same hours, same shifts, same day... which is nice 'cause you do get the weekend off... but it was... I was missing out on a lot at home as well... so that's why I decided to come to this job, for more shift work than anything else. (Emily)

5.5.3.1 Household caring as a buffer

Where interviewees could rely on their extended households to help with caring for children and the elderly, the household itself could act as a buffer against uncertainty, both in terms of income and time. In the extreme cases where most care was provided by another household member, the interviewees were able to work extended hours to reduce their household income uncertainty. For example, Abid worked two jobs, one as a night receptionist and the other in accounts for a catering company. He described his income uncertainty as his “*personal financial crisis*”. Even though his wife worked part time as a teacher, they did not earn enough because he had to also financially support his family in Pakistan. His wife did most of the childcare, which enabled him to work the two jobs and the excessive hours these involved. His “main job” was Monday to Friday, 9am to 6pm, doing accounts for a catering company, for which he was paid £19,400.²⁷ On Fridays and Saturdays, he worked nights on reception at a hotel, and would go straight to the hotel after finishing his main job so that he worked twenty-four hours in a row. This strategy was made possible by his wife doing all the reproductive work in the household. However, the consequence was that he experienced high time uncertainty in terms of insufficient time to rest and recuperate, and constrained time with his family, preventing them from making plans, which placed a large strain on them all. He explained how he relied on the support of his wife to be able

²⁷ At the time of the interview, his income had recently increased from £15,000 to £19,400.

to work these hours, but also how this led to tension in the household as he felt unable to have time off:

But I think without support, you can't do anything. My wife supports me[...] Sometime, you, you're tired. And then sometime little bit sometime, wife, she's, ah, angry...[...] because why you are not giving us time? (Abid)

Hence, for Abid, his wife's role in the household reproductive work and his financial responsibility for his extended household provided the context in which his work-life articulation was shaped. Similarly, other interviewees were able to maintain roles which required very irregular hours of work if someone else did most of the care. Elizabeth was able to maintain her role as a hotel reception manager on a salaried contract, often working twelve-hour shifts up to ten days in a row, even when her husband became unwell, because her seventeen-year-old daughter was able to take on the core caring responsibilities. Although she still experienced high income and working time uncertainty, her daughter's role prevented her from having to give up her job, which would have further exacerbated the household's income uncertainty.

In households where care responsibilities were shared across extended household members, the shift patterns of all those involved had to work in unison. For such interviewees, the balancing of caring responsibilities was the central theme in their discussions of work-life articulation. For example, Susan explained that when her children were young, her mother would work the early shift so that she could pick her grandchildren up from school, and Susan would start work later so that she could take them to school. This calculation became more complex when there were multigenerational caring responsibilities. For Patricia, overtime work was needed to

make ends meet, but her husband was disabled and heavily reliant on her for personal care, especially in the evenings. As her daughter worked as a teacher part time, they could share care for both her grandchildren and her husband. The decision as to when she did overtime was dependent on her daughter's schedule. Similarly, her daughter's decision to take on certain shifts at the school where she worked depended on her mother's rota and the rota of her mother in-law.

Well my daughter... has got two children, one's five, one's two... and... we go through my rota to see... if I can look after them when she's gone back to school because she's a teacher and her... her hours are different to theirs, so... and then I'll babysit as well[....] I look at my rota and if I am... or if I'm not, then I'll have the kids... if not, she will... she will ask her mother-in-law or her husband 'cause you know, he's self-employed, so he can... it's a bit easier for him in some respects.
(Patricia)

Hence, for these interviewees, the hours they could work were constrained by the roles of others in their households, with the result that they may not have the same opportunities to make up income uncertainties as those who were not sharing care.

5.5.3.2 Household barriers as a source of heightened uncertainty

Where interviewees were unable to rely on their extended households to support their caring responsibilities, their ontological and economic precarity was heightened. This is particularly problematic in the UK context, where there is a lack of affordable, flexible childcare provision. This issue was further exacerbated for workers where it was coupled with high working time uncertainty within their employment. This left workers experiencing both high income uncertainty and time uncertainty, caused by their irregular shift pattern, the lack of affordable flexible

childcare provision and having no household caring buffer. This meant that, even for those who were salaried workers with regular income, high working time uncertainty could lead to increased household income uncertainty. In some cases, this meant that interviewees felt obliged to leave their jobs. Fernanda was interviewed on her last day of work: she was employed on a salaried contract as catering supervisor in a sports stadium, and was leaving the job as the high working time uncertainty had exacerbated her household income uncertainty. She explained how the lack of flexible childcare had a direct financial impact on her household.

One of the reasons I am leaving because I have got a child... Tomorrow is first weekend I have off in about seven weeks. Yep and the days that I am working weekend we are losing money because that is he [husband] needs to be off work because I don't have my family here only his family so is quite hard organise around. And the days I am not taking him to the club in the morning because if I am off I take him to school and take him out of school because I wanna do that but I still need to pay for the child care because its not their problem that I am off on a Monday so I am still need to pay so even if he is not going there I still need to pay. (Fernanda)

Hence, for Fernanda her uncertainty was increased due to the lack of support in all three domains of employment, household and state. While it was the lack of household buffer that meant she had to leave her employment, it was the interaction between her job-related working time uncertainty and the lack of buffer at either the state or household level that led to her strategy to exit employment to manage her work-life articulation.

5.5.2.4 Household conclusion

The extended households in which interviewees were embedded had a direct impact on the way in which they articulated their work lives. The context of the household shaped both the hours interviewees could work, and the income uncertainty they experienced. Those able to rely on other household members to do most of the care could work extended hours to try and decrease their income uncertainty or ensure there was no further increase, but this led to time uncertainty in relation to uncertain time for home and rest.

By contrast, where interviewees were unable to rely on their extended households to support them with caring, they faced the risk of having to leave work or reduce the number of hours they worked, as their household and employment contexts were operating in conflict with each other. High working time uncertainty here served to further increase household income uncertainty. However, the household cannot be seen as existing in its own silo, but needs to be understood in conjunction with the worker's relationship to the state and employment. Without recognising this interaction, we would not know or understand how precarious jobs are experienced as precarious lives.

5.6 Conclusion and discussion

This paper developed a framework of managing uncertainty, to understand the intersections between workers' choices and engagement in precarious work, and their experiences of precarious lives. The framework shows that although

precarious work and precarious lives are interlinked, they cannot be conflated with each other, as is often the case in employment research (Millar, 2017; Lain et al., 2019). To do so, three important strands of literature were brought together: first, Heyes et al.'s (2018) understanding of uncertainty as the defining element of precarious work; second, Lain et al.'s (2019) framework of the three domains of the state, household and employment, and how these work together to shape the uncertainty workers experience; and, finally, the conceptualisation of work-life articulation set out by Smith and McBride (2021) as key to understanding the ways in which workers manage the three domains and the uncertainty that they experience. The use of this framework enabled a greater understanding of the dynamics that shape workers' choices and the level of precarity that they experience.

Heyes et al. (2018) call for precision when it comes to defining precarious work, is important in particular the distinction that they highlight as sitting between uncertainty and risk. This paper contributes to this by focusing on uncertainty and showing that for employment research to truly understand workers' experience of uncertainty, there is a need to investigate uncertainty from both a subjective and an objective perspective. It has been shown that focusing solely on objective measures of uncertainty paints a partial picture, which includes the domain of employment but excludes the subjective elements of life uncertainty that are shaped by the household and the state – dynamics in which workers are embedded. Without these more subjective measures, the ontological uncertainty

felt by workers and the strategies they deployed to manage it cannot be understood.

Further analysis of the workers' interviews revealed that the defining element of both objective and subjective uncertainty is the double-edged sword of time and income. Key to the understanding of precarious lives was the dynamic interplay between the two dimensions: hourly paid workers could offset uncertainty in one dimension at the expense of certainty in the other. For example, working more hours or taking on a second job may reduce income uncertainty, but at the expense of increased time uncertainty. However, how the strategies that were deployed and the ability to work extra hours were only possible within the parameters of the employment arrangement. This included in particular, the contract they were on, how hours were structured and possibilities for enhanced overtime. Again the strategies deployed were only possible within the parameters of their household arrangements, depending upon who did the caring and other household members jobs. These constraints operated together with the relationships with the state, through benefit rules and the availability of childcare provision. This highlights the importance of Lain et al.'s (2019) framework, which shows that the context of uncertainty is shaped by the interconnections between precarious jobs, the precarious welfare state and precarious households. This paper has shown that their framework needs to be expanded beyond the lens of older workers, and that the relationships between these three dimensions are not static but dynamic, constantly changing throughout a person's life course. Hence, by adding the state into discussion of work-life articulation strategies, we extend Smith and McBride's

(2021) framework to gain an even more in-depth understanding of the different strategies workers deploy to manage the uncertainty that they experience.

In conclusion, this paper forms part of a growing critique of the Taylor review's explanation that precarious work is chosen. It has been shown that workers' choices are embedded within the space of household, employer and state dynamics, that and their choices are constrained by their attempts to mitigate and manage the levels of uncertainty that they experience. Their choices cannot be presented as unconstrained, because the need to make choices and exercise agency are ever present when workers seek to navigate time and income uncertainty through creative work-life articulations. This shapes how precarious jobs are experienced as precarious lives.

5.7 References

- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), pp. 77-101
- Coleman, L. and Cottell, J. (2019). *Childcare survey 2019, Coram Family and Childcare*: London, UK. [Online]. Available at: https://nen.press/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Childcare-Survey-2019_Coram-Family-and-Childcare-1.pdf (Accessed: 29 November 2022).
- Collins, G. (2007). 'Cleaning and the work-life balance', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18(3), pp. 416–429.
- Crompton, R. (2006). *Employment and the Family. The Reconfiguration of Work and Family Life in Contemporary Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crompton, R. and Lyonette, C. (2011). 'Women's Career Success and Work-life Adaptations in the Accountancy and Medical Professions in Britain', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 18(2), pp. 231–254.
- Dwyer, P. (2004). 'Creeping conditionality in the UK: From welfare rights to conditional entitlements?', *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 29(2), pp. 265-287.

- Dwyer, P. and Wright, S. (2014). 'Universal credit, ubiquitous conditionality and its implications for social citizenship', *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 22(1), pp. 27–35.
- Greer, I. (2016). 'Welfare reform, precarity and the re-commodification of labour', *Work, Employment & Society*, 30(1), pp. 162–173.
- Heyes, J., Moore, S., Newsome, K. and Tomlinson, M. (2018) 'Living with uncertain work', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 49(5–6), pp. 420–437.
- Hignell, K. (2014) *The practicalities of childcare: an overlooked part of the puzzle?* [Online]. Available at: https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/Global/Migrated_Documents/corporate/the-practicalities-of-childcare---an-overlooked-part-of-the-puzzle.pdf. (Accessed: 20 May 2022).
- Innes, D. (2020). *What has driven the rise of in-work poverty?*, pp. 1–19. [Online]. Available at: www.jrf.org.uk/publications. (Accessed: 23 March 2022).
- JRF, (2021). *Seeking an anchor in an unstable world: experiences of low-income families over time*. York: Joseph Roundtree Foundation. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/seeking-anchor-unstable-world-experiences-low-income-families-over-time>. (Accessed: 5 March 2022)
- King, N., (2012). 'Doing template analysis' In Symon, G. and Cassell, C. (eds.) *Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges*. London, SAGE, pp. 426–450.
- Lain, D., Airey L., Loretto, W. and Vickerstaff, S. (2019). 'Understanding older worker precarity: The intersecting domains of jobs, households and the welfare state', *Ageing and Society*, 39(10), pp. 2219–2241.
- Lewchuk, W. (2017). 'Precarious jobs: Where are they, and how do they affect well-being?' *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 28(3), pp. 402–419.
- LPC, (2020) *Non-compliance and enforcement of the National Minimum Wage: A report by the Low Pay Commission May 2020*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/885382/Non-compliance_and_enforcement_report_-_2020_-_amended.pdf. (Accessed 15 April 2022).
- McNeil, C., Hochlaf, D. and Quilter-Pinner, H. (2019). *Social (in)security: reforming the UK's social safety net*, (November). [Online]. Available at: <http://ippr.org/research/publications/social-insecurity>. (Accessed: 1 December 2022)
- Millar, K. M. (2017). 'Toward a critical politics of precarity', *Sociology Compass*, 11(6), pp. 1–11.

- Moore, S., Tailby, S., Antunes, B. and Newsome, K. (2018). “‘Fits and fancies’: the Taylor Review, the construction of preference and labour market segmentation”, *Industrial Relations Journal*, 49(5-6), pp. 403–419.
- Rotik, M. and Perry, L. (2011). *Perceptions of welfare reform and Universal Credit*, Research report no 778, pp. 5–7. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/214563/rrep778.pdf. (Accessed 7 March 2022).
- Rubery, J. and Grimshaw, D. (2016). ‘Precarious work and the commodification of the employment relationship: the case of zero hours in the UK and mini jobs in Germany’, in Bäcker, G., Lehdorff, S., and Weinkopf, C. (eds.) *Den Arbeitsmarkt verstehen, um ihn zu gestalten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 239–254.
- Rubery, J., Grimshaw, D., Hebson, G. and Ugarte S. M. (2015), “‘It’s All About Time’: Time as contested terrain in the management and experience of domiciliary care work in England’, *Human Resource Management*, 54(4), 753–772
- Rubery, J., Grimshaw, D., Keizer, A. and Johnson, M. (2018). ‘Challenges and contradictions in the ‘normalising’ of precarious work.’ *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp.509–527.
- Shildrick, T., and MacDonald, R. (2012). *Poverty and insecurity: Life in low-pay, no-pay Britain*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Sissons, P., Green, A. E. and Lee, N. (2017). ‘Linking the sectoral employment structure and household poverty in the United Kingdom’, *Work, employment and society*, 32(6) pp. 1–21.
- Smith, A. and McBride, J. (2019). ‘Accessing “hard to reach groups” and emotions in the research process: “work an honest day and get the usual raw deal”’, in Wheatley D. (ed.) *Handbook of Research Methods on the Quality of Working Lives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 95–108.
- Smith, A. and McBride, J. (2021). “‘Working to Live, Not Living to Work’: Low-Paid Multiple Employment and Work–Life Articulation’, *Work, Employment and Society*, 35(2), pp. 256–276.
- Taylor, M. Marsh, G., Nicole, D. and Broadben, P. (2017). *Good Work: The Taylor Review of Modern Working Practices*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627671/good-work-taylor-review-modern-working-practices-rg.pdf. (Accessed: 30 May 2022).
- Warren, T. (2008). ‘Universal disadvantage?: The economic well-being of female part-timers in Europe’, *European Societies*, 10(5), pp. 737–762.

Warren, T. (2022). 'Work-Time, Male-Breadwinning and the Division of Domestic Labour: Male Part-Time and Full-Time Workers in Unsettled Times', *Sociology*, 56(1), pp. 72–96.

Warren, T. and Lyonette, C. (2018). 'Good, Bad and Very Bad Part-time Jobs for Women? Re-examining the Importance of Occupational Class for Job Quality since the "Great Recession" in Britain', *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(4), pp. 747–767.

Warren, T., Fox, E. and Pascall, G. (2009). 'Innovative social policies: Implications for work-life balance among low-waged women in England', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(1), pp. 126–150.

Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This thesis aimed to contribute to the understanding of the causes and consequences of precarious work. Our research aimed in particular to understand employers' roles in shaping precarious work, and to explore how precarious work is related to precarious lives. These issues were investigated through the use of grounded theory case study methodologies in hospitality and social care in Greater Manchester (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Three papers were written. The first explored employers' roles in shaping precarious work, and what leads to workers with different characteristics not only being employed in different occupations but also under different conditions of work. The second explored the limits of employers' voluntary good employment practices, and the role that crises, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, play in reshaping these strategies and practices. The final paper sought to understand workers' lived experiences and how they straddled precarious work and precarious lives. Drawing on previous theoretical insights in which precarious work was seen as both multidimensional and ever changing, this thesis has shown that employers and workers are active agents in the shaping and managing of precarious work, and that the domains of the state, household and employment play an important role in it.

While the focus was only on hospitality and social care, some significant patterns were highlighted that may have wider applicability. This chapter first provides a summary of the key theoretical implications that emerged from this thesis.

Following this, we draw out some key themes and implications of the research, and then provide insight into key, practical, empirical, methodological contributions of this research, as well as the limitations and space for future research.

6.2 Theoretical implications

This research set out to gain a better theoretical understanding of what factors shaped precarious work, the role of employers' strategies in that process, and workers experiences of, precarious work. By taking a dynamic approach to our understanding of precarious work, and through the use of grounded theory methodology we were able to take an iterative approach to theory building. While each of the articles presented in this thesis highlighted its own theoretical contribution, the thesis makes contributions to the three overall research questions and themes that informed the research strategy and data collection.

In this section we focus on the contributions that have emerged and cut across this thesis. The first is the importance of understanding precarious work as multidimensional. The second is the importance of understanding how the specific dimensions of precarious work are shaped. The third is the importance of the articulation between the state, the household and the employer in understanding the shaping of precarious work, its effects on workers' lives and the ways in which

workers develop and utilise dynamic work-life articulations to mitigate uncertainty.

We now discuss each of these contributions in turn.

The importance of understanding precarious work as multidimensional was clearly apparent in each of the articles. This in itself adds a set of new contributions to the theoretical understandings of precarious work. Instead of seeing particular forms of work as precarious, such as zero-hour contracts, this approach allowed for the investigation of the true substance of different employment conditions and identified how they were precarious in different ways and had different purposes. Within JA1, the multidimensional approach enabled us to investigate how different dimensions of precarious work were shaped differently based on employers' perceptions of workers' characteristics. We were able to show that contractual arrangements and different employment conditions are not just based on business needs and demands, but also on the ways in which employers believe they are able to attract workers and exert control over them. It also enabled us to extend the queue literature, by interrogating Baron and Kreps's (1999) notion of consistency and the conditions under which consistency can be broken. It enabled us to recognise that precarious work is shaped in highly segmented ways, and argue that there is a need to understand not only the ways in which the job and labour queues are shaped, but also how these different in treatment are justified.

In JA2, we further highlighted how this approach enabled us to understand how commodification and decommodification of labour, as defined by Bosch (2004), occurred, and the true limits of employers' voluntary actions to improve conditions of work. In particular, it allowed for the use of two time points of analysis, enabling

us to contribute to theory by extending Bosch's (2004) framework to include Jaehrling and Méhaut's (2013) notion of rule enactment. This approach revealed that precarious work takes different forms across different organisations and across different time points due to actors' strategies, particularly those of employers. If precarious work was not seen as multidimensional, the true process of commodification that occurred during COVID-19 would not have been as visible.

Turning now to JA3, the dynamic multidimensional understanding of precarious work allowed for a better understanding both of what leads to workers taking on particular roles, but also of the different effects a particular type of job and its associated precarious work dimensions has on workers' lives. It enabled us to understand the differences between different dimensions of time and income uncertainty, and the priorities attached to mitigating these uncertainties. It also illuminated the interactions between both types of uncertainty, and the parameters of job-specific characteristics and work arrangements, which enabled workers to use strategies to mitigate uncertainty. For example, those on salaried contracts may have had a better level of job-related income certainty (as they had a predictable income), but they were unable to mitigate their low wages by working extra hours or taking on a second job, while some workers on hourly contracts were able to use this strategy to reduce their uncertainty.

The second overarching theme is the importance of understanding how the dimensions of precarious work are shaped. This issue was mainly addressed in JA1 and JA2. The analysis in JA1 extended the queue literature by showing that employers do not only place workers into particular roles because of their

perceived characteristics, but also change the contractual arrangements to fit their stereotypes. Here, we noted the importance of including Baron and Kreps's (1999) notion of consistency to understand job and labour queues. It is also important to reflect on the consequences of the discretion that employers enjoy to mould their jobs and adjust their recruitment strategies. Their use of stereotypes may create or perpetuate divisions among workforce groups and yet remain unchallenged due to the diversity and complexity of workers' actual lives. Far from precarious work being a response to the apparent choices of the workforce to "escape" the SER, the arrangements put in place may be driven by employers' priorities to recruit, control and minimise costs.

However, the specific drivers of employer strategies were found to differ, and were shaped by the history of the sector itself. For the hotel, the job queue was shaped by notions of aesthetic labour and issues of career progression. The latter reflects the historically specific contradiction in the sector whereby progression into higher-level jobs depended upon both extensive operational experience and completion of specialist higher-education hospitality courses, enabling the justification of low pay and worse conditions of employment. Meanwhile, the utilisation of class and aesthetic labour considerations revealed that workers in customer facing roles were regarded as a core part of the brand's corporate aesthetic image. Hence, for front-of-house staff such as reception and food and beverage workers, it was important that they were able to represent the required middle-class aesthetic. This justified a preference for migrant workers pre-Brexit, and students and British returning mothers after the Brexit vote. Contrastingly, for back-of-house jobs such

as housekeeping and kitchen porters, there was a specified preference for migrant workers with limited English on the grounds that they were hard working, with the implication that employers did not have to improve conditions of employment to retain staff if a particular set of migrants was employed.

In the care case, on the other hand, the employers' practices and the job queue were shaped by the historical normalisation of care as a low-skilled occupation belonging to working-class women. This led to the jobs at the bottom of the queue being those that provided hands-on service provision. However, simultaneously in the care case, operational needs took precedence, such that working time requirements conflicted with any norms of combining work and family obligations, despite a preference for hiring "mothers" (due to customers wanting women to care for them). Furthermore, any modifications away from unmanageable schedules were presented as a major concession to the worker. This indicates that the decision to provide precarious jobs is not an inevitable outcome of market trends but an active choice by employers, often as a way to maintain control, and justified based on their stereotypical understanding of workers' characteristics and the behaviour of specific groups. This may lead to assumptions that in some contexts these "adjustments" reflect the preferences of the particular group, but it is more accurate to say that they do not consider the real needs of these groups and instead reflect strategies to control and segment labour.

The third and final theme traverses the previous material and considers the roles of the three domains of household, employer and state – separately and their interactions – to understand the shaping of both precarious work and precarious

lives. These themes were present in the first two articles: in JA1 we saw that state funding of social care played a dominant role in the creation of precarious work, in the sense of low pay. In hospitality, assumptions about household situation mattered: there was a concern to recruit staff where either they personally or their household would be highly reliant on the wage income. This enabled the hotel to use variable contracts for housekeepers and kitchen porters, as they would accept such contracts without becoming unreliable (provided that disadvantaged workers – for example, migrants with low language skills – were hired). Where the person's household situation was better, extra measures such as minimum-hours contracts had to be used to ensure control and reliability, as was the case when students were hired as waiting staff in the hotel. In JA2, the care home employer recognised the importance of the worker's household in reducing turnover, although efforts to impress workers' households that it was a good employer may have failed because of the limited benefits provided. Also, when it came to those in jobs considered either low skilled or low status in both organisations, it was state policies and state support that shaped the practices of the employer during COVID – in relation, for example, to furlough and sick pay – while those in higher-status work received extra benefits from the employer even without state support.

The theme of the importance of these three domains was explored in depth in JA3, where we see that the state and, indeed, the household can act as a cause of heightened time and income uncertainty as well as a mitigating buffer. This enabled an extension of the literature and the development of the managing uncertainty framework, utilising Heyes et al.'s (2018) definition of uncertainty as a

defining element of precarious work, Lain et al.'s (2019) three-domain framework, and Smith and McBride's (2021) conceptualisation of work-life articulation. This framework enables a dynamic understanding of the ways in which precarious work and lives are linked, but also of the ways in which workers manage the level of uncertainty that they experience across the three domains, and how their work-life articulation strategies are shaped by these domains change across workers' and their households' life courses.

6.3 Methodological and empirical contributions

As well as providing theoretical implications, the thesis has made a set of key methodological and empirical contributions. These are found within the individual articles but also relate to the overall thesis.

The thesis aimed to capture the dynamic processes that shape the causes and consequences of precarious work, to gain a better understanding of how employers and workers are active agents as they shape precarious work and manage the uncertainty that arises within specific contexts. We showed how employers' strategies constantly change as they need to adapt to changing dynamics, both internal and external to the organisation. For example, the context of the Brexit vote required the hotel to change their recruitment strategy and thereby reshape both their hiring preferences and also the contractual and employment arrangements in which they placed workers. Within the care organisation, we showed how, in attempting to overcome rota shortages, new justifications were

made for contractual arrangements, as they needed to adapt to the perceived needs of workers and to ensure that the service was covered. Similarly, recognising these dynamic processes enabled us to understand and interrogate the changes in employer strategies that were in place following the first wave of COVID-19, and how these reshaped the conditions of work. Finally, the dynamic processes involved in the intersections of employment, the state and the household were pivotal in understanding how uncertainty was created, mitigated and exacerbated.

This dynamic approach was made possible because of the iterative interplay of theory and data throughout the research process, which combined the more inductive preoccupations of grounded theory methodology for data collection with a more systematic approach indebted to King's (2012) template analysis.

One of the key methodological contributions of the thesis is to encourage a hybrid approach to data analysis, that combines an inductive approach to data collection with a structured template around broad themes, enabling the coding and analysis to be conducted in a systematic and transparent way. This approach provides a methodological contribution as it reflects the reality of grounded theory for those in the PhD research process, whereby research questions and theoretical sensitivities are developed at the beginning of the research before venturing into the field. The hybrid approach to inductive grounded theory and the more rigid template analysis is one that King (2012) argues is not intuitive, but the approach adopted in this research aims to show that systematic data collection does not come at the expense of new theoretical concepts, nor does it generate the discovery of more things that "we do not know". It is a process of data collection

that is flexible enough to repeatedly revisit through the lens of several theoretical ideas – and which enables explanations for the categorisation and theorising of data, a process that has shaped the three articles presented in the thesis.

The use of a case study allowed us to be confident in our theorising and interrogate data from a number of sources over time. Through the triangulation of different qualitative data sources, including company documents and, more importantly, interviews with both workers and employers, we were able to ascertain an understanding of what shaped precarious work and the effect it had on workers. This was particularly apparent when looking at employers' stereotypes of workers and their justifications for particular contract types and conditions of employment based on such stereotypes. Through the process of triangulating data, we were able to find that, in fact, these justifications often clashed with workers' needs and were based more on the needs of the service. For example, within the care home, we found that the introduction of twilight and daybreak shifts was justified based on the needs of the female workforce, but in fact these clashed with the workers' own household and reproductive needs and were instead put in place to cover the needs of the service. The use of longitudinal analysis to understand the dynamic processes that shape precarious work was also an important argument against the "one moment in time" case study. Conducting interviews and analysing both the care and art centre cases over two years enabled us to gain a clearer picture of how precarious work was shaped. If we had not done this analysis, the importance of contractual hierarchies and the true limitations of employers' voluntary actions to improve conditions of work would not have been apparent. Being able to

understand the change that had occurred within the organisation, and focusing on COVID-19 as a trigger for change, enabled a more comprehensive understanding of employers' strategies.

The methodological approach led to a number of empirical contributions. The decision to conduct sectoral case studies enabled the investigation of the different sectoral processes in place. In particular, it allowed the investigation of how precarious work was shaped differently between sectors and organisations. This provided us with two important empirical contributions: firstly, it enabled the exploration of all jobs present within an organisation. This was particularly key as it showed the importance of going beyond solely looking at particular contract types to understand forms of precarious work, but to show how contracts are utilised by employers in different ways, and that salaried contract jobs may be precarious in their own right. It also allowed us to show that there is a need to go beyond just looking at gender as the driver of segmentation, and that wider social distinctions of class and immigration status all play an important role in employer stereotypes. However, it is precisely the historical sectoral context in which an organisation is embedded that shapes both the form of segmentation that takes place and also the types of contracts that are utilised.

A second empirical and methodological contribution of this thesis is the design of a measure of uncertainty. The measure of both objective and subjective uncertainty was important in highlighting the ways in which precarious work and lives are interconnected but not directly linked. We show that, by measuring only objective uncertainty, one is only capturing one element of uncertainty (the job) that workers

experience, whereas through the incorporation of subjective elements of uncertainty it is possible to gain an understanding of the “felt” level of uncertainty they experience. This is particularly important because, as highlighted throughout the thesis, uncertainty is not just shaped by the job but the interactions between the state, employer and household. The use of workers’ narratives to develop the subjective uncertainty measure may appear contradictory: trying to “measure” felt experiences could be seen to contradict the qualitative approach that seeks to capture how language helps people make sense of their felt experiences. However, we wanted to show how systematic qualitative data collection can enable scholars to start to measure the impacts of these at the experiential level, which could then lead to this more experiential level being considered in policy and practices. The ability to measure subjective experience is of particular importance for those taking a more critical realist approach as it enables the investigation of the underlying structures that shape workers experiences (Campbell and Price, 2016a). We hope that our measure of uncertainty can be used and developed by scholars to gain a better understanding of the different ways in which more subjective experiences of precarious work can be measured, with the aim of developing theory and policy instruments to improve the quality of people’s lives.

6.4 Practical implications

This research sought to understand the causes and consequences of precarious work, with the aim to go beyond purely the production of theory to have a wider practical impact, so that it can be utilised by different actors. Therefore this

research has some practical implications that can be used by different groups of actors such as trade unionists, employers, governmental organisations and researchers. The practical implications were apparent throughout the process, but also the final findings could be of value to different actors.

The managing uncertainty model developed in JA3 has not only value for theoretical use, but also has practical implications for practitioners and trade unionist to understand the ways in which people manage uncertainty, take up benefits and work. The finalised model presented in this thesis could be used by different actors. The preliminary findings of the model during the research were used to help shape Oxfam GB strategy – in particular, their focus on paid and unpaid care. In the third year of my PhD, I presented the preliminary findings of the managing uncertainty framework. This helped Oxfam extend their discussion beyond the forms of paid care to have a more integrated understanding of care in itself. Discussions with Oxfam helped me further shape this framework, to present it to the DWP in a workshop in March 2022. Furthermore, I have been asked to present again to their policy team. For the DWP, the model can be used to help understand Universal Credit take-up and the ways in which people's household and employment decisions interact with the Universal Credit taper. This model could also be of use for employers or HR teams who would like to develop a system that considers flexibility that is beneficial to their workers – one which ensures that working time schedules do not impinge on workers' access to benefits or their care responsibilities.

At a Greater-Manchester level this model may be of use to help further shape the GM Good Employment Charter, as it can help define what true flexibility would entail. Anti-poverty campaigning groups could utilise the model to ensure that a holistic view is taken of the types of support that they provide to people and in the campaigns that they put forward. Finally, trade unions could use the model to design campaigns to ensure that the levels of uncertainty that workers and their households experience are minimised.

The findings from JA1 and the extended queue framework could be used to extend unconscious bias training beyond purely looking at recruitment and promotion, to include discussions about how employment conditions are shaped in general. For trade unions and campaigning organisations, utilising the dynamic approach used in this research could result in a better understanding of employers' strategies, in order to support campaigns and to counter employers' arguments that job conditions are simply the automatic outcome of supply, demand and affordability. It would also encourage the investigation of employers' stereotypes and what truly lies behind employers' strategies shaping different employment arrangements. This approach would allow campaigners to go beyond merely looking at atypical forms of work, to explore more deeply the actual forms that different employment conditions take, who is employed in them and how employers have justified them.

As highlighted in JA2, there are clear limitations to relying on voluntary forms of action by employers to improve the conditions of work. JA2 argued that there is an urgent need for state intervention to improve the minimum standards of employment and bolster the forms of enforcement available. It also discussed the

need for the implementation of effective forms of collective bargaining to hold employers to account, as it showed that recognition agreements are not enough to ensure that decommodification occurs. While experiments for good employment are being put in place in GM, such as the Good Employment Charter, they will do little to improve conditions of employment unless they have a mechanism of enforcement to hold employers to account.

In sum, all the articles show that if we want to overcome precarious work and stop people having to live precarious lives, there is a role to be played by the state, by trade unions, by employers and by voluntary organisations. However, for initiatives by these actors to truly lead to improvements in both domains, they need to understand the dynamic ways in which conditions of employment and precarious lives are shaped. This thesis has provided some nuanced tools by which this can be achieved.

6.5 Limitations and avenues for future research

The aims of this research were ambitious. While we were able to garner some valuable insights into what shaped precarious work and the effect that it had on workers, there were some clear limitations in terms of what could be achieved within the parameters of this research.

Taking a sectoral case study approach to understanding precarious work was a strength because it enabled us to gain an understanding of how precarious work was shaped differently in different sectors. However, this only gave us a partial

view, as we did not look at a male-dominated sector. While we were able to garner some understanding of how men were treated differently in feminised and gender-segmented sectors, we were unable to see how this compared to a male-dominated sector. This is an important area for future research, and is what I am currently researching as part of my role as a Research Associate on the Decent Work and City Project based at Work and Equalities Institute. As part of this project, we are taking my approach to understanding precarious work forward to investigate what shapes decent work in the transportation and waste management sectors. Both of these sectors are highly masculinised and, like the sectors of social care and hospitality, form part of the backbone of GM's economy.

A further limitation is that the research was very context specific, based in GM which in itself has a very particular employment history. The question therefore is how far we can replicate these findings, and to what extent they are specific to GM and the UK alone. This is, again, something that we are addressing in the new project that I am working on in Decent Work and the City. We are replicating elements of this research and especially its dynamic approach across six global cities: Manchester, Seoul, Montreal, New York, Bremen and Buenos Aires. We hope that this will go some way to testing how precarious work is shaped and experienced similarly and differently across different geographical locations globally. The hope is that this will also help us to ascertain the universality of the ways in which these concepts are experienced and shaped.

While the key theme running throughout the research was the equal importance of the domains of the state, household and employment in the shaping of precarious

work, the entry point for the inquiry was within the realm of employment. Using the realm of employment as the central point of our analysis was pivotal, as we wanted to show how using it on its own in a static way could not capture the reality of precarious work, how it is organised/managed, and how it becomes a precarious life. However, it meant that we collected extensive data on employment which left us with a less developed, partial perspective on our other domains of interest. In particular, this was a limitation when it came to the realm of the household.

Originally, we had planned to conduct interviews with family members of workers and do household income diaries modelled after the *Getting By?* project (Kyprianou, 2015). In practice, we were only able to conduct one interview with another household member. Therefore, to get a fuller perspective of this realm, future research needs to extend the place of inquiry beyond the employer to include the household dynamics in which workers are embedded, in order to gain a fuller picture. In addition, this research focused on a limited element of the state. More inquiry in future research needs to be made into forms of regulation and enforcement, and how these affect both workers' and employers' strategies.

A strength of our approach was the use of both grounded theory methods and the use of multiple forms of data, in particular company accounts and employer HR documents, to give us confidence in our findings. It enabled the triangulation of interviews with documents enabling a more in-depth understanding of employer strategies in particular. However, the data collection was predominantly qualitative in nature, and whilst this was beneficial to develop a rich understanding, it would be good to see how representative and widespread some of the conditions of work

experienced were. Future research would benefit from a mixed methods design, and in particular the use of labour market mapping.

At the outset of the research, we had wanted to make the research co-productive in design. Due to capacity and time constraints this was not practicable, especially in the context of COVID-19. However, I did present the findings to, and use the feedback I gained from the TUC, Oxfam and the DWP. The research would have been better if more co-productive feedback could have been garnered from practitioners, employers and workers to ensure the accuracy and usability of findings. This is something that I would like to actively work on in future research, and is an element that we are developing in the Decent Work and the City Project. Within this project, findings and methods are discussed through focus groups and workshops with a variety of stakeholders across and within the six different cities.

The longitudinal data gained from the residential care facility and the art centre were extremely useful in enabling us to make sense of all the data. Prior to the second interview with these organisations, we had not realised the importance that contractual hierarchies played in the level of security and status that workers had. In fact, we had seen contracts purely as a mechanism of differing control. Going back at intervals to these two organisations enabled us to gain a clearer understanding of all the data that we had gathered. In future, it would be useful to go back to the other organisations, in particular the hotel, to gain an understanding of how their strategies have changed over time and in relation to COVID-19.

In all the organisations we investigated (other than the hotel), volunteers were key actors in their everyday running. While we went back to the stadium, art centre

and care facility to interview the volunteers, we did not have the capacity within this research to fully analyse or theorise their place within either the organisations or the multiple dimensions of precarious work. The role of volunteers is something important to delve into in future research, particularly following COVID-19 and the huge influx of volunteers used throughout the crisis.

6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this research has been able to use a dynamic approach to the study of precarious work, in which precarious work was seen to be multidimensional; employers and workers were identified as active agents in its shaping and management; and interactions between the worker and their household, welfare and employment situations were key to their experiences of precarious work as precarious lives. This was shown through three different articles that were interconnected and provided, in combination, a complementary analysis of the roles in both shaping precarious work and in how this work may be experienced as precarious lives.

The research has shown that if employment researchers aim to understand precarious work and its effects, they cannot study employment conditions alone. Similarly, if policy and practitioners want to tackle the causes and consequences of precarious work, they must recognise the active choices and strategies made by both employers and employees and the contexts in which they are made. There is nothing inevitable about the causes and consequences of precarious work and

precarious lives. It is the hope that this research, by uncovering some of the dynamic processes that lead to precarious work and lives, can contribute to a research and policy agenda that recognises that change is possible, and change is needed.

References

- Ackerman, N. (2021). 'Wagamama owner to raise chef wages as staffing crisis bites', *Evening Standard*, 21 September [Online]. Available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/business/wagamama-owner-to-raise-chef-wages-as-staffing-crisis-bites-b955549.html> (Accessed: 02 June 2022).
- Alberti, G. and Iannuzzi, F. E. (2020). 'Embodied intersectionality and the intersectional management of hotel labour: The everyday experiences of social differentiation in customer-oriented work', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 27(6), pp. 1165–1180.
- Alberti, G., Bessa, I., Hardy, K., Trappmann, V. and Umney, C. (2018). 'In, against and beyond precarity: Work in insecure times.' *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp. 447–457.
- Amis, J. M. and Silk, M. L. (2008). 'The Philosophy and Politics of Quality in Qualitative Organizational Research'. *Organizational Research Methods*, 11(3), pp. 456–480.
- Anderson, V. (2017). 'Criteria for Evaluating Qualitative Research'. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 28(2), pp. 125–133.
- Archer, M.S., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. and Norrie, A. (eds.) (1998), *Critical Realism: Essential Readings*. Routledge, London.
- Arcy, C. D., Gardiner, L., and Rahman, F. (2019). *Low pay in Greater Manchester: A report for the Greater Manchester Independent Prosperity Review, Resolution Foundation, March 2019*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2019/03/Low-Pay-in-Greater-Manchester-Report.pdf> (Accessed: 30 June 2022).
- Bagnasco, A., Ghirotto, L. and Sasso, L. (2014). 'Theoretical sampling', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 70(11), pp. e6–e7.
- Baines, D. and Cunningham, I. (2021). 'Understanding Austerity: Its research and presence in the changing context of work and employment', in Baines, D. and Cunningham, I. (eds.) *Working in the Context of Austerity: Challenges and Struggles*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, pp 3-26
- Bakker, I. (2007). 'Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 12(4), pp. 541-556
- Balaram, B., Warden, J. and Wallace-Stephens, F., (2017). *Good gigs. A fairer future for the UK's gig economy*. Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) Action and Research Centre. (April), p. 65. [Online]. Available at: https://www.thersa.org/globalassets/pdfs/reports/rsa_good-gigs-fairer-gig-economy-report.pdf (Accessed: 3 June 2021).
- Baron, J. and Kreps, D., (eds) (1999). *Strategic Human Resources*. New York: Wiley.

Barzilay, A. R. and Ben-David, A. (2017). 'Platform inequality: Gender in the gig-economy', *Seton Hall Law Review*, 47(2), pp. 393–431.

Baum, T. (2019). 'Does the hospitality industry need or deserve talent?', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 31(10), pp. 3823–3837.

BEIS, (2018). *Good work. A response to the Taylor Review of Modern Working Practices*, HM Government, p. 80. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/679765/180206_BEIS_Good_Work_Report.pdf. (Accessed: 2 June 2022)

Bernhardt, A., Spiller, M. and Theodore, N. (2013). 'Employers gone rogue: Explaining industry variation in violations of workplace laws.' *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 66(4), pp.808-832.

Bessa, I. Forde, C., Moore, S. and Stuart, M., (2013). 'The National Minimum Wage, Earnings and Hours in the Domiciliary Care Sector', *Low Pay Commission*, 90; (February). [Online]. Available at: http://www.lowpay.gov.uk/lowpay/research/pdf/LPC_-_Final_Leeds_University_Report_-_26_February_2013SM2.pdf. (Accessed: 10 May 2022)

Bhaskar, R. (1998). 'Philosophy and scientific realism.' in Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A. and Lawson, T. (eds.) *Critical Realism Essential Readings*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.16-48.

Birkin, H. (2019). 'Retaining Staff' - UKHospitality. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ukhospitality.org.uk/blogpost/1721400/325437/Retaining-Staff> (Accessed: 30 May 2022)

Bolton, S (2004). 'Conceptual confusions: Emotion work as skilled work.' in: Warhurst, C., Grugulis I. and Keep, E. (eds.) *The Skills that Matter*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 19–37

Bolton, S. C., Laaser, K., McGuire, D. and Duncan, A. (2019). 'A neglected pool of labour? Frontline service work and hotel recruitment in Glasgow', *European Management Review*, 16(3), pp. 567–578.

Bosch, G. (2004), 'Towards a new standard employment relationship in Western Europe', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 42(4), pp. 617-636.

Boyle, B. and De Keere, K. (2019). 'Aesthetic labour, class and taste: Mobility aspirations of middle-class women working in luxury-retail', *Sociological Review*, 67(3), pp. 706-722.

Bradley, H. (1998). *Gender and power in the workplace: Analysing the impact of economic change*. Basingstoke: Macmillan International Higher Education.

Bradley, H. (2016). 'Gender and work' in: Edgell, S., Gottfried, H., Granter, E. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Work and Employment*. London: SAGE, pp. 73–92.

- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), pp. 77-101
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2021). 'One size fits all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis?' *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 18(3), pp. 328–352.
- Breman, J. (2013). 'A Bogus Concept ? [Review of: G. Standing (2011) The precariat: the new dangerous class]', *New Left Review*, 84(Nov-Dec), pp. 130–138.
- Broughton, N. and Richards, B. (2016). *Tough gig. Tackling low paid self-employment in London & the UK*, Social Market Foundation. [Online] Available at: <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=75210297&site=ehost-live>. (Accessed: 02 June 2022)
- Brown A, Charlwood, A. and Spencer, D.A. (2012). 'Not all that it might seem: Why job satisfaction is worth studying despite it being a poor summary measure of job quality,' *Work, Employment and Society*, 26(6), pp. 1007-1018.
- Brown, W. and Nolan, P. (1988). 'Wages and labour productivity: The contribution of industrial relations research to the understanding of pay determination', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(3), pp. 339-361.
- Bruni, A. (2006). "'Have you got a boyfriend or are you single?": On the importance of being "straight" in organizational research', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13(3), pp. 299-316.
- Burchell, B. (2002). 'The Prevalence and Redistribution of Job Insecurity and Work Intensification.' in Burchell, B., Ladipo, D. and Wilkinson, F. (eds.) *Job Insecurity and Work Intensification*. London: Routledge, (pp. 61-76).
- Burgess R. (1984). *In the Field; An Introduction to Field Research*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Burkett, K. W. and Morris, E. J. (2015). 'Enabling trust in qualitative research with culturally diverse participants'. *Journal of Paediatric Health Care*, 29(1), pp. 108-112.
- Burns, D. J., Hyde, P. J. and Killett, A. M. (2016). 'How Financial Cutbacks affect the quality of jobs and care for the elderly'. *ILR Review*, 69(4), pp. 991–1016.
- Calás, M. B., Smircich, L. and Holvino, E. (2014). 'Theorizing gender-and-organization: Changing times... Changing theories?' In S. Kumra, R. Simpson, & R. J. Burke (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 17-52.
- Campbell, I. (2019). 'Harvest labour markets in Australia: Alleged labour shortages and employer demand for temporary migrant workers', *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 2019(84), pp. 46–88.
- Campbell, I. and Price, R. (2016). 'Precarious work and precarious workers: Towards an improved conceptualisation', *Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 27(3), pp. 314–332.

Carswell, G. and De Neve, G. (2013). 'Labouring for global markets: Conceptualising labour agency in global production networks', *Geoforum*, 44, pp. 62–70.

Caterer.com (2021). The impact of Brexit and Covid on the UK hospitality workforce. [Online]. Available at: https://www.caterer.com/recruiter-advice/the-impact-of-brexit-and-covid-on-the-uk-hospitality-workforce#_ftn1. (Accessed: 3 June 2022).

Charmaz, K. (1996). 'The Search for Meanings - Grounded Theory' in Smith, J.A and Van Langenhove, L. (eds.) *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*. London: SAGE, pp 27–49.

Clark, N. and Herman, E. (2017). *Unpaid Britain : wage default in the British labour market*. in 'Report for the Unpaid Britain Project at Middlesex University Business School' (Issue November). [Online]. Available at: https://trustforlondon.fra1.cdn.digitaloceanspaces.com/media/documents/Final_Unpaid_Britain_report.pdf/ (Accessed: 30 May 2022).

Clement, W., Mathieu, S., Prus, S., et al. (2009). 'Precarious lives in the new economy: comparative intersectional analysis' in Vosko, L., MacDonald, M. and Campbell, I. (eds.) *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment*. London: Routledge, pp. 240–255.

Coleman, L. and Cottell, J. (2019). *Childcare survey 2019, Coram Family and Childcare*: London, UK. [Online]. Available at: https://nen.press/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Childcare-Survey-2019_Coram-Family-and-Childcare-1.pdf (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

Collins, G. (2007). 'Cleaning and the work-life balance', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18(3), pp. 416–429.

Comenitti, N. and Slaughter, H. (2020). *Low Pay Britain 2020: Resolution Foundation Annual Report*, London: Resolution Foundation [Online]. Available at: <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2020/09/Low-Pay-Britain-2020.pdf> (Accessed 26 July 2021).

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of Qualitative Research. Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Cranford, C. J., Vosko, L. F. and Zukewich, N. (2003). 'The gender of precarious employment in Canada'. *Relations Industrielles-Industrial Relations*, 58(3), pp. 454–482.

Crompton, R. (2006). *Employment and the Family. The Reconfiguration of Work and Family Life in Contemporary Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crompton, R. and Lyonette, C. (2011). 'Women's Career Success and Work-life Adaptations in the Accountancy and Medical Professions in Britain', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 18(2), pp. 231–254

Crouch, C. (2015). 'Labour Market Governance and the Creation of Outsiders', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 53(1), pp. 27–48.

Cunningham I. and James, P. (2021). 'Trends in collective bargaining, wage stagnation and income inequality under austerity', in Baines, D. and Cunningham, I. (eds.) *Working in the Context of Austerity: Challenges and Struggles*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, pp. 71-69.

Deakin S., McLaughlin, C. and Chai, D. (2012). 'Gender inequality and reflexive law: The potential of different regulatory mechanisms', in L. Dickens (ed). *Making Employment Rights Effective: Issues of Enforcement and Compliance*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp 115-138.

Denzin, N. K. (2002). 'Cultural studies in America after September 11th, 2001'. *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, 2(1), pp.5-8.

Dickens L., (2012). 'Introduction—Making employment rights effective: Issues of enforcement and compliance', in Dickens, L. (ed.) *Making Employment Rights Effective: Issues of Enforcement and Compliance*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp. 1-7.

Dickens, L. (2005). 'Walking the talk? Equality and diversity in employment' in Bach, S (ed.) *Managing Human Resources: Personnel Management in Transition*, 4th ed. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 178-208.

Doellgast, V., Lillie, N. and Pulignano, V. (eds.) (2018). *Reconstructing solidarity: Labour unions, precarious work, and the politics of institutional change in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Doeringer, P. B. and Piore, M. J. (1970). *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis*. ERIC , [Online]. Available at: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED048457.pdf> (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

Doogan, K. (2015). 'Precarity – minority condition or majority experience.' in *The new social division*, Ddella Porta, D., Silvasti, T., Hänninen, S. and Siisiäinen, M. (eds.) Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp 43–62.

Douglas, J. (1976). *'Investigative Social Research'*, London: Sage.

Douglas, J.D. (1985). *'Creative Interviewing'*, Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.

Duffy, M. (2005.) 'Reproducing labor inequalities: Challenges for feminists conceptualizing care at the intersections of gender, race, and class', *Gender and Society*, 19(1), pp. 66–82.

Dwyer, P. (2004). 'Creeping conditionality in the UK: From welfare rights to conditional entitlements?', *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 29(2). pp.265-287.

Dwyer, P. and Wright, S. (2014). 'Universal credit, ubiquitous conditionality and its implications for social citizenship', *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 22(1), pp. 27–35.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). 'Building theory from case study research'. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, pp. 532–549.

Eisenhardt, K. M. and Graebner, M. E. (2007). 'Theory Building from Cases : Opportunities and Challenges.' *Organizational Research Methods*, 50(1), pp. 25-32.

Esping-Andersen, G., (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Etherington, D. and Jones, M. (2017). *Devolution, Austerity and inclusive growth in Greater Manchester; Assessing impacts and developing alternatives*. [Online].

Available at:

https://www.mdx.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0030/368373/Greater-Manchester-Report.pdf?bustCache=92145287. (Accessed: 10 May 2022).

Eurofound, (2017). *Atypical work, European Observatory of Working Life, November 2017*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/data/database-of-wages-working-time-and-collective-disputes> (Accessed: 30 November 2022).

Fahnbulleh, M., Kiberd, E. and Pendleton, A. (2022). *Closing the Divide: How To Really Level Up the UK*. London: NEF [Online]. Available at:

https://neweconomics.org/uploads/files/NEF_-CLOSING-THE-DIVIDE.pdf (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

Farris, S. R. (2015). 'Migrants' regular army of labour: gender dimensions of the impact of the global economic crisis on migrant labour in Western Europe'. *The Sociological Review*, 63(1), pp. 121-143.

Federici, S. (2012). *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. Oakland, CA: PM Press,

Felstead, A., Gallie, D., Green, F., and Henseke, G. (2020). 'Unpredictable times: the extent, characteristics and correlates of insecure hours of work in Britain', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 51(1-2), pp. 34–57.

Fernández-Reino, M. and Rienzo, D. C. (2021). *Migrants in the UK Labour Market: An Overview*. *The Migration Observatory*, Oxford University, 8, 1–8. [Online].

Available at:

<http://storage0.dms.mpinteractiv.ro/media/1/186/3927/10538667/2/briefing-migrants-the-uk-labour-market-0.pdf> (Accessed: 20th May 2022).

Findlay, P. and Thompson, P. (2017). 'Contemporary work: Its meanings and demands', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 59(2), pp. 122-138.

Fletcher, A. J. (2020). 'The reality of gender (ideology): Using abduction and retroduction in applied critical realist research', in Van Ingen, M., Grohmann, S., and Gunnarsson, L. (eds.) *Critical Realism, Feminism, and Gender: A Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 205–224.

Forde, C. and Slater, G. (2016). 'Labour market regulation and the “competition state”: an analysis of the implementation of the Agency Working Regulations in the UK', *Work, Employment and Society*, 30(4), pp. 590–606.

Fourth (2021). *The Hospitality Workforce Report: August 2021*. [Online]. Available at: https://get.fourth.com/rs/144-GQL-770/images/WP_The-Hospitality-Workforce-Report-August-2021_0821_UK.pdf. (Accessed: 30 March 2022).

Francis-Devine, B. (2022). *What happened to wages in the coronavirus pandemic?*, House of Commons Library [Online]. Available at:

<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/what-happened-to-wages-in-the-coronavirus-pandemic/> (Accessed: 30 May 2022).

Fredman, S. and Fudge, J. (2016). 'The Contract of Employment and Gendered Work', in Freedland, Mark, (ed.) *The Contract of Employment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 231-252.

Fudge, J. (2014). 'Feminist reflections on the scope of labour law: Domestic work, social reproduction, and jurisdiction'. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 22(1), pp. 1-23.

Fudge, J. (2017). 'The future of the standard employment relationship: Labour law, new institutional economics and old power resource theory', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 59(3) pp. 374–392

Fudge, J. and Mundlak, G. (2021). 'Law and Gendered Labour Market Segmentation', *International Labour Review*, pp. 1–19.

Fudge, J. and Owens, R. (eds.). (2006). *Precarious work, women, and the new economy: The challenge to legal norms* Portland: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Fudge, J. and Strauss, K. (2014). 'Migrants, unfree labour, and the legal construction of domestic servitude: Migrant domestic workers in the UK.' in Costello, C and Freedland, M. (eds.), *Migrants at work: Immigration and vulnerability in labour law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 160–179.

Fudge, J. and Strauss, K. (eds.) (2014). *Temporary work, agencies and unfree labour: Insecurity in the new world of work*. New York: Routledge.

Fudge, J. and Vosko, L. F. (2001). "Gender, Segmentation and the Standard Employment Relationship in Canadian Labour Law and Policy." *Economic and Industrial Democracy*. 22 (2), pp. 271-310.

Giupponi, G. and Machin, S. (2022) *Labour market inequality*, IFS Deaton Review of Inequalities [Online]. Available at: <https://ifs.org.uk/inequality/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Labour-market-inequality-a-comparative-political-economy-perspective.pdf> (Accessed: 30 November 2022)

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. London: Aldine Transaction.

GMCA, (2017). *Our People, Our Place. The Greater Manchester Strategy GMCA Manchester*, pp. 1–31 [Online]. Available at: https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/1084/greater_manchester_summary___full_version.pdf (Accessed: 30 November 2022).

GMCA, (2019). *Greater Manchester Independent Prosperity Review: Reviewers report* [Online]. Available at: https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/1826/gmis_reviewersreport_final_digital.pdf (Accessed: 29 November 2022).

GMCA, (2020). *Greater Manchester Independent Prosperity Review: One year on, Converting Today*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/media/3408/gmipr_one-year-on.pdf. (Accessed 2 May 2022).

- GMCA, (2021). *Greater Manchester first to be recognised for Living Wage City-Region plans* -'GMCA, Manchester. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/news/greater-manchester-first-to-be-recognised-for-living-wage-city-region-plans/>. (Accessed: 2 June 2022).
- GOV.UK, (2021). *Ethnicity Facts and Figures: Employment by Sector*, GOV.UK. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/work-pay-and-benefits/employment/employment-by-sector/latest>. (Accessed: 25 June 2022).
- Greater Manchester Good Employment Charter, (2022) *The Charter - GM Good Employment Charter*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.gmgoodemploymentcharter.co.uk/the-charter/>. (Accessed 15 May 2022).
- Greer, I. (2016). 'Welfare reform, precarity and the re-commodification of labour', *Work, Employment & Society*, 30(1), pp. 162–173.
- Grimshaw D., Johnson, M., Keizer, A. and Rubery, J. (2016). *Reducing Precarious Work: Protective Gaps and the Role of Social Dialogue: The case of the UK* Manchester: European Work and Employment Research Centre, University of Manchester [Online]. Available at: <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=48496> (Accessed 30 November 2022).
- Grimshaw, D., Fagan, C, Hebson, G., and Travora, I. (2017). *Making work more equal a new labour market segmentation approach*. Stockport: Manchester University Press.
- Grimshaw, D., Johnson, M. and Cartwright, J. (2016). *Just Work in Greater Manchester Report 1: Just Work: Against Inequality and Precarious Work*, Work and Equalities Institute [Online]. Manchester: The University of Manchester. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/365892848_Just_Work_in_Greater_Manchester_Report_1 (Accessed: 1 December 2022)
- Hayes, L. J. (2017). *Stories of Care: A labour of law: Gender and class at work*. London: Springer.
- Hebson, G. and Grugulis I. (2005). 'Gender and New Organizational Forms.' in Marchington, M., Grimshaw, D., Rubery, J. and Willmott, H. (eds.) *Fragmenting Work: Blurring Organizational Boundaries and Disordering*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 217-237.
- Heery, E., Hann, D. and Nash, D. (2018). 'Trade unions and the real Living Wage: survey evidence from the UK,' *Industrial Relations Journal* 49(4), pp. 319-335.
- Hewison, K. (2016). 'Precarious work' in Edgell, S., Gottfried, H. and Granter E (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Work and Employment*. London: Sage, pp 1-72.

Heyes, J. and Lewis, P. (2014). 'Employment protection under fire : Labour market deregulation and employment in the European Union', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 35(4), pp. 587–607.

Heyes, J., Moore, S., Newsome, K. and Tomlinson, M. (2018). 'Living with uncertain work', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 49(5–6), pp. 420–437

Hignell, K. (2014) *The practicalities of childcare: an overlooked part of the puzzle?* [Online]. Available at: https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/Global/Migrated_Documents/corporate/the-practicalities-of-childcare---an-overlooked-part-of-the-puzzle.pdf. (Accessed: 20 May 2022).

HM Government, (2019). *Greater Manchester Local Industrial Strategy*, Industrial Strategy, (June), pp. 1–98. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/greater-manchester-local-industrial-strategy> (Accessed: 02 June 2022)

HM Treasury & GMCA, (2014). *Greater Manchester Agreement: devolution to the GMCA & transition to a directly elected mayor*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/369858/Greater_Manchester_Agreement_i.pdf. (Accessed: 30 May 2022).

Holland, J. (2007). 'Emotions and research'. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 10(3), pp.195–209.

Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (1995). *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Houghton, A. and Donohoe, T. (2021). *The Homecare Deficit 2021: A report on the funding of older people's homecare across the United Kingdom*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.homecareassociation.org.uk/resource/the-homecare-deficit-2021.html>. (Accessed: 21 March 2022)

IDR, (2018). *Minimum and zero hours contracts and low-paid staff*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/772558/Minimum_and_zero_hours_contracts_IDR_October_2018_FINAL.pdf (Accessed: 30 November 2022).

ILO, (2010). *Report VI: Employment policies for social justice and a fair globalization Recurrent item report on employment*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_126682.pdf (Accessed: 30 November 2022).

ILO, (2011). *Policies and regulations to combat precarious employment*. [Online]. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_164286.pdf. (Accessed 21 March 2022).

- Innes, D. (2020). *What has driven the rise of in-work poverty ?*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York pp. 1–19. [Online]. Available at: www.jrf.org.uk/publications. (Accessed: 23 March 2022).
- Irvine, S., Clark, H., Ward, M. and Francis-Devine, B. (2022). *Women and the UK economy*, p. 11. House of Commons Library, London [Online]. Available at: <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN06838/SN06838.pdf>. (Accessed: 30 May 2022).
- Ivashinenko, N. (2014). 'Searching for a New Approach to Face Poverty on the Local Level, a Case Study in a Small Russian Town'. *Debatte*, 22(3), pp. 403–419.
- Jaehrling, K. and Méhaut, P. (2013). 'Varieties of institutional avoidance: employers' strategies in low-waged service sector occupations in France and Germany.' *Socio-Economic Review*, 11(4), pp. 687-710.
- Jaehrling, K., Johnson, M., Larsen, T. P., Refslund, B. and Grimshaw, D. (2018). 'Tackling precarious work in public supply chains: A comparison of local government procurement policies in Denmark, Germany and the UK.' *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp.546-563.
- Jick, T. D. (1979). 'Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action'. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), pp. 602-611
- Johnson, M. and Grimshaw, D. (2017) 'Just Work in Greater Manchester'. [Online]. Available at: <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=64822> (Accessed: 1 December 2022)
- Johnson, M., Koukiadaki, A. and Grimshaw, D. (2019). 'The Living Wage in the UK: testing the limits of soft regulation?', *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 25(3), pp. 319-333.
- Jordan, J. D. (2017). 'Welfare Grunters and Workfare Monsters? An Empirical Review of the Operation of Two UK "Work Programme" Centres', *Journal of Social Policy*, pp. 1–19.
- JRF, (2021). *Seeking an anchor in an unstable world: experiences of low-income families over time*. York: Joseph Roundtree Foundation. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/seeking-anchor-unstable-world-experiences-low-income-families-over-time>. (Accessed: 5 March 2022).
- JRF, (2022). *UK Poverty 2022: The Essential Guide to Understanding Poverty in the UK*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/uk-poverty-2022> (Accessed: 30 May 2022).
- Kalleberg, A. L. (2009). 'Precarious Work , Insecure Workers : in Transition Employment Relations', *American Sociological Review*, 74(1), pp. 1–22.
- Kalleberg, A., (2021) 'The Challenge of Precarious Work in the 21st Century The Challenge of Precarious Work in the 21st Century'. *Business and Economic Journal*, 12 (3) pp, 1-3.

- Karapinar, P. B., Camgöz, S. M. and Ekmekci, O. T. (2019). 'Reviewing measurement instruments in job insecurity research: perceived job insecurity and the gender lens perspective' in Wheatley, D. (ed.) *Handbook of Research Methods on the Quality of Working Lives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 46–61.
- Kempster, S. and Parry, K. W. (2011). 'Grounded theory and leadership research: A critical realist perspective.' *Leadership Quarterly*, 22(1), pp. 106–120.
- King, C., Madera, J. M., Lee, L., Murillo, E., Baum, T. and Solnet, D. (2021). 'Reimagining attraction and retention of hospitality management talent– A multilevel identity perspective', *Journal of Business Research*, 136(2021), pp. 251–262.
- King, N., (2012). 'Doing template analysis' in Symon, G. and Cassell, C. (eds.) *Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges*. London, SAGE, pp. 426-450.
- Kirk, E. (2018). 'The "Problem" with the Employment Tribunal System: Reform, Rhetoric and Realities for the Clients of Citizens' Advice Bureaux', *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(6), pp. 975–991.
- Knight, F. H. (1921). *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- KPMG, (2017). *Labour Migration in the Hospitality Sector*, (March), p. 59. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ukhospitality.org.uk/general/custom.asp?page=LabourMigration> (Accessed: 3 March 2022).
- Kyprianou, P. (2015). *Getting by?* [Online]. Available at: <http://gettingby.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/Getting-By-a-year-in-the-life.pdf>. (Accessed: 14 January 2018)
- Lain, D., Airey, L., Loretto, W. and Vickerstaff, S. (2019). 'Understanding older worker precarity: The intersecting domains of jobs, households and the welfare state', *Ageing and Society*, 39(10), pp. 2219–2241.
- Lambert, S., J., Henly J. R., and Kim J., (2019). 'Precarious Work Schedules as a Source of Economic Insecurity and Institutional Distrust', *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 5(4), p. 218.
- Lambert, S.J.,(2014). 'The limits of voluntary employer action for improving low-level jobs' in Crain, M. and Sherraden, M. (eds.) *Working and Living in the Shadow of Economic Fragility*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 120-139
- Lämsäsalmi, H., Peiró, J. and Kivimäki, M. (2004). 'Grounded Theory in Organizational Research' in: Cassell, C and Symon, G. (eds.) *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: SAGE, pp. 242-255.
- Lewchuck W. (2021). 'The age of increased precarious employment: origins and implications' in Baines, D and Cunningham, I (eds.), *Working in the Context of Austerity: Challenges and Struggles*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, pp. 29-48.

Lewchuk, W. (2017). 'Precarious jobs: Where are they, and how do they affect well-being?' *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 28(3), pp 402-419.

Lewis, S., Gambles, R. and Rapoport, R. (2007). 'The constraints of a "work-life balance" approach: An international perspective', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18(3), pp. 360–373.

López-Roldán, P. and Fachelli, S. (2021). 'Measuring labour market segmentation for a comparative analysis among countries' *Social Indicators Research*, 154(3), pp.857-892.

LPC, (2020). *Non-compliance and enforcement of the National Minimum Wage: A report by the Low Pay Commission May 2020*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/885382/Non-compliance_and_enforcement_report_-_2020_-_amended.pdf. (Accessed: 3 March 2022).

LPC, (2022). '*The National Living Wage Review (2015-2020) A report by the Low Pay Commission*'. Low Pay Commission, London. [Online] Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1076517/NLW_review.pdf. (Accessed: 1 December 2022)

MacKenzie, R. and Forde, C. (2009). 'The rhetoric of the "good worker" versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers', *Work, Employment and Society*, 23(1), pp. 142–159.

Manning, A. (2021). 'Monopsony in Labor Markets: A Review', *ILR Review*, 74(1), pp. 3–26.

McBride, A., Hebson, G. and Holgate, J. (2015). Intersectionality: are we taking enough notice in the field of work and employment relations? *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(2), pp. 331–341.

McCollum, D. and Findlay, A. (2015). "'Flexible" workers for "flexible" jobs? The labour market function of A8 migrant labour in the UK', *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(3), pp. 427–443.

McCrudden, C. (2012), 'Procurement and fairness in the workplace', in Dickens, L. (ed.) *Making Employment Rights Effective: Issues of Enforcement and Compliance*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp. 87-115.

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2007). 'Division, segmentation, and interpellation: The embodied labors of migrant workers in a Greater London hotel', *Economic Geography*, 83(1), pp. 1–25.

McLachlan, C. J. and Garcia, R. J. (2015). 'Philosophy in practice? Doctoral struggles with ontology and subjectivity in qualitative interviewing.' *Management Learning*, 46(2), pp. 195–210.

McNeil, C., Hochlaf, D. and Quilter-Pinner, H. (2019). *Social (in)security: reforming the UK's social safety net*, (November). [Online]. Available at: <http://ippr.org/research/publications/social-insecurity>. (Accessed: 1 December 2022)

- Millar, K. M. (2017.) 'Toward a critical politics of precarity', *Sociology Compass*, 11(6), pp. 1–11.
- Mooney, S. (2018). 'Jobs for the girls? Women's employment and career progression in the hospitality industry.' in *Handbook of Human Resource Management in the Tourism and Hospitality Industries*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp 184-216
- Mooney, S. K., Harris, C. and Ryan, I. (2015). 'Long hospitality careers – a contradiction in terms?', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 28(11), pp. 2589–2608.
- Moore, S. and Hayes, L. J. B. (2017). 'Taking worker productivity to a new level? Electronic Monitoring in homecare—the (re)production of unpaid labour', *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 32(2), pp. 101–114.
- Moore, S. and Newsome, K. (2018). 'Paying for Free Delivery: Dependent Self-Employment as a Measure of Precarity in Parcel Delivery', *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp. 475–492.
- Moore, S., Tailby, S., Antunes, B. and Newsome, K. (2018). "'Fits and fancies": the Taylor Review, the construction of preference and labour market segmentation', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 49(5-6), pp. 403–419.
- Oliver, C. (2012). 'Critical realist grounded theory: A new approach for social work research', *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(2), pp. 371–387.
- ONS (2021a) *Hospitality businesses are most likely to be struggling to fill vacancies* - Office for National Statistics. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/hospitalitybusinessesaremostlikelytobestrugglingtofillvacancies/2021-09-16>. (Accessed: 3 June 2022).
- ONS (2021b) *Vacancies and jobs in the UK: September 2021 Estimates of the number of vacancies and jobs for the UK*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/jobsandvacanciesintheuk/september2021>. (Accessed: 3 June 2022).
- ONS, (2020). *Comparison of furloughed jobs data: May to July 2020*, [Online] Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/businessindustryandtrade/business/businessservices/articles/comparisonoffurloughedjobsdata/maytojuly2020> (Accessed: 26 July, 2021).
- Ordan, J. D. (2017). 'Welfare Grunters and Workfare Monsters? An Empirical Review of the Operation of Two UK "Work Programme" Centres', *Journal of Social Policy*, pp. 1–19.
- Pickett, K. Atcha, S., Fahnbulleh, M., Lupton, R., McInroy, N., Westwood, A., and Berry, C. (2020). *The Next Level: Good Lives for All in Greater Manchester*, The Greater Manchester Independent Inequalities Commission, GMCA Manchester [Online]. Available at: <https://www.greatermanchester->

ca.gov.uk/media/4337/gmca_independent-inequalities-commission_v15.pdf. (Accessed: 02 June 2022).

Pollert, A. (1988). 'The "flexible firm": fixation or fact?', *Work, Employment and Society*, 2(3), pp. 281–316.

Rafferty, A. and Wiggan, J. (2017). 'The Time-related Underemployment of Lone Parents during Welfare Reform, Recession and Austerity: A Challenge to In-work Conditionality?', *Social Policy and Administration*, 51(3), pp. 511–538.

Reed, M. (2005). 'Reflections on the "realist turn" in organization and management studies.' *Journal of Management Studies*, 42(8), pp. 1621–1644.

Reeves, C. L. (2010). 'A difficult negotiation: Fieldwork relations with gatekeepers.' *Qualitative Research*, 10(3), pp. 315–331.

Reskin, B. F. and Roos, P. A. (eds) (1990). *Job Queues, Gender Queues*. Philadelphia : Temple Univ. Press.

Rodgers, G. and Rodgers, J. (1989). *Precarious jobs in labour market regulation: The growth of atypical employment in Western Europe*. Geneva: ILO.

Rotik, M. and Perry, L. (2011). *Perceptions of welfare reform and Universal Credit*, Research report no 778, pp. 5–7. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/214563/rrep778.pdf. (Accessed 7 March 2022).

Roulston, K. (2010). 'Considering quality in qualitative interviewing,' *Qualitative Research*, 10(2) pp. 199–228.

Rubery, J. (1978). 'Structured labour markets, worker organization and low pay', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 2(1), pp 17–37.

Rubery, J. (2007). 'Developing segmentation theory: a thirty year perspective', *Économies et Sociétés*, 41(6), pp.941–64.

Rubery, J. (2015). 'Change at work: feminisation, flexibilisation, fragmentation and financialisation', *Employee Relations*, 37(6), pp. 633–644.

Rubery, J. and Grimshaw, D. (2016). 'Precarious work and the commodification of the employment relationship: the case of zero hours in the UK and mini jobs in Germany', in Bäcker, G., Lehdorff, S., and Weinkopf, C. (eds.) *Den Arbeitsmarkt verstehen, um ihn zu gestalten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 239–254

Rubery, J. and Hebson, G. (2018). 'Applying a gender lens to employment relations: Revitalisation, resistance and risks', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 60(3), pp. 414–436.

Rubery, J. Grimshaw, D., Hebson, G. and Ugarte S. (2015). "'It's all about time": Time as contested terrain in the management and experience of domiciliary care work in England', *Human Resource Management*, 54(4), pp. 753–772.

- Rubery, J., Grimshaw, D., Keizer, A. and Johnson, M., (2018). Challenges and contradictions in the 'normalising' of precarious work. *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp.509-527.
- Rubin, H. J., and Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ruhs, M. and Anderson, B. (2010). 'Introduction', in Ruhs, M. and Anderson, B. (eds.) *Who Needs Migrant Workers? Labour Shortages, Immigration and Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp 1-15.
- Saunders, M. N. K., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2019). "'Research Methods for Business Students" Chapter 4: Understanding research philosophy and approaches to theory development.' in Saunders, Mark N. K.; Lewis, Philip and Thornhill, Adrian (eds.) *Research Methods for Business Students, 8th edition*. Harlow: Pearson Education, pp. 128–171.
- Scott, S. (2012). 'Food Industry', *Food Industry*, 471(October), pp. 459–471.
- Shildrick, T. and MacDonald, R. (2012). 'Poverty and insecurity: Life in low-pay, no-pay Britain'. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Sisson K. (2019). 'The Fair Work Wales report: a manifesto for all of us', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 50, 5-6, pp. 564-579.
- Sissons, P., Green, A. E. and Lee, N. (2017). 'Linking the sectoral employment structure and household poverty in the United Kingdom', *Work, employment and society*, 32 (6) pp. 1-21.
- Sissons, P., Green, A. E. and Lee, N. (2018). 'Linking the Sectoral Employment Structure and Household Poverty in the United Kingdom.' *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(6), pp. 1078–1098.
- Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of Class and Gender*. London, UK: Sage.
- Skills for Care, (2021). *The state of the adult social care sector and workforce in England*, Skills for Care, (October), pp. 1–142. [Online] Available at: www.skillsforcare.org.uk. (Accessed 30 March 2022).
- Smith, A. and McBride, J. (2019). 'Accessing "hard to reach groups" and emotions in the research process: "work an honest day and get the usual raw deal"', in Wheatley D. (ed.) *Handbook of Research Methods on the Quality of Working Lives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 95–108.
- Smith, A. and McBride, J. (2021). "'Working to Live, Not Living to Work": Low-Paid Multiple Employment and Work–Life Articulation', *Work, Employment and Society*, 35(2), pp. 256–276.
- Smith, C. and Pun, N. (2018). 'Class and Precarity: An Unhappy Coupling in China's Working Class Formation', *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp. 599–615.
- Standing, G. (2011). *The Precariat: the New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury.

- Stone, K. V. W. and Arthurs, H. W. (eds.) (2013). *Rethinking Workplace Regulation : Beyond the Standard Contract of Employment*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Suddaby, R. (2006). 'From the Editors: What Grounded Theory is.' *Academy Of Management Journal*, 49(64), pp 622–642.
- Taylor, M. Marsh, G., Nicole, D. and Broadben, P. (2017). *Good Work: The Taylor Review of Modern Working Practices*. [Online]. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627671/good-work-taylor-review-modern-working-practices-rg.pdf. (Accessed: 30 May 2022).
- Thurow, L. C. (1972). 'Education and Economic Equality', *The Public Interest*, 28(66). pp 66-81.
- Tilly, L. A., and Scott, J. W. (1987). *Women, work and family*. London: Routledge.
- Tinson, A., Ayrton C., Barker K., Born B., T., Aldridge H. and Kenway, P. (2016). *Monitoring poverty and social exclusion 2016*. York : Joseph Rowntree Foundation [Online]. Available at: https://npi.org.uk/files/7814/8110/4638/MPSE_2016.pdf (Accessed: 30 November 2022)
- TUC, (2021). *Insecure work*, London [Online]. Available at: <https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/insecure-work-0%0Ahttps://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/insecure-work?page=1&fbclid=IwAR1ifef0SpSWdgTw66lNgpiwBXvQI-sw6u3VAOS7SuGmgx3nU-sgjU0N0k4>. (Accessed: 2 June 2022)
- Valerio, M. A., Rodriguez, N., Winkler, P., Lopez, J., Dennison, M., Liang, Y. and Turner, B. J. (2016). 'Comparing two sampling methods to engage hard-to-reach communities in research priority setting.' *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 16(1), pp. 1–11.
- Vosko, L. (2010). *Managing the margins: Gender, citizenship, and the international regulation of precarious employment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waddington, D., (2011). 'Participant Observation' in Cassell, C. and Symon, G. (ed.) *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: Sage, pp.154-164.
- Waldinger, R. and Lichter, M. I. (2003). *How the Other Half Works : Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor*. London: University of California Press.
- Walford, G. (2007). 'Classification and Framing of Interviews in Ethnographic Interviewing', *Ethnography and Education* 2(2), pp. 145–57.
- Walsh T. J. (1990). 'Flexible labour utilisation in the private service sector', *Work, Employment and Society* 4(4), pp. 517-530.
- Warhurst, C. and Knox, A. (2020). 'Manifesto for a new Quality of Working Life', *Human Relations* 75(2), pp 304–321.

- Warhurst, C. and Nickson, D. (2007). 'A new labour aristocracy? Aesthetic labour and routine interactive service', *Work, Employment and Society*, 21(4), pp. 785–798.
- Warhurst, C. and Nickson, D. (2009). "'Who's got the look?' emotional, aesthetic and sexualized labour in interactive services', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(3), pp. 385–404.
- Warren, T. (2008). 'Universal disadvantage?: The economic well-being of female part-timers in Europe', *European Societies*, 10(5), pp. 737–762.
- Warren, T. (2016) 'Work-life balance and class : in search of working class work-lives'. in Lewis, S., Anderson, D., Lyonette, C., Payne, N., and Wood, S. (eds.) *Work-life balance in times of recession, austerity and beyond: Routledge research in employment relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 112-131.
- Warren, T. (2022). 'Work-Time, Male-Breadwinning and the Division of Domestic Labour: Male Part-Time and Full-Time Workers in Unsettled Times', *Sociology*, 56(1), pp. 72–96.
- Warren, T. and Lyonette, C. (2018). 'Good, Bad and Very Bad Part-time Jobs for Women? Re-examining the Importance of Occupational Class for Job Quality since the "Great Recession" in Britain', *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(4), pp. 747–767.
- Warren, T., Fox, E. and Pascall, G. (2009). 'Innovative social policies: Implications for work-life balance among low-waged women in England', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(1), pp. 126–150.
- Werner A. and Lim, M. (2016), *Putting the Living Wage to Work - Strategies and Practices in Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (SMEs)* London: University of Middlesex [Online]. Available at: <https://www.livingwage.org.uk/sites/default/files/University-of-Middlesex-Putting-the-Living-Wage-to-Work-October-2016.pdf> (Accessed: 26 November 2021).
- Werner A. and Lim, M. (2017). 'A new living contract? Cases in the implementation of the Living Wage by British SME retailers', *Employee Relations*, 39(6), pp. 850-862.
- Wilkes, M., Gable, O. and Walker, T. (2021). *Social care: a guide to attracting and retaining a thriving workforce*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/work-foundation/publications/social-care>. (Accessed: 20 March 2022).
- Wilkinson, F. (1983). 'Productive systems', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 7(4), pp. 413–29.
- Williams, S., Abbott, B. and Heery, E. (2017). 'Civil governance in work and employment relations: how civil society organizations contribute to systems of labour governance', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 144(1), pp. 103-119.
- Wills, J. and Linneker, B. (2012). *The Costs and Benefits of the London living wage*. London: Queen Mary [Online]. University of London. Available at:

<https://trustforlondon.fra1.digitaloceanspaces.com/media/documents/Living-wage-costs-and-benefits-FULL.pdf> (Accessed: 26 July, 2021).

Wright, T. and Conley, H. (2020). 'Advancing gender equality in the construction sector through public procurement: making effective use of responsive regulation', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 41(4), pp. 975-996.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and methods* (4th Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Young, D. (2022). 'Income Insecurity and the Relational Coping Strategies of Low-Income Households in the UK', *Journal of Social Policy*, (first view), pp. 1–19.

Appendices

Appendix A: Worker pre-interview questionnaire

Everything you tell Eva will be kept confidential and the information you provide will be anonymised throughout the research process. There will be no repercussions whether you choose or choose not to be involved in the research.

If you would like to take part please fill out the following questionnaire (leave out anything you don't feel comfortable answering).

Name:	
Employer:	
Gender:	
Job title:	
Nationality:	
Wage per hour:	
Ethnicity:	
Age:	
How long have you worked in your workplace?	
How often do you work in your workplace?	
Do you have other jobs?	
What are your other jobs?	
Do you only work match days?	
Do you have any care responsibilities?	
Do you have care responsibilities for children?	
Do you have care responsibilities for other family members?	
If you have care responsibilities, do your working patterns fit around your care responsibilities?	
Are you a student?	
Do you receive any state benefits?	

How would you like to be interviewed?

Over the phone In person Other (please specify).....

Contact details:

Phone number:.....

Email address:.....

To thank you for taking part in the interview you will be given a £15 gift voucher.

Appendix B: Example of employer interview schedule used

HR manager topic guide

Name

Participant ID

Ages

20–25 26–30 31–35 36–40 41–45 46–50 51–55 56–60 61–65 65+

About the respondent

- Can you please tell me a bit about your role?
- How long have you worked for this organisation?
- Can you tell us briefly about your work history? Have you always worked in this sector?

Characteristics and business strategy of the organisation

- How long have you been working at your organisation?
 - What does your role entail?
- Can you describe the different services that are provided by your organisation?
 - How do business and HR strategies differ between the different organisations in which you operate?
 - Who makes use of your services?
 - How does this effect staffing levels?
- What other organisations are involved in the running/providing services?
- How do you experience daily and seasonal fluctuations?
 - Can you explain what you do to deal with these?
 - How do you balance profits and staffing costs?
- Can you explain your company values and how that fits into your recruitment and staffing?

Workforce characteristics and management

- Can you give me a breakdown of the different roles of people work in your organisation?
 - How many workers are directly employed by your organisation?
 - What are the different roles they have?
- How is your organisation managed on a daily basis?
 - How does the management structure work?
- What is the composition of the workforce by sex, age, full-time, part-time? How does this differ depending on the role they do?
- What role do qualifications play in the role the workers do?
- Can you explain how workers are managed?
 - Can you explain how shifts/rotas are organised?
 - How are tasks organised?
- Can you explain your supervision/management arrangements to me?
 - Ask about staff competency (investigations/suspensions)?
- How are rotas organised?
 - How do you ensure that staffing levels are adequate to address different needs of the business/client?
 - Flexibility in the day and season

Recruitment and retention

- What types of contracts do you offer?
 - Offer: full-time/part-time/with shifts/permanent nights/weekend only/no weekends/zero hours etc
 - What is the reason for using highly differentiated shifts?
 - Is the high differentiation in shifts related to staffing issues?
 - What is the gender breakdown of people on these different contracts?
 - If on zero-hour contracts, can they get guaranteed hours? If so, how does that work?

- Are people on permanent contract/guaranteed-hour contracts?
 - Why wary of giving them?
 - Do you take into account care responsibilities of workers when designing these contracts?
 - Is it related best way to manage flexibility for clients/business?
- What are the key staffing issues you face?
 - How do you manage fluctuations in staffing required?
 - Do you have any problems with sickness absence?
- What methods do you use to fill vacancies?
 - What selection criteria do you use?
 - How do college recruitment days work? Are they effective?
 - Do you have staff probation? If so how long does it last/how do they pass it?
- Do you have difficulty attracting appropriate staff? If so, why?
 - Do workers require a particular type of experience (training time limited)?
 - Do you move workers from one part of the organisation to another?
 - Do you have a progression rout in place?
- What is the level of staff turnover? (Or average length of service)
 - Do you think the levels are similar to other organisations in the sector?
 - How long do workers tend to be working for you?
 - What are the main reasons for staff leaving?
 - Do you think Brexit will affect this?
 - What role does the GM strategy play in this?
- What are the roles of people on the different types of contracts?
- Are particular roles dominated by a particular group of workers?

- How does this relate to shift patterns types of tasks and number of hours?
 - Can you tell me about the demographics of the staff that work here?
 - Any men/women? Migrant labour? Children/older? Ethnicity? Family members work here?
 - Why do you think this is?
- What are the different contracts people are on?
 - How many of your staff are bank staff?
 - Do you use any agency staff?
 - How are bank staff shifts organised?
 - Do you have a list you call on and who do you prioritise on the list to call first? In terms of workers and agencies?
 - How much notice are they given?
 - Is it possible to offer workers permanent contracts at this point in time? If not, do you think workers feel insecure?
- Do you provide access to childcare for your own employees? If not would it ever be possible to do this? Any restrictions? How do the child care vouchers work? Who has access to them?
 - Do you offer flexible/reduced working times for employees with childcare responsibilities?
 - Are there any difficulties accommodating your staff's childcare needs?
 - What happens if a child becomes sick?
 - Is this something you take into account when organising shifts and hiring staff?
- Which area(s) do your staff tend to live?
 - How do they travel to work?
- Have you got to accommodate workers' in-work benefits in any way when you are scheduling the number of working hours?
 - Do workers ask you to accommodate this?

- Have you lost any staff because you were unable to match the hours?
- How do you structure and decide the pay levels of your staff? How do you feel this compares with the sector average ?
 - In your prompts will you have prompts on how it raises with experiences/higher pay for those with qualifications and training/do they ever have to match pay of previous employer?
 - Are workers salaried or paid per hour?
 - Do you pay for overtime? Unsociable hours? Etc.
 - Is there a difference between unsocial hours pay?
 - **How do tips work?**

SER

- Can you explain how looking after staff is at the heart of what you do?
 - How does this differ to other employers?
 - How do you feel about the way other employers treat their staff in this sector?
- Can you explain the different benefits you provide to your workers? (Go through them and ask what each of them actually entail and who is entitled to them)
 - How did you decide on these benefits?
 - How are these benefits communicated to workers?
 - What are the benefits that appeal to workers most?
 - Is there a high take up?
 - Any other non-pay benefits?
 - Are you aware of how these benefits compare with the benefits provided to employees working for other care providers?
- Are there opportunities for career development – explain?
- What happens if a worker has a grievance? (Has this ever happened and how did you overcome this?)
- Can you explain how you involve workers in the business?

- Can you explain a bit about the workers forum and how this works?
 - Could I please see a copy of this?
- Can you explain the role of champions? (Are they paid?)
- Are your workers unionised?

Training

- Do you provide training to staff (How does this differ depending on job they do)?
- How is this done?
- How is it paid for?
- Does the apprenticeship levy affect staff pay?

Key challenges faced

- What do you feel are the main challenges that the business faces?
 - What effect did the National Living Wage have on your business?
- How do you feel employment issues shape the success of the business and in what way?
- What effect do you think the GM industrial strategy will have (including the Employment Charter)?
 - Any issues specific to Greater Manchester?
 - Anything I've missed?

Appendix C: Example of worker interview schedule used:

Worker Topic Guide Template

Interview schedule

Name

Participant ID

Gender

Job title

Organisation

Ages

Under-20 20-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50 51-55 56-60 61-65 65+

Work-life history

- Can you tell me your work history starting way back in time from your first job?
 - In what way did your educational experiences shape your work history? Qualifications? Your friends?
 - In what ways do you think your family background/parents' jobs/roles shape your work history?
 - What led to you taking up your current jobs?

Current job characteristics

- Can you describe your two jobs to me?
 - How do you juggle these two jobs?
 - What do you do if these two jobs clash?
 - How do you manage your time?
- Describe what you do in your job on a daily basis/What does every day at work look like?
 - What kind of contract are you on?

- Could you tell me how many hours your work and how these are structured?
- When do you find out your schedule?
 - Who decides the hours you work?
 - Do you decide the hours of those you supervise?
 - If you are not able to work these hours do you feel this could impact the work offered to you in the future?
- Do you always know how long your shift will last before you start work? Could you give me an example when that was not the case?
 - If not why do you think that is? How do you manage this with other commitments?
- Could you describe how the tasks you do are decided?
 - Could you explain your supervisory role?
 - What role do you play in match day staffing?
 - Do you decide the schedules?
 - Do you decide which workers you want?
 - Could you explain the demographic of those who work for you and how this differs depending on task given?
 - Who is your manager?
 - Do they work for the same employer?
- How are you paid (salaried or hourly or piece rate)?
 - What do you earn per hour/per month?
 - Do you think this pay is reasonable for the work you do? How does this compare to other places you have worked/sector and others working at in the stadium?
 - Is this more or less than you have earned in the past?
 - How does this compare to the wages of those you supervise?
 - How does this differ to other roles in the stadium?
 - Do you get paid for the actual hours you work (if shifts length is different from what you were meant to work are you paid for the extra time)? Do you keep a note of your hours? And how?

- If not could you give me an example of how this works?
- Do you get pay slips and do you look at them? Who pays you?
- How often do you get paid?
- Is you pay the same every month?
- If not how do you budget for this?

In-work entitlements

- Do you get any entitlements other than just wages? What in-work entitlements do you get? (Holiday pay, maternity pay, sick pay, pension?) Do you get overtime pay/weekend pay?
 - Which ones have you used?
 - Where do you get information about these?
 - Have you opted into the workplace pension?
 - How do you feel about it?
 - How does it affect your everyday earnings?
 - How does it combine with the new NLW?
- What contract are you on?
- Do you think your job is secure?
 - What does a secure job look like? Do you have an example of one? What do you think a secure job is? What does it entail?
 - How important is it to you to have a secure job?
 - How likely is it that there are secure jobs in this sector? How does the security compare here with other employers?
 - Would you leave this job for a more secure job?
- Would you say this is a good employer to work? Why? Why not?
 - Does work provide you any training opportunities? Could you give me an example of this?
- Do you think there are opportunities for career progression in this company/sector? If not why not? If yes can you explain how this works?

Family and the household

- Do you live with anyone?
- If so, what does [partner] do?
- What does your day/week at home look like?
- How is housework structured? How do you organise the housework? Does someone take the main responsibility for this?
- Do you have any care responsibilities?
 - If so how are these divided between yourself and your partner?
 - Do you rely on any other family/friends? In what way? Can you give examples?
 - How do these caring responsibilities shape the hours you can work?
 - How do your caring responsibilities effect the job you do?
 - Who is the main earner?
- Do you get any state support (benefits)?
 - how does this shape your choice of working hours?
 - How has this effected your job choice? How is it living on these benefits and your earnings?
 - Could you tell me about your experience of accessing benefits?
 - Do you have income to do everything your family would like to do? Would you describe it as providing a good standard of living? What things do you feel your wage does not enable you to afford?
- How would you describe the balance between the time you spend at work and time at home? Can you give me examples of when there has been conflict? Or when your employer has enabled you to have more balance?
- How long does it take you to get to work? How do you get there? Did distance effect you choosing this role?

Benefits

- In your last interview your benefits were affected by the amount of hours you worked. Could you explain this further to me?
 - What benefits are you on?

- How many hours do you need to work?
- Do you usually work more than the 16 hour minimum?
 - What happens if you work less than 16 hours
 - What happens if you work more than the max hours you are allowed to work? Split this into two questions

Future

- Do see yourself working here in the next 2 to 3 years? Why/Why not?
- If every job was paid the same and required the same qualifications, what would you ideally do?

Appendix D: Examples of general memos written while coding:

- 1) It would be interesting to look into the differences in wording used for the different care homes CP36 describes previous care home as similar to a factory where no one cares about high levels of stress etc and compares this care home through happy language of dancing songs etc – see if this is the same with others
- 2) For CP17 there seems to be even lack of clarity about when workers need to be at a shift. It almost seems as they are so big they don't need to care about the workers at all. Workers are a number BUT they are not to be trusted as they will steal "security seen to be protecting the stadium from workers..." Workers NOT penalised for not taking shifts BUT also employers do not confirm properly BUT if workers turn up to a shift they are not scheduled in for they are penalised against... what does this mean??
- 3) "Hotel and Cp44 also spoke about catering not being seen as a career job and having new strategies of recruiting from schools and sponsoring further education... Similar to art centre as high levels of retention and as I left interview he noted that retention was like a golden handcuff as not always good (referring to CP15)"
- 4) Likening patterns to people chasing gold. How shifts are given seen as awful... very precarious nature of first come first serve shift patterns

Appendix E: Theoretical memo: Theory of hours 07/05/2019

Why are people in my study more concerned with hours than pay?

None of my participants look at their payslips or check whether their hours and pay match up. They say things such as I assume its right or I trust its right, they won't mess me around.

When speaking to a lecturer in AMBS who researched Deliveroo drivers she told me they were very much concerned with pay and had no concept of time or hours.

Would it be possible that these calculations are done on unit of pay as well as wider regulatory frameworks.

For both the care workers and hospitality workers wages and work is based on time. The amount of hours you work. The care workers with caring responsibilities understand and calculate this time on basis of time that others that might be able to help with care responsibilities.

The benefits sanction regime in particular related to ESA is based on hours. If I work more than 16 hours I will lose my benefits. Others have calculated the amount of hours they can work in order to make deductions from benefits worth it. This 'time' is interrelated with pay but why is it expressed in relation to time and not wages? Is this because wages are so low anyway that all you can control is time?

If time is so important could we say that time/ hours is the most important element/ top tier dimension of precarious work?

I guess here is where we come back to the interrelation between regulation and work or experience.

Regulation isn't a thing, it's the way the relationship of regulation is interacted. It's the interrelations of regulations.

Appendix F: Thematic template of overall thesis

Top-level theme	Defining scope of theme
<p>Institutional/state role</p> <p>In what ways do state/institutional level policies shape employer strategies and workers' entry into particular types of precarious work?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment regulation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Wages <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NLW ▪ Age related pay ▪ Setting wage rates ○ Working Time Regulation ○ Pensions ○ Apprenticeship Levy ○ Maternity leave • National State <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Brexit ○ Austerity ○ Cuts to social care ○ Arts funding ○ Tax ○ Childcare policy ○ Bursaries • GM Combined Authority <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Local authority <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Funding of services ○ Devolution ○ GM Health and Social Care Partnership Industrial strategy ○ Employment charter • Benefits system <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Tax credits ○ Universal credit ○ Perceptions of benefits ○ Hours and benefits ○ DSA ○ Changes to benefit system ○ Personal Independence payment ○ Sanctions ○ ESA (Employment Support Allowance) ○ Widow allowance 	<p>This refers to state policies that affect the shaping of work. In terms of funding, employment regulation (NLW, pensions, apprenticeship levy etc), benefits, and industrial strategies.</p> <p>Sub themes include: Employment regulation, which looks at discussions on recent developments. This will include subthemes looking at the effect of NLW, pension and apprenticeship levy in particular. Wages has been created as a subtheme with subthemes underneath it as it is important to understand how employers justify and understand the use of youth rates. The role of the NLW and the role both workers and employers feel the state play in setting wages.</p> <p>National regulation: will look at what affect broadly national policies have had and will include themes such as Brexit, and austerity, cuts to social care (still important particularly for those with caring responsibilities). Arts council funding is important and has been added.</p> <p>GM Combined Authority: This theme will look at GM policy effects more widely and will further look at the effects/influences of different local authorities, the funding of services, devolution policies more generally and the local industrial strategy.</p> <p>Benefit system: even though it's part of national policy. I think it's a theme in its own right in</p>

Commented [EH1]: Refers to anything like child tax credits to free nursery spaces etc

Commented [JR5]: Why are there all these comments/ notes from Eva in this section

Commented [EH2]: Relates to every time the calculation of hours vrs benefits is discussed

Commented [FB3]: Define this and add to abbreviation list.

Commented [EH4]: Previously known as Widow's allowance from 2010 its known as Bereavement allowance

	particular when it comes to perceptions of benefits and the use of tax credits, universal credit, disability allowance and changes to the benefits system generally. I have added the theme of personal independence payment, sanctions and calculating entitlement in line with some interviews. This is particular important when it comes to discussing what work can or cannot be taken.
<p>Employer strategies</p> <p>What influences employers strategies and how do they justify the development of particular form of employment?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business Structure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ownership <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Franchising ▪ Outsourcing ▪ Tender contracts ○ Management of the business ○ Control ○ Relationship between stakeholders • Business strategy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Corporate vs non-corporate ○ Organisation description ○ Pricing (refers to prices and charges of services) ○ Expenses ○ Budgets ○ Services provided <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Departments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job roles • Operations ▪ Quality of service ▪ Customers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience • Expectations • Attitude ○ Profit ○ Revenue ○ organisational changes ○ Greater Manchester ○ Fluctuations in business/variability <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Forecasting 	<p>This theme refers to the employers' side of the story. It looks at the role employers play and how they justify the creation of particular employment relationships.</p> <p>Subthemes include: Business structure (added for the hospitality case) This includes the ownership, who owns the business for example in hotel multiple different companies. Management of the business refers to who manages different parts of the business/ operations. Relationship between different stakeholders refers to how they got on but also how they organise and manage different activities between them.</p> <p>Business strategy (the core aims of the business and how they shape employment)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This theme aims to understand when and why employers note their business is not corporate or corporate and what that actually means. ○ Organisation description refers to what the business

Commented [EH6]: Who has control over every day operations and how this is negotiated/divided

Commented [EH7]: Expenses refers to any expenditure the company has to make e.g. having to pay for an external company to do maintenance provide security or the payment of electricity etc etc etc

Commented [EH8]: Refers to the setting of budgets and any discussion of budgets by employer in reference to the business

Commented [EH9]: refers to the way in which customers behave towards staff and business as well a how they behave in general when at establishment Coded from CP39

Commented [EH10]: This speaks about how the employer forecasts to see how busy they will be and how many staff they require

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Change in demand for service “Social Value” Key issues faced <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Business issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Funding Profits Competition/competitors Quality vs income Clients Relationship with other stakeholders Staff issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> loyalty Staffing cost Recruitment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not enough applicants Large numbers of CVs The right kind of people <p>Applicants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Applicants attitude Change in demographic of applicants Retention <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Golden handcuffs (can't get rid of workers they stay to long and become stale) Revolving doors (people don't stay and can't find good workers) Workers' inflexibility Pay <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Setting pay rates Strategies to overcome the issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alternative income strategies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Short stay unit Care in the community Retention strategies Alternative recruitment strategies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Training and progression plans Targeted recruitment Use of volunteers HR policies and benefits <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shift patterns Training Staffing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Budgeting for staff 	<p>does and what it looks like</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pricing refers to how prices are set and what prices and what the different prices of services refers to Services provided will refer to the different services provided by the organisation, this could include events, rooms, cinema screenings, restaurant meals, sport games etc.. Profit refers to how profit making is understood and is achieved (both from the perspective of workers and employers) Organisational changes refers to any changes discussed e.g. merging companies new HR policies, changes in staffing due to drop in funding etc. Greater Manchester refers to the role that Manchester plays in their business strategy (e.g. events in GM affecting what is being put on in the art centre and effect the way in which rotas and prices for rooms are set in the Hotel) This refers to both long term and short term events (e.g. change in clientele more hotels opening up in local
---	--

Commented [EH11]: This refers to customer demand as in increase or decrease in demand or change in what customers want

Commented [EH12]: Refers to any costs of staffing e.g. wages training etc etc

Commented [EH13]: Is going to refer to any mentions of pay and rates of pay and how these decisions are made regards to employer strategy

Commented [EH14]: This refers to any strategies employers put in place to retain workforce

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Setting pay rates ○ Moving departments ○ Contract <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contract changes ▪ Regular hour contract ▪ Salaried work ▪ Zero hour contracts ▪ Fixed term contracts ▪ Minimum hour contract ○ Staff distribution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Number of staff required ○ Rotas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Making/setting the rota ▪ Set shifts ▪ Dealing with fluctuations ▪ Shift swapping ▪ Holiday ▪ Regular workers ▪ Pool of workers ▪ Night shifts ○ Recruitment and retention ○ roles and job outlines ○ Management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Management style ▪ Rewarding workers ▪ Control <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Punishment • Tips ○ Employer flexibility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Inflexibility ▪ Service needs ▪ Worker needs? ▪ agency ▪ Flexibility requests ○ Worker demographics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Men's jobs ▪ Women's Jobs ▪ British vs Non-British <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • British • Non-British ○ Workers' attitude <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reliability • Sickness • Disciplinary action <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Absences ○ repercussions • Household considerations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Benefits ○ Workers' care responsibilities ○ Workers' reproductive needs 	<p>area and the population)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fluctuations in business refers to the extreme daily and annual fluctuations in the services provided (this could be extreme such as in the stadium having coffee for 2 one day and having match day at full capacity to the next, or art centre where there are "dark" periods between theatre shows or exhibitions, or the hotel where there are both annual fluctuations and weekly fluctuations of business and clientele type) <p>Key issues faced: This looks at the key issues faced in the business and in particular will look at funding (funds)/making a profit (funds is still important particular for those that rely on state funding), and staffing issues.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issues with recruitment, how they are discussed and understood. This relates to notions of the right worker and contradictions of no one is applying and I have 300 CVs on my desk. It also notes issues that occur during the recruitment process. • Staffing issues divided between recruitment and retention. Problems of too high retention (art
---	---

Commented [EH15]: Moving departments mean changing job within the organisation e.g. moving from housekeeping to F and B or moving from volunteer to usher

Commented [EH16]: Refers to where in the workplace staff are placed at a given time (location) this can be change at a given shift time→ It also refers to how many staff are required in a given place (the capacity of the bar etc).. So its location and numbers

Commented [EH17]: Refers to number of staff needed at a given time/staffing levels

Commented [EH18]: Workers who always work a shift or regularly work a shift or in a particular location

Commented [EH19]: Refers to the pool of workers available to pic from

Commented [EH20]: Sickness may need to be a theme in itself as we need to see how workers are scared of sickness (as it may have repercussions) whereas employers see it as a way of skiving that needs that needs to be punished/addressed

Commented [EH21]: This refers to disciplinary action feared by workers or put in place by employers.

Subtheme to this is absences because workers are being penalized for not turning up??

Commented [EH22]: Was sanctions changed to repercussions as I think that is probably better more appropriate

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Workers' travel 	<p>centre) and how retention is viewed "golden handcuff". Compared to too low retention as in hotel.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The right kind of people how this is understood and discussed in context of recruitment . <p>Strategies to overcome issues: this will look at alternative sources of income (fundraising, doing more lucrative business), shifting to volunteers, the role of volunteers in balancing the services. The use of different HR policies and staff benefits to change the ways in which rotas are managed and staff are retained.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative recruitment strategies. This sub theme refers to changes made to recruitment strategies to overcome issues for example going into schools, changes in interview types, and changes in the types of roles they are recruiting staff for (going into schools, assessment days/values based recruitment/recruiting from volunteer pool) <p>Staffing: This refers to the reality of staffing, how recruitment and retention is actually managed and done. What management looks like on the ground. This will also look at the notions of flexibility and who its justified as being for. It will further investigate the demographics of the workers and how these are understood and justified.</p>
---	---

	Household considerations: This will look at how employers talk about the workers' households, and how they feel benefits, reproductive and workers' care responsibilities play in the role of employment. I have also added the role of transport as employers spoke of proximity of staff living arrangements
Household influences	This theme will look at how household dynamic interact with workers entry into particular employment relationships, as well as the effect particular employment relationships have on the household of the workers.
How do household dynamics shape and are shaped by employment?	Subthemes:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other household members jobs Inter-household conflict Dynamics affecting workers entry into work Workers' own disability and sickness Sickness of family member household strategies managing precarious lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family situation Housing 	Dynamics affecting workers entry into work. This will look at the overall reasons that people choose to enter a particular employment relationship
Housework	This looks at the different strategies the household put in place to manage precarious life situations. E.g. finding different employment etc
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hours <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Care responsibility/reproductive needs Balancing care responsibilities and hours Diary School pick up Reproductive hours Balancing work and caring hours with family members Choosing shifts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Night shifts (shift choices) Household flexibility Travel to work Hours clash with household needs Benefits and hours Taking time off work Caring strategies Life stage/reproductive stage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family members jobs Job transitions Income <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Benefits Main earner Other income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family situation This refers to things that happen to a family over all (e.g. member of family becoming sick changing jobs etc) Hours: will look at how people balance/manage work hours with care responsibilities and the hours of others within their families. This will further look at how hours effect peoples entry of work and choices to do overtime and nightshifts etc. The effect of household flexibility on people's ability to take on particular types of work.

Commented [EH23]: This refers to any conflict that occurs between household members e.g. deciding who cares for who goes to work etc

Commented [EH24]: This refers to sickness or disability of the interviewee themselves discussed during the interview

Commented [EH25]: Refer to any time some one in the family becomes unwell which then effects what the household can do/ caring responsibilities

Commented [EH26]: Refers to discussion of any type of housework be it gardening cleaning or doing the taxes (later might want to change it to reproductive work) Not sure if it should include cleaning etc

Commented [EH27]: Notes like putting everything into my diary or I sit with my daughter and work out when to do care etc etc etc or I work out when I have what job by putting it in diary... It is a code for time management and life scheduling

Commented [EH28]: Refers to the relationship that lies between benefits and hours and the way in which workers balance this.

Commented [EH29]: Workers ability or inability to negotiate or take time off work either due to employers pressure or household constraints e.g. income

Commented [EH30]: This refers to strategies put in place by workers and their household to deal with the caring needs of the household.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Other earners income o Pay o Budget o Keeping track of pay o Bills o Tips o Savings o Childcare costs o Fluctuating income o Time over money o Stable income o Debt 	<p>Life stage: will look choices of work depending on where the worker and their family members are in their life stages. This includes changes in jobs hours and responsibility taken on.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household strategies for managing precarious work <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Baby sitting o Borrow money o Working alternate shifts • Intersection between precarious work and precarious lives. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Self-care o Sleep • Multiple jobs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Main job o Balancing hours of jobs o Choosing jobs o Other job characteristics • Caring for family different to caring as job 	<p>Income: This looks at how all forms of household income is discussed in particular in related to wages and benefits. It will look at how they feel about payment methods frequency as well as budgeting and keeping track of it.</p> <p>Household strategies for managing precarious work /precarious lives. This theme looks at the different strategies the household employ to deal negative consequences of precarious work. These can be finding a baby sitter, borrowing money (this can include using credit cards as well as borrowing money from family)</p> <p>Multiple jobs, category refers to people who have multiple jobs, how they balance these and what they use/justify their main job as being.</p> <p>Intersection between precarious work and precarious lives.</p>
<p>Work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment history • Notion of career • Comparing jobs • What shape does work take? • Application process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Interview o Role description <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Workers attributes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personality 	<p>This theme will look at the actual shape that the particular job takes. It will look at what a shift looks like, how rotas work, use of overtime in particular things such as "Pick a shift", shift swapping and how people see and feel about these, and strategies workers put in place to manage these structures.</p>

Commented [EH31]: This refers to the income of other people in the household (can be benefits and wages)

Commented [EH32]: Referring to the ability or inability to save

Commented [EH33]: This refers to anything that relates to the cost of caring for a child in monetary terms e.g. child care and nursery (this may often be coded together with child care policy in particular when it comes to payment for children)

Commented [EH34]: This relates to unpredictable income I think fluctuating is better as people seem to understand it that way

Commented [EH35]: Choosing between time away from work and extra money (vivo code cp23)

Commented [EH36]: Refers to when people talk about stable income... whether they see their income being stable or not

Commented [EH37]: Debt refers to any discussion of loans or debt

Commented [EH38]: Refers to who cares for the workers ... Where no one has some one who cares for them or where they discuss the need to look after themselves

Commented [EH39]: Refers to any discussion of sleep or lack there of there seem to be a lot of discussions about lack of sleep particular from night shift workers etc

Commented [EH40]: Comparing jobs refers to any cases where workers are comparing the job they are currently are in with other jobs they may currently work or have worked in previously this

Commented [EH41]: Refers to the way in which workers apply to jobs how this can be different between orgs→ This might be able to be a predictor of precarious work or employers discourses of precarious work

Commented [EH42]: This node refers to what both workers and employers think is needed for the role but also what they feel is present or not present in the people currently doing that set role.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Looks Attitude 	Employment history looks at the workers own work history and how they describe it
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Characteristics of the job Workplace change Task allocation Skilled job Physical job 	Contracts: This discusses the types of contracts that people are on and how people feel about them. It also tries to see how they are influenced by the three other levels
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Macho Supportive Worker hierarchy 	Work intensity :This refers to the intensity of job as felt by the workers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contacts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hours <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unsocial Salary Pay Zero hours Salaried work Volunteering <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Move from volunteering to paid work Comparing paid and volunteer work Casual contract Minimum hour contract Regular hour contract Tenure Part-time contract Full-time job No contract 	<p>Role description= description of the job and I am going to put a node called characteristics of the job</p> <p>Managing the rota looks at how workers manage the rota between themselves= shift swap etc.</p> <p>Pay will discuss how pay is structured, felt about and understood by workers and employers.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rotas/hours structured <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unpaid time Shift patterns Workers' strategies to manage work structures Irregular hours <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predictability of hours Keeping track of hours Unknown end time Notifying availability Weekend working Overtime Pick a shift Turning down shifts Managing the rota Communicating the rota Getting more hours 	<p>This draws on core aspects of the precarious work framework. Will be used to further develop a definition for precarious work</p> <p>Sickness is being moved to be a key theme as noted above its important to note the understandings of sickness and how it is used as punishment tool (might not need the other sickness node...</p> <p>Further themes will look at what people think makes a job secure or insecure. What they need from a job. In particular in relation to management, hours, team, pay,</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work intensity 	Food has been added as a key theme this is in regard to whether people are given free

Commented [EH43]: Relates to the physicality of the job be it moving and handling or walking etc etc

Commented [EH44]:

Commented [EH45]: This refers to the hierarchy of workers present in a workplace... and how workers feel about it (this might have to go with management?)

Commented [EH46]: Might need to move under a different theme

Is Nvivo code as comes directly from the text

Commented [EH47]: This refers to where a comparison is drawn by workers between paid and voluntary work

Commented [EH48]: Going to use this node when people call work casual or a worker a casual worker

Commented [EH49]: Referring to the type of contract a workers is on or when regular hour contracts are discussed as an element of work by participants

Commented [EH50]: Refers to where people have no contract or where people are unaware of contract they have

Commented [EH51]: Refers to any time a worker is at work and isn't paid for. This may be arriving early to queue to sign in and allocated a place of work as in stadiums, unpaid breaks or waiting after work to do unpaid extra work (e.g. salaried worker hospitality)

Commented [EH52]: The hours that they work vary this may also be case for some people who may be on regular hour contract

Commented [EH53]: This refers to not knowing when the shift will end

Commented [EH54]: Refers to how workers pick shifts or inform employers when they are available

Commented [EH55]: Refers to any discussions about working weekends (only input it from cp24 onwards need to add to others)

Commented [EH56]: Might need to be re coded to extra hours as this is more apt in terms of the way overtime is discussed (extra hours rather than overtime)

Commented [EH57]: Looks at what happens if a worker says they cant work

Commented [EH58]: This refers to all forms of how hours that will be worked are communicated. the rota could be set up in the common room, via text online etc...

Commented [EH59]: This refers to strategies put in place by workers to get more hours or the hours they want. E.g. when people talk about wanting to impress their boss and do unpaid work/ doing every shift for fear of repercussions to getting shifts from friends etc....

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff shortage • Pay <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Structure of pay ○ Regularity of payment] ○ Change in pay ○ Frequency of pay <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Weekly pay ▪ Monthly pay ▪ Four weekly pay ○ Predictable pay ○ Tips ○ Extra pay • Sickness • SER <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Secure (what does a secure job look like?) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Regular hours ○ Insecure ○ Feeling valued ○ Breaks ○ Management ○ Team <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relationship between departments ▪ Conflict between team members/departments ○ Progression ○ In work training ○ Holidays ○ Flexibility ○ Future dream ○ Maternity leave ○ Unpaid wages ○ Uniform ○ Healthcare benefits • Food <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Managers relationship with food ○ Food as currency ○ Food as resistance • Education levels • Like about job 	<p>food. The bartering system that exists between kitchen and bar, as well as how this feeds into how secure the job is.</p> <p>Education: This looks at how workers talk about their education, what education they have as well as how employers justify/understand educational attainments/levels.</p>
Contradiction	This code notes when a contradiction in statements has occurred. This code was put in as a monitor so that I could analyse the contradictions later on.
Participant information	This code collects categorical data about the participant
Age	

Commented [EH60]:

Commented [EH61R60]: Refers to any reason or discussion regarding staff shortages This includes understaffing as a deliberate mechanism to single instances where there were not enough staff on shift To not enough people applying to roles

Commented [EH62]: This refers to changes in frequency of pay and amount so any changes that may occur

Commented [EH63]: This is different to regularity of pay as someone can be paid infrequently but if they do get paid two payments in a row it could be paid into the bank account weekly or monthly etc

Commented [EH64]: Refers any form of additional pay received such as bonuses and time and half or higher rate pay for overtime or working special days

Commented [EH65]: Put in in line with what was defined as secure by CP06

Commented [EH66]: Refers to the feeling of being acknowledged that they are doing a good job and valued for what they are doing.

Commented [EH67]: This is becoming an increasingly important thing that is discussed

Commented [EH68]: Refers to relationships between different departments in the workplace only coded from CP37

Commented [EH69]: Refers to any inter-team conflicts/ conflicts between different departments in the workplace only started coding this from CP37

Commented [EH70]: This refers to things such as the Care Home healthcare benefits scheme

Commented [EH71]: Workers using food as a way to resist management

Job Title	
Marital Status	
Gender	
Work Life history <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous job description • Choosing job • Applying for job <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Employment services • Education • Job change • Reason for job change <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Stayed in company <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Progression ▪ Change in role ▪ Change in contract • Left company <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Stress ◦ Other opportunity ◦ Other influences ◦ • Change in shift patterns • Family influences 	This theme looks at workers' work-life history and investigates when there was a change in status/job and why that decision was made.
Felt and expressed emotions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anxiety • Stress • Sanity • Depression • Relief • Exhaustion • Sadness • Fear • Happy • Excited • Relaxed • Support • Loneliness • Satisfaction • Enjoyment • Frustration • Pressure 	This refers to whenever an interviewee speaks about how they feel or have felt about something. This might have to change to being named "Wellbeing or feelings" at a later date. For the time being, I am not dividing it between positive and negative, as this can be done at a later date and might put too much pressure on it.

Commented [EH72]: This relates to previous jobs had by the person and outlines given of these jobs this may need to be broken down further at a later date

Commented [EH73]: Refers to job application process and finding jobs this may need to be moved under theme work but will decide at a later date?

Commented [EH74]: Employment services refers to support received from or discussions of agencies that help people find jobs for example the job centre or the skills company.

Commented [EH75]: Refers to people speaking about their own sanity as it keeps coming up

Commented [EH76]: Refers to discussions of feeling under pressure

Appendix G: Final template Chapter 5/JA3

1. Precarious work

1.1 Job related income uncertainty

- 1.1.1 Expected to work long hours (shifts more than 8 hours)
- 1.1.2 Expected to work weekends
- 1.1.3 Expected to work hours that clash with reproductive times (e.g. dinner time early mornings nights etc)
- 1.1.4 Expected to work more than 5 days in a row
- 1.1.5 Lack of control over when over time is done
- 1.1.6 Regularly works more than 48 hours in a 7 day period
- 1.1.7 Variable rota (hours scheduled to work vary regularly with no regular work pattern)
- 1.1.8 Last minute scheduling (Rota made/changes made to rota with 1 week or less notice)
- 1.1.9 Rigid rota (rota with no flexibility or made over a month in advance)
- 1.1.10 No set end time to shifts/ variable end time of shifts
- 1.1.11 inability to turn down shifts (or having to find replacement to cover)

1.2 Job-related pay uncertainty

- 1.2.1 Rate of pay
- 1.2.2 Amount received as base rate of pay
- 1.2.3 Not paid for expected extra hours worked
- 1.2.4 Forced variation in pay
- 1.2.5 Overtime paid at enhanced rate

1.3 Job-related income uncertainty

- 1.3.1 Rate of pay
- 1.3.2 Amount received as base rate of pay
- 1.3.3 Not paid for expected extra hours worked

1.3.4 Forced variation in pay

1.3.5 Overtime paid at enhanced rate

2. Precarious life

2.1 Subjective life-related time uncertainty

2.1.1 Unable to take rest breaks in work and at home

2.1.2 Unable to take annual leave

2.1.3 Unable to get proper sleep

2.1.4 Unable to make social plans

2.1.5 Difficulty planning life

2.1.6 Difficulties balancing care responsibilities and working hours

2.2 Subjective life-related income uncertainty

2.2.1 Unable to meet basic needs (bills and non-luxury goods)

2.2.3 Unable to save

2.2.4 Unable to afford to go on holiday

2.2.5 Unable to pay for emergencies

2.2.6 High variation in household income

2.2.6 High risk of income loss

3. Context Buffers and Constraints

3.1 Household

3.1.3 Household diary

3.1.4 Household budget including income and sudden loss of income

3.1.5 Who is the worker responsible for financially or caring wise?

3.1.2 Other people's jobs (income and time)

3.1.3 Caring responsibilities and who does them

3.1.4 Household strategies for managing precarious work

3.1.5 Reproductive life stage

3.1.6 Sudden sickness or disability of family member

3.2 State

- 3.2.2 Accessing benefits
- 3.2.3 Benefits tapers and thresholds
- 3.2.4 Benefits as complex and increasing anxiety
- 3.2.5 What if I make a mistake with my benefits?
- 3.2.6 Underserving to access benefits as physically able to do job
- 3.2.7 Loss of access to benefits
- 3.2.8 Owing money to the state
- 3.2.9 Child care allowance too low
- 3.2.10 No flexible childcare available

3.3 Employer

- 3.3.2 Accessing benefits
- 3.3.3 Benefits tapers and thresholds
- 3.3.4 Benefits as complex and increasing anxiety
- 3.3.5 What if I make a mistake with my benefits?
- 3.3.6 Underserving to access benefits as physically able to do job
- 3.3.7 Loss of access to benefits
- 3.3.8 Owing money to the state
- 3.3.9 Child care allowance too low
- 3.3.10 No flexible childcare available

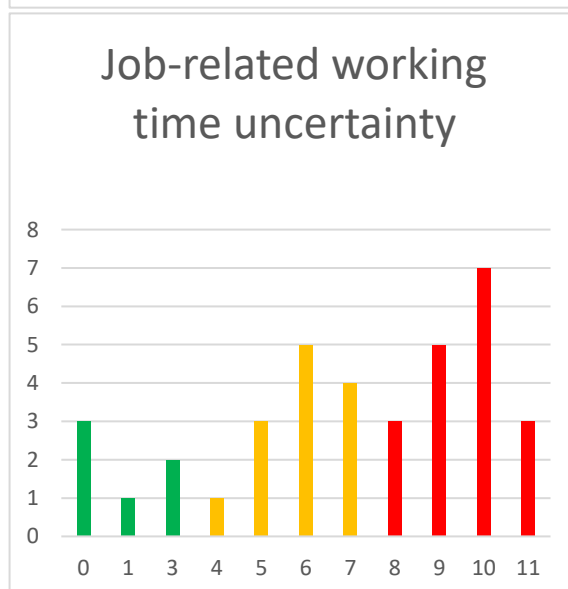
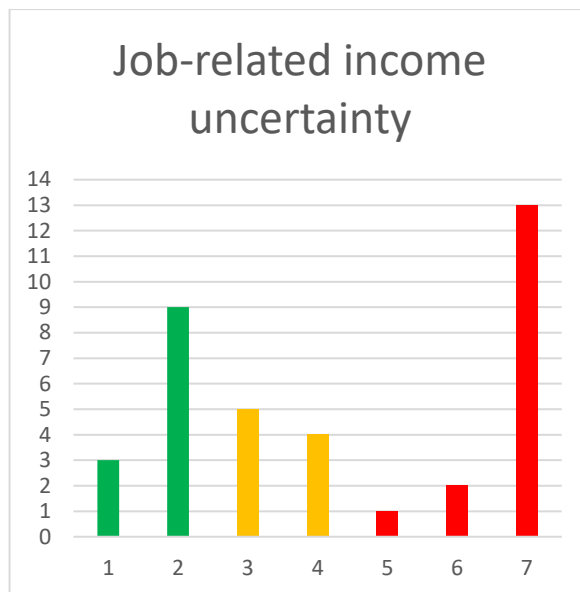
4 Work-life articulation

- 4.1.2 Choosing shift patterns based on other household members jobs (overtime same as partner when no children, when children working in opposition to each other)
- 4.1.3 Taking on a second job able to do this because no care responsibilities or both jobs have predictable hours
- 4.1.4 Calculating hours worked based on family availability to care
- 4.1.5 Attempting to balance work benefits hours and disabilities

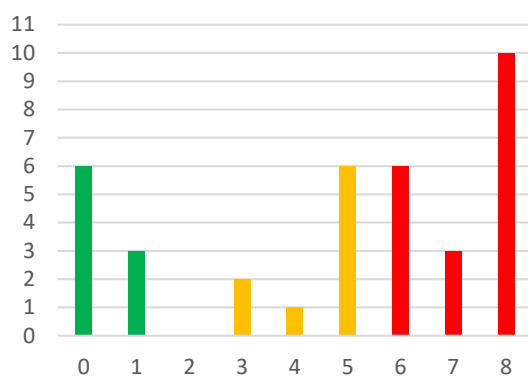
- 4.1.6 Salaried workers high working time uncertainty and inability to make up income deficits
- 4.1.7 Minimising income uncertainty by increasing time uncertainty
- 4.1.8 “I choose time over money”
- 4.1.9 Changes in shift patterns and uncertainty based on children's ages
- 4.1.10 Lack of flexible affordable childcare and family support means income loss and need to give up work

Appendix H: Coding for uncertainty Chapter 5/JA3

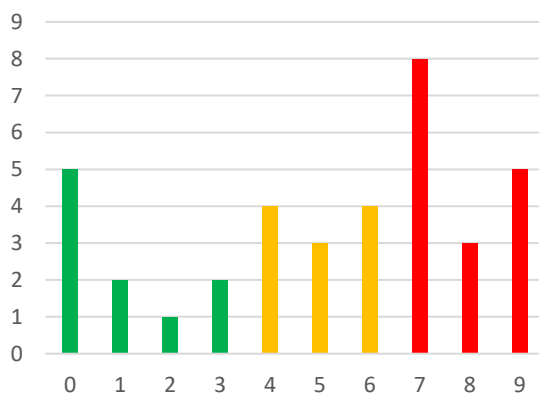
Due to difference in numbers of measures plus intensities the scores for the different indices varied from zero to 7 for Job-related pay uncertainty (JRPV) zero to 11 for JRPV zero to 10 for Subjective life-related income uncertainty (SRIU) and zero to 9 for Subjective life-related time uncertainty (SRTU). To convert these measures into low, medium and high we divided the range of scores into three equal parts but also checked the distribution of responses to check that scores were not clustered around the borders. This was found to be the case across all four measures and there were distinct differences in median and modal values between the high medium low categories in all four cases. For JP the medians were : L 2.5 M 3.5 H 7 and the modal values were : L 2.5 M 3.5 H 7; for JT the medians were : L 0.5 M 6 H 10 and the modal values were : L 0 M 6 H 10; for LI the medians were : L 0 M 5 H 8 and the modal values were : L 0 M 5 H 8; for LT the medians were : L 0.5 M 5 H 7.5 and the modal values were : L 0 M 4 + 6 H 7.



Subjective life-related income uncertainty



Subjective life-related time uncertainty



	Job-related income uncertainty											
	Rate of pay			stability of pay								
<i>Case study ID</i>	Earns Below RLW	Earns between RLW and Median pay	Earns Above Median Pay	Base pay of 0-16 hours	base pay 16-35 hours	Base pay for 35+ hours	Not paid for expected extra hours worked	Forced variation in monthly pay	Overtime not paid at enhanced rate	Total Pay uncertainty	standardisation	Work pay uncertainty High medium and low
<i>Daisy</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>James</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>Sandra</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>Imran</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>Rose</i>	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	Medium
<i>Fernanda</i>	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	Medium
<i>Lisa</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>Michelle</i>	Na	Na	Na	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	Low
<i>Carlos</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	Medium
<i>Simon</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>Rishi</i>	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	4	Medium
<i>Stephanie</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>Sarah</i>	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
<i>Donna</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
<i>Patricia</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
<i>Daniel</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
<i>Kasia</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
<i>Emily</i>	2	0	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	0	3.5	3	Medium

Susan	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
Marysia	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
Jacob	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
Angela	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
Hannah	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	2.5	2	Medium
Anne	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	6	6	High
Sarah	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
Agnese	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	5	5	High
Lucia	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	2	0	0	4.5	4	Medium
Jason	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
Janelle	0	1	0	0	0	0.5	2	0	0	3.5	3	Medium
Jean	2	0	0	0	0	0.5	2	0	0	4.5	4	Medium
Elizabeth	0	1	0	0	0	0.5	2	0	0	3.5	3	Medium
Sajan	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
Abid	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	6	6	High
Heather	Na	Na	Na	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	Low
Christine	Na	Na	Na	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	Low
Chantelle	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High
Deepa	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	7	7	High

Case study ID	Job-related working time uncertainty						Work scheduling							Total working time uncertainty	Working time uncertainty High medium low
	Expected to work long hours (shifts more than 8 hours)	Expected to work weekends	Expected to work hours that clash with reproductive times (e.g. dinner time early mornings nights etc)	Expected to work more than 5 days in a row	Lack of control over when over time is done	Regularly works more than 48 hours in a 7 day period	Variable rota (hours scheduled to work vary regularly no regular work pattern)	Last minute scheduling (Rota made/ changes made to rota with 1 week or less notice)	Rigid rota (rota with no flexibility or made over a month in advance)	No set end time to shifts/ variable end time of shifts	inability to turn down shifts (or having to find replacement to cover)				
Daisy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	9	High		
James	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	10	High		
Sandra	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	10	High		
Imran	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	7	Medium		
Rose	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	6	Medium		
Fernanda	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	9	High		
Lisa	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	7	Medium		
Michelle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low		
Carlos	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	Low		
Simon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	High		

Rishi	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	7	Medium
Stephanie	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	10	High
Sarah	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	10	High
Donna	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	9	High
Patricia	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	Medium
Daniel	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	Medium
Kasia	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	Medium
Emily	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	Medium
Susan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Low
Marysia	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	Medium
Jacob	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	Medium
Angela	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	Medium
Hannah	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	Medium
Anne	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	9	High
Sarah	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	10	High
Agnese	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	Low
Lucia	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	High
Jason	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	High
Janelle	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	7	Medium

Jean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	10	High
Elizabeth	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	10	High
Sajan	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	8	High
Abid	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	8	High
Heather	0	0	0	0	Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Christine	0	0	0	0	Na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Chantelle	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	8	High
Deepa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	9	High

Subjective life-related income uncertainty								
Case study ID	Base household income			Income loss risk factors				
	Unable to meet basic needs (bills and non-luxury goods)	Unable to save	Unable to afford to go on holiday	unable to pay for emergencies	High variation in household income	high risk of income loss	Subjective life-related income uncertainty	Subjective Life Related Income Uncertainty High medium and low
Daisy	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	Medium
James	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Sandra	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Imran	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Rose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Fernanda	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Lisa	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Low
Michelle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Carlos	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	Medium
Simon	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Rishi	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	Low
Stephanie	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Sarah	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Donna	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	Medium
Patricia	2	1	1	1	0	1	6	High
Daniel	2	1	1	1	0	2	7	High

Kasia	2	1	1	1	1	0	6	High
Emily	2	1	1	1	1	0	6	High
Susan	2	1	0	1	0	0	4	Medium
Marysia	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Jacob	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	Medium
Angela	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	Medium
Hannah	2	1	1	1	0	2	7	High
Anne	2	1	1	1	1	0	6	High
Sarah	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Agnese	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	Medium
Lucia	2	1	1	1	1	0	6	High
Jason	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Low
Janelle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Jean	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	Medium
Elizabeth	2	1	1	1	0	2	7	High
Sajan	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	Medium
Abid	2	1	1	1	1	0	6	High
Heather	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Christine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Chantelle	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	High
Deepa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low

Subjective life-related time uncertainty								
Case study ID	Time to rest			Ability to plan			Subjective life-related time uncertainty	Subjective life-related time uncertainty
	Unable to take rest breaks	unable to take annual leave	Unable to get proper sleep	unable to make social plans	difficulty planning life	difficulties balancing care responsibilities and working hours		
Daisy	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	Low
James	2	1	1	1	2	0	7	High
Sandra	2	1	1	1	2	2	9	High
Imran	2	1	1	1	2	2	9	High
Rose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Fernanda	2	1	1	1	2	2	9	High
Lisa	2	1	1	1	0	0	5	Medium
Michelle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Carlos	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	Low
Simon	2	1	1	1	2	0	7	High
Rishi	2	0	0	0	2	0	4	Medium
Stephanie	2	1	1	1	2	0	7	High
Sarah	2	1	1	1	2	0	7	High
Donna	2	1	1	1	2	0	7	High
Patricia	2	1	0	1	2	2	8	High
Daniel	2	1	0	1	2	2	8	High
Kasia	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	Low
Emily	2	1	1	1	2	2	9	High
Susan	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Low
Marysia	2	0	1	1	0	2	6	Medium
Jacob	0	1	0	1	2	2	6	Medium

Angela	0	1	0	1	2	0	4	Medium
Hannah	0	1	0	1	2	2	6	Medium
Anne	0	1	0	1	2	0	4	Medium
Sarah	2	1	1	1	2	0	7	High
Agnese	2	1	0	1	0	0	4	Medium
Lucia	2	1	0	1	2	0	6	Medium
Jason	2	0	0	1	2	0	5	Medium
Janelle	2	0	0	1	2	2	7	High
Jean	2	0	0	1	2	0	5	Medium
Elizabeth	2	1	1	1	2	2	9	High
Sajan	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	Low
Abid	2	1	0	1	2	2	8	High
Heather	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Christine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low
Chantelle	2	1	1	1	2	0	7	High
Deepa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Low

Appendix H: Demographic breakdown of workers used for JA3

Case study ID	Gender	Age	Case Study	Overtime/Other jobs	Real Main Earner	Other earners	Marital status	lives with	Status Benefits	Current care responsibilities	Who does the care
Daisy	Female	<21	Hospitality	Works more hours	dual earner	Yes	Single	Father	no	No	NA
James	Male	56-60	Hospitality	More hours and Multiple job	Yes	Yes	Partner	Daughter and grandchild	Receives benefits	Child care	Other household members
Sandra	Female	51-55	Hospitality	Works more hours	dual earner	Yes	Married	2 daughters 2 Grandchildren husband	Receives benefits	Child care	Shared with other household member
Imran	Male	51-55	Hospitality	More hours and Multiple job	Yes	No	Married	Children and Wife	no	Child care	Other household members
Fernanda	Female	26-30	Hospitality	None	No	Yes	Married	Husband and son	Receives benefits	Child care	Shared with other household member
Carlos	Male	41-45	Hospitality	Multiple jobs	dual earner	Yes	Married	Wife and child half the week	Receives benefits	Child care	Shared with non-household member (e.g. children)

Simon	Male	36-40	Hospitality	Works more hours	Yes	No	Single	House share	Receives benefits	No	NA
Rishi	Male	20-25	Hospitality	More hours and Multiple job	Yes	Yes	Partner	girlfriend	no	No	NA
Stephanie	Female	31-35	Hospitality	More hours and Multiple job	Yes	Yes	Single	in a house share	Lost access to benefits	No	NA
Sarah	Female	20-25	Hospitality	More hours and Multiple job	Yes	No	Single	in a house share	no	No	NA
Donna	Female	51-55	Care	Paid over time	Yes	No	Widowed	Alone	Receives benefits	No	NA
Patricia	Female	56-60	Care	Paid over time	Yes	No	Married	with husband	Lost access to benefits	Elder and childcare	Shared with non-household member (e.g. children)
Daniel	Male		Care	Paid over time	Yes	Yes	Married	Wife and children	Receives benefits	Child care	Shared with other household member
Kasia	Female	36-40	Care	Paid over time		Yes	Married	Child and husband	no	No	NA
Emily	Female	20-25	Care	Paid over time	Yes	No	Single	son	Receives benefits	Child care	Shared with other

Susan	Female	51-55	Care	Works more hours	dual earner	Yes	Married	husband	no	No	household member Shared with non-household member (e.g. children)
Marysia	Female	31-35	Care	Paid over time	dual earner	Yes	Married	husband	no	Child care	Shared with non-household member (e.g. children)
Jacob	Male	26-30	Care	Paid over time	Yes	No	Single	Alone	no	Child care	Shared with non-household member (e.g. children)
Angela	Female	46-50	Care	Paid over time	dual earner	Yes	Partner	partner	Lost access to benefits	No	NA
Hannah	Female	<21	Care	Paid over time	Yes	No	Single	Father	Lost access	Elder care	Sole carer

Anne	Female	56-60	Care	Works more hours	Dual earner	Yes	Single	son	to benefits Lost access to benefits	No	NA
Sarah	Female	31-35	Hospitality	More hours and Multiple job	Yes	No	Single	Alone	no	No	NA
Agnese	Female	26-30	Hospitality	None	Yes	No	Single	with children	Receives benefits	Child care	Shared with non-household member (e.g. children)
Lucia	Female	20-25	Hospitality	None	dual earner	Yes	Partner	partner	no	No	NA
Jason	Male	31-35	Hospitality	Works more hours	Yes		Single	Alone	no	No	NA
Janelle	Female	na	Hospitality	None	Yes	No	Single	with grandmother	Lost access to benefits	Elder care	Shared with non-household member (e.g. children)
Jean	Male	26-30	Hospitality	None	Yes	No	Single	housemates	no	No	NA

Elizabeth	Female	46-50	Hospitality	None	Yes	No	Divorced	friend	Lost access to benefits	Elder and childcare	Shared with other household member
Sajan	Male	26-30	Hospitality	Works more hours	Yes	Yes	Single	alone	no	No	NA
Abid	Male	31-35	Hospitality	Multiple jobs	Yes	Yes	Married	wife and child	no	Child care	Shared with other household member
Chantelle	Female	20-25	Care	Works more hours	Yes	Yes	Partner	partner	no	No	NA