

Europe's Flexibilities: Workplace Regimes and Worker Outcomes

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Why a focus on work?

- Change: What has happened to European work?
 - An era of network organisations and flexible work; from Toyota to Silicon Valley
- Configurations: What are the new 'contested terrains' of work?
 - Socialisation of work and individualisation of employment (Benner)
 - Varieties of flexible production (national case studies, Lorenz and Valeyre)
- Consequences: What are the effects of the new workplace regimes?
 - 4 Is: Insecurity, Income Stress, Intrusion, Intensity
- Comparisons: How does work differ across Europe's capitalisms?
 - The organisation of work enables other capabilities in the economy – eg the terms of bargaining, demands on welfare, policies around investment in training, upgrading of firms etc
 - Varieties of Capitalism – brought production back in, but also market-centric analysis

CHANGES

What has happened to Work and
Employment?

What has happened to Work and Employment?

- **Four Key Dimensions**

- The Boundaries of Employment: Security, Hours and Pay
- Characteristics of Work Process
- The Organisation of Working Time
- Control at Work

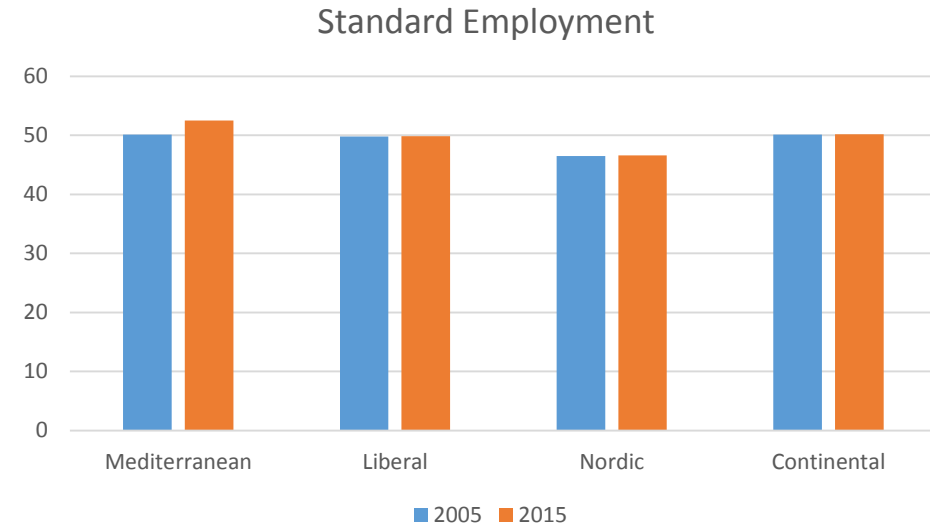
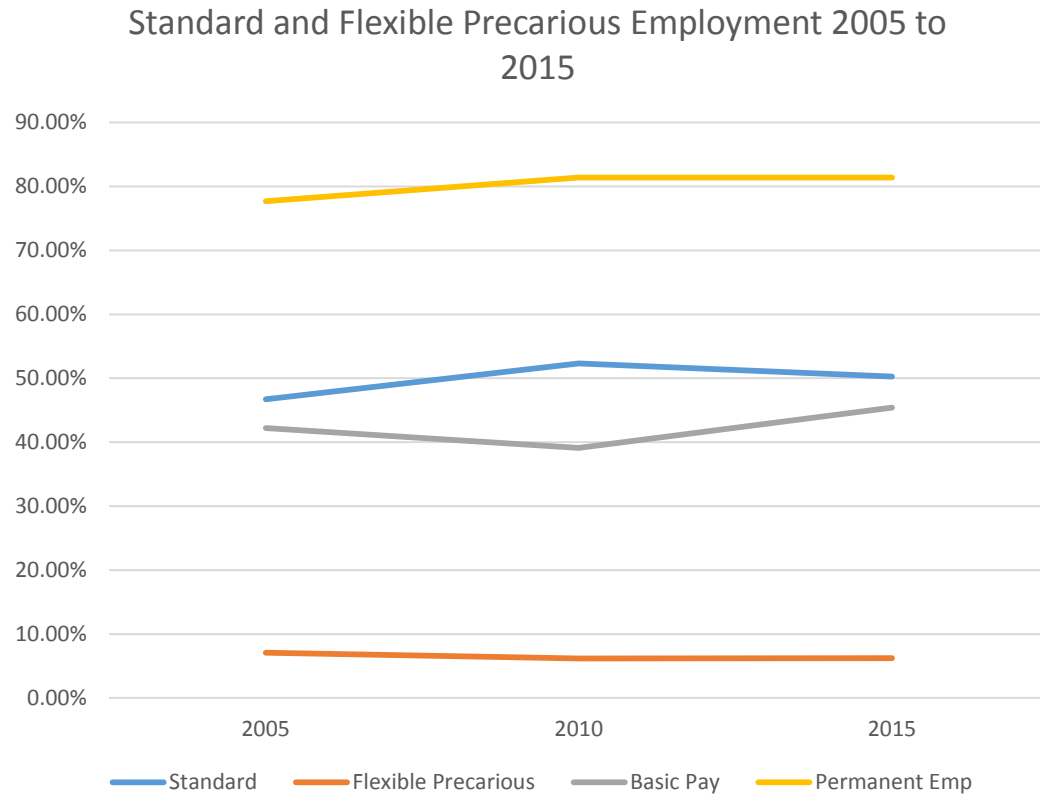
- **Four Key Outcomes**

- Intensity
- Intrusion
- Insecurity
- Income Stress

Data

- **European Working Conditions Survey** (1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015): random sample European workers;
- Unit of analysis: employees within the EU-15*
- Age, gender, children in household, occupation, sector, company size, “world of capitalism”

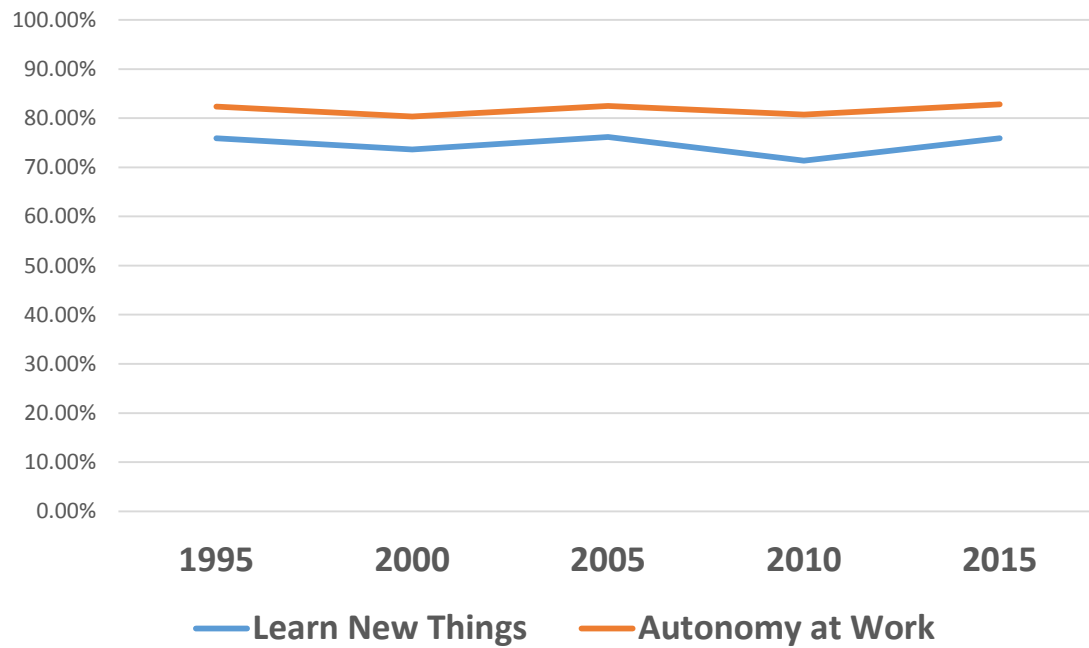
The Poles of the Debate: Standard and Flexible Precarious Employment



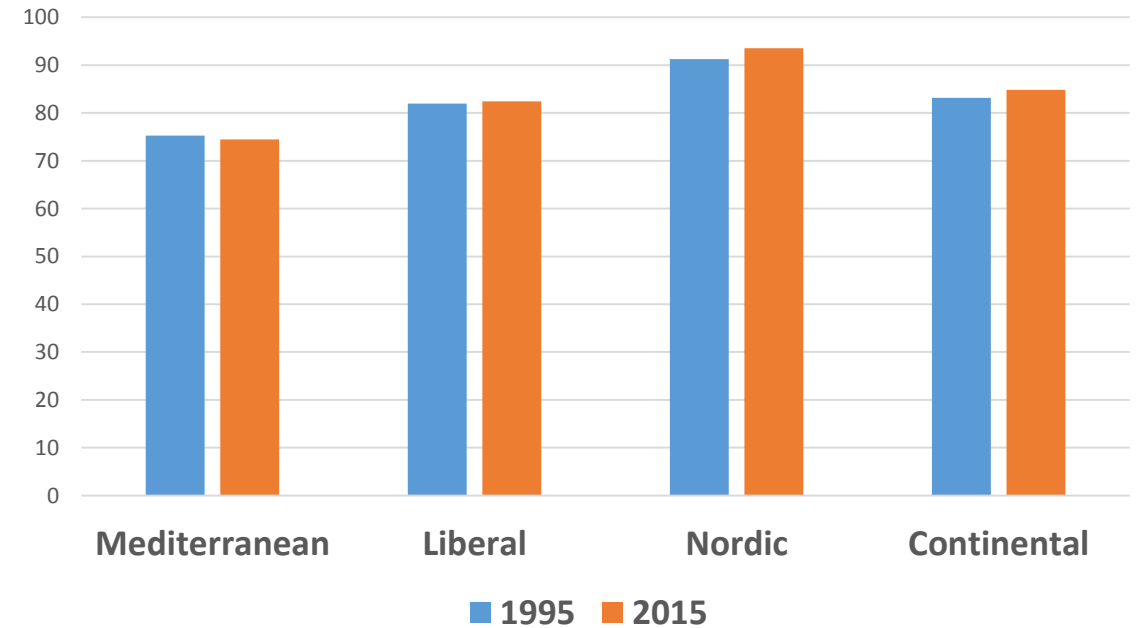
	Standard	Flexible Precarious
<i>Employment</i>	Permanent	Temporary
<i>Fixed Hours</i>	Yes	No
<i>Pay</i>	Basic Pay or Basic Pay Plus	Any

Doing the Work: The Learning Economy?

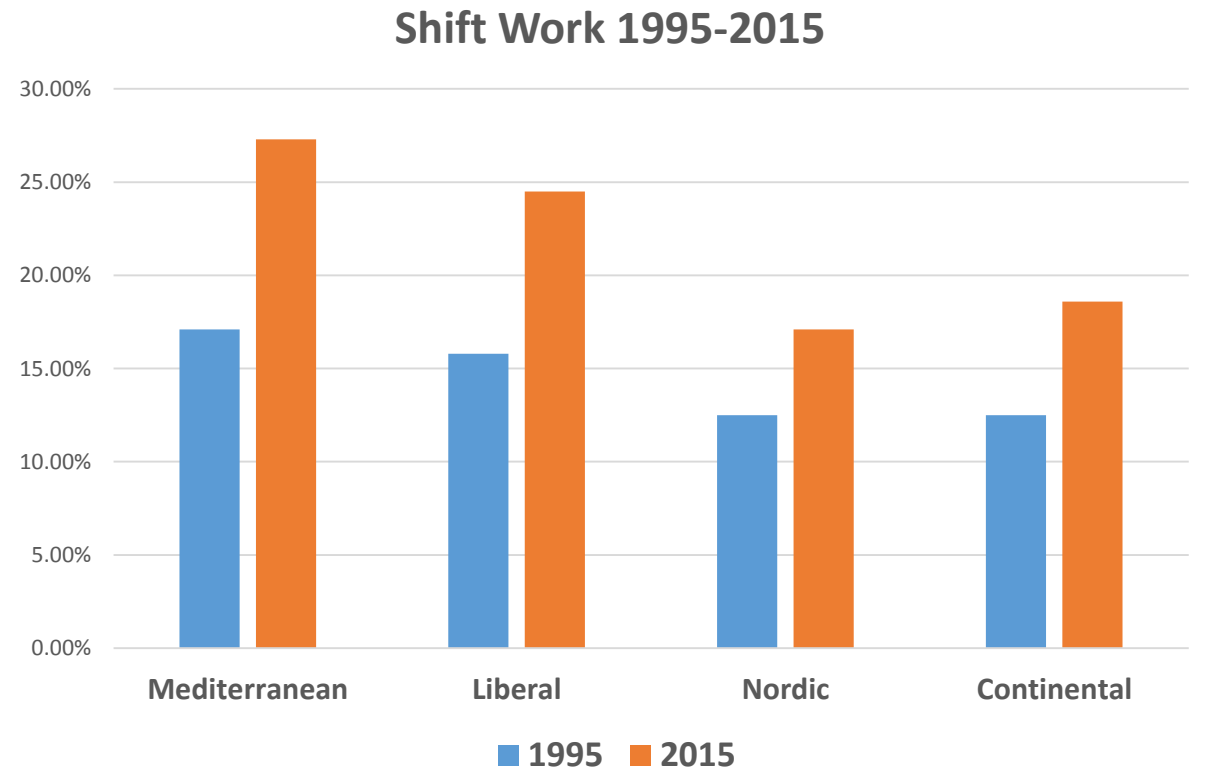
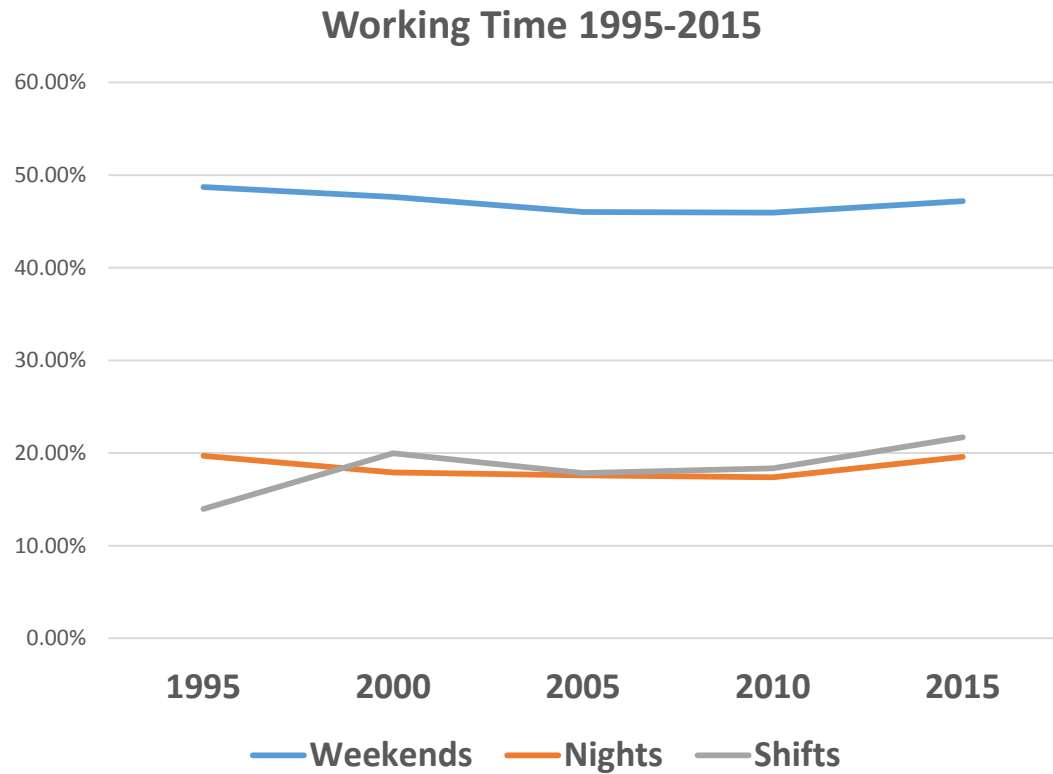
Learning and Autonomy in EU14, 1995-2015



Autonomy at Work 1995-2015



Working Time



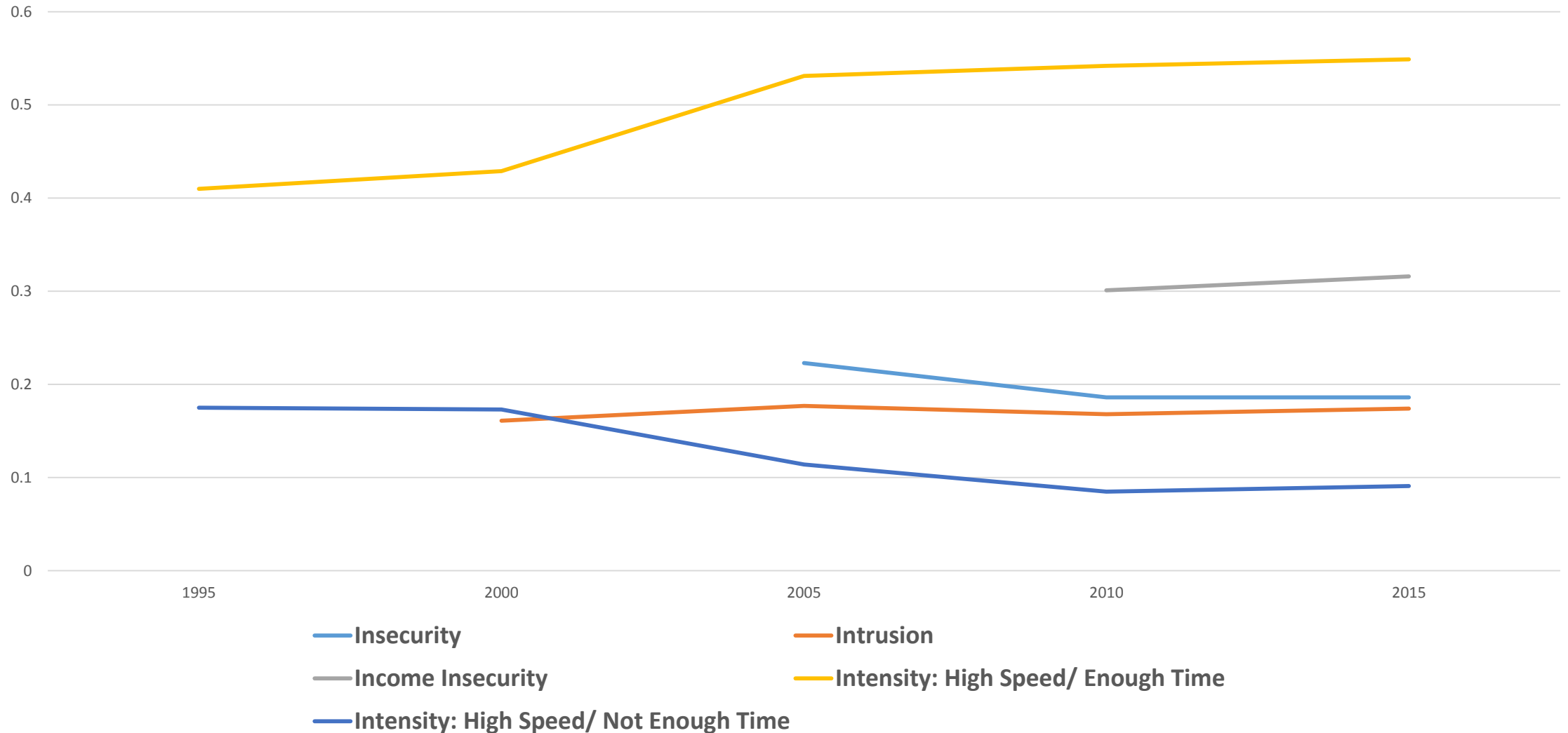
Control at Work

		Historical Techno-Economic Context	
		<i>“Industrial”</i>	<i>“Post-Industrial”</i>
Modes of Control (Edwards, 1979)	<i>Simple</i>	Boss	Customer
	<i>Technical</i>	Machine	Deadline
	<i>Bureaucratic</i>	Production Norms	Colleague Pace

Forms of Control in Worlds of Capitalism, 1995 and 2015

	Boss	Machine	Production Norms	Customers	Deadlines	Colleagues
Med 95	53	25	36	64	24	43
Liberal 95	48	25	36	76	48	53
Continental 95	36	20	35	65	39	35
Nordic 95	19	17	43	73	38	41
Med 15	47	25	42	69	41	45
Liberal 15	45	16	37	72	49	53
Continental 15	34	16	47	66	35	38
Nordic 15	19	14	43	72	37	45

Workplace Outcomes: The Four I's



Putting Together the Picture of Europe's Workplaces

- The 'Brave New World' is Here
 - Stability
 - The pre-eminence of "new" forms
- Convergence?
 - Comparative differences persistent
 - Not "divergent convergence"
- Nothing to see here?
 - Headline changes not big, but this is not reflected in worker experiences and anxieties
 - Need to look at configurations of workplace features and their outcomes

CONFIGURATIONS

Workplace Regimes

Our Approach

Outcomes: 4 I's

- Intensity
- Intrusion
- Insecurity
- Income Stress

Three Contexts of Work



Analyses

Latent class analysis

- Clustering, data-reduction technique for categorical (nominal or ordinal) variables
- Produces mutually exclusive latent classes (in this case, work regimes)

Fractional multinomial logistic regression

- Logistic regression with multiple dependent variables that all add to one

Weighting

- for LCA & FMLR : post -stratification & equivalence for country, year & sector

Identifying Workplace Regimes

See Table 1

	Lean Pressure	Lean Extreme	Lean	Learn Pressure	Learn Extreme	Learn	Simple	Simple Pressure	Simple Extreme	Taylor
Complexity/ Learning	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue
Autonomy	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue
“Standard” Time	Green	Light Blue	Light Blue	Green	Light Blue	Green	Green	Green	Light Blue	Light Blue
“Standard” Pay	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Brown	Brown	Brown	Light Blue	Light Blue
Boss	Yellow	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow	Light Blue	Yellow
Machine	Light Blue	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow
Norms	Yellow	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow
Customers	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Light Blue	Yellow	Yellow	Light Blue
Deadlines	Yellow	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow
Colleagues	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Light Blue	Yellow	Light Blue	Light Blue	Yellow	Light Blue	Yellow

Who works in which regimes?

	Simple	Taylor	Lean	Learn
<i>Basic</i>	CLERICAL SERVICE MANUAL		SERVICE	MGR PROF TECH
<i>Pressure</i>	CLERICAL CRAFT MANUAL		CLERICAL CRAFT	MGR PROF
<i>Extreme</i>	SERVICE MANUAL	CRAFT MANUAL	SERVICE MANUAL	MGR

WOMEN

MEN

See Table 2

The Distribution of Regimes, 1995 to 2015

	Lean Pressure	Lean Extreme	Lean	Learn Pressure	Learn Extreme	Learn	Simple Pressure	Simple Extreme	Simple	Taylor
1995	16.3	6.1	8.7	14.8	5.9	19.7	7.9	7.7	7.1	5.7
2000	14.6	5.4	9.6	15.6	4.5	20.2	9.1	8.4	7.5	5.2
2005	19.5	6.9	9.3	16.9	5.2	16.4	6.7	8.1	5.5	5.6
2010	19.6	7.0	8.6	15.8	5.2	17.8	7.5	7.3	5.8	5.2
2015	18.5	8.3	9.5	17.2	5.6	15.8	6.1	8.1	5.8	5.0
1995 to 2015	2.2	2.2	0.8	2.4	-0.3	-3.9	-1.8	0.4	-1.3	-0.7

See Table 2

CONSEQUENCES

Does It Matter? Workplace

Outcomes

Insecure Employment

Income Insecurity

Simple	Taylor	Lean	Learn
Simple		Lean	Learn
Simple Pressure		Lean Pressure	Learn Pressure
Simple Extreme	Taylor	Lean Extreme	Learn Extreme

Simple	Taylor	Lean	Learn
Simple		Lean	Learn
Simple Pressure		Lean Pressure	Learn Pressure
Simple Extreme	Taylor	Lean Extreme	Learn Extreme

See Table 3

Intrusion

Simple	Taylor	Lean	Learn
Simple		Lean	Learn
Simple Pressure		Lean Pressure	Learn Pressure
Simple Extreme	Taylor	Lean Extreme	Learn Extreme

See Tables 3&4

Intensity

Simple	Taylor	Lean	Learn
Simple		Lean	Learn
Simple Pressure		Lean Pressure	Learn Pressure
Simple Extreme	Taylor	Lean Extreme	Learn Extreme

Conditions and Outcomes

- Employment insecurities are most affected by differences in the character of work (Learning, Autonomy etc)
- Work pressures are most affected by differences in the organisation of control and time
- The Fastest Growing Regimes are associated with negative outcomes – especially in Intrusion and Intensity (and for Lean, also with income insecurity).

COMPARISONS

Workplaces, Inequalities and
Institutions

Workplaces and Worlds of Capitalism

	Lean Extreme	Lean Pressure	Lean	Learn Extreme	Learn Pressure	Learn	Simple Extreme	Simple Pressure	Simple	Taylor
MEDITERRANEAN										
LIBERAL										
CONTINENTAL										
NORDIC										

See Table 2

Worlds of Capitalism and the 4 Is

	Insecurity of Employment	Income Insecurity	Intrusion	Intensity
Mediterranean	High	High	High	Medium
Liberal	High	Medium	Low	Low
Continental	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
Nordic	Low	Low	Low	High

See Tables 3&4

Risks and Workplace Outcomes

See Tables 3&4

	Insecurity of Employment	Income Insecurity	Intrusion	Intensity
Class	GENERAL SKILLS: PROFS, CRAFT, ELEM	CLASS HIERARCHY	POLARISED: MGR, PLANT, ELEM	CLERKS, CRAFT
Gender	FEMALE	FEMALE	-	FEMALE
Partner Work	N/A	UNEMPLOYED PARTNER	-	N/A
Life Cycle				
- Age	YOUNG AND OLD	MIDDLE AGED	-	YOUNG
- Children	N/A	CHILDREN	CHILDREN	N/A
Sector	SERVICES, CONSTRUCTION	SOCIAL & PERSONAL SERVICES	CONSTRUCTION, PRODUCER SERVS	PRIVATE SERVICES
Firm Size	SMALL FIRMS	SMALL FIRMS	-	LARGE FIRMS

Conclusions

- Change
 - Comparison more important than historical change
- Configurations
 - Understanding the crucial additional dimensions of work and employment
- Consequences
 - The narrowing path to good work
- Comparative
 - Nordic and Liberal capitalisms remain opposites but on a new terrain
 - The Intensity Trade-off versus the Low Security Equilibrium
 - Europe's deep diversity in organisations and working lives