

Critical Perspectives on Precarious and Informal Work symposium

24.-25.8.2023

University of Helsinki

**As part of the Tackling Precarious
and Informal Work in
the Nordic Countries
(PrecaNord)**



**FUTURE
CHALLENGES
IN THE NORDICS**



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WORKSHOP SESSIONS PROGRAMME

	Thursday 24.8.	
	Regulating precarious and informal work (room 24) (chair Markus Jäntti)	Precarity of work (room 26) (chair Lena Näre)
11.30-11.50	Marjo Ylhäinen: What can the law do? Regulating precarious and informal work	Jakonen, Mikko: “There is Almost Nothing Left in the Hand When the Other End is Cut Immediately”: Experiences of In-Work Poverty, Precarious Labour and Social Security
11.50-12.10	Rasmus Ahlstrand: Work-Life criminality? Informalisation and unfree labour in the Swedish labour market	Teymoori, Ali & Mataji, Amin: The experience of precarious work under extreme digital surveillance: The case of warehouse working environment
12.10-12.30	Andrea Iossa: Enforcement gaps, a precarity trap? Cross-border labour mobility and the Swedish model of labour market regulation	Lotta Haikkola: How much should one work? Workers’ negotiations of work effort in restaurant and warehouse work in Finnish workplaces
12.30-12.50	Thea Holmlund: The Role of Trade Unions in Precarisation: LO's Negotiations on Employment Security 1990-2020	Satu Ojala, Laura Peutere & Niklas Mäkinen: Sanctioning the most vulnerable?
	On the margins of work (room 24) (chair Ann Cathrin Corrales-Øverlid)	Precarious and informal employment (room 26) (chair Markus Jäntti)
14.10-14.30	Sara Eldén: When someone else’s home is your workplace: Inequalities in the re-emerging domestic care work sector in Sweden	Amanda Aronsson & Tim Huijts: Informal employment as a Social Determinant of Health: a research agenda to account for heterogeneity and context
14.30-14.50	Elisabeth Wide: Infinite labour 'on demand': Au pairing transcending precarious and informal work	Mercan, Murat Anil, Aydilek, Gokben & Cebeci, Ali Fehim: Dimensions and Determinants of Precarious Employment in Turkey: An Analysis of Labor Force Surveys from 2006 to 2019
14.50-15.10	Yuying Zhao: The melancholy of home cleaners: a feminist perspective	Sten-Gahmberg, Susanna, Riekhoff, Aart-Jan & Kuivalainen, Susan: The careers of light entrepreneurs
15.10-15.30	Ruby & Kronman, Jenny: The gig economy: Learning from sex work	Niklas Mäkinen: Gender, Welfare State and Participation in Informal Employment: A Cross-National Study of 33 European Countries

	Friday 25.8.	
	Gig work and platform economy (room 24) (chair Olivia Maury)	Transforming work (room 26) (chair Sara Eldén)
9.15-9.35	Stine Rasmussen, Randi Larsen, Johanne Stenseth Huseby & Kristin Jesnes: Occupational health and safety challenges in in the platform economy – a comparative analysis of app-based food delivery and domestic cleaning in Denmark and Norway	Camilla Nordberg & Hanna Kara: Public service interpreting as hybrid and precarious work
9.35-9.55	Carlos Jesús Fernández Rodríguez: Algorithms, discipline and precariousness: insights from Spanish workers in the platform economy	Minna Seikkula: Seasonal work in the wild berry industry in Finland - understanding unregulated labour through epistemologies of ignorance
9.55-10.15	Mikko Perkiö: Pervasive precarity of platform work: A qualitative cross-sectoral exploration on the mediating institutions	Emma Lamberg: Redrawing the boundaries: Feminist economic expertise and struggles for socioeconomic transformation
10.15-10.35	Miranda-Nieto & Gubrium: Mobility, Precarity and Platform-Based Work: A Comparative Literature Review of Delivery Workers in the Global South and North	Anna Kallos: The studentification of low-wage service work: Who participates? Trends and Variations in Part-Time Work among Young Student-Workers in Sweden
10.35-10.55	Ilona Steiler: Time precarity, or: platform labour and the digital economy of time	Anuhya Bobba: Self-reliant citizens, market deregulation, and cheapening the cost of labour: A critical policy analysis of Finnish entrepreneurship strategy (2000-2022)
	Gig work and platform economy part 2 (room 24) (chair Rasmus Ahlstrand)	Migrant and racialised perspectives to precarity (room 26) (chair Synnøve Bendixsen)
13.00-13.20	Olivia Maury: Reproducing the gig economy, or how capital hinges on migrant workers' unpaid labour	Dionysia Kang: Continued Precarity: The role of migration law in fostering racial regime and precarity among racially minoritized food system workers in Finland
13.20-13.40	Maizi Hua: Infrastructure of arrival, segregation of stay: Platformed distinction experience for migrant food couriers in Norway	Ann Cathrin Corrales-Øverlid: Treat or Victim? Migrant workers at the Margins of the Nordic Model
13.40-14.00	Daniel Karlsson: Patchworking: Managing precarity in the platform economy	Quivine Ndomo: Precarious work: A strategic exception in Welfare security

WORKSHOP SESSIONS AND ABSTRACTS

Workshop session I

Regulating precarious and informal work

(chair Markus Jäntti)

What can the law do? Regulating precarious and informal work.

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What can the law do? Regulating precarious and informal work. The organization of production (regarding work) interacts with how the work is regulated – the law both reflects and upholds as well as redefines the object of regulation. Forms or modes of working are attached to organization of production. Therefore, changes in organization of production revokes questions of how to (better) regulate conditions of work. Precarious and informal work is often related to the expansion of digitalization and platform economy, it may be done in new forms (gig-work), expand old modes of work (self-employment) or generate severe forms of exploitation (human trafficking). Precarious and informal work is often biased and targets different groups unjustly.

The point of departure for this paper is law. As many scholars have noted, precarious and informal work challenges law, the modern model of regulating work under the assumption of a binary relationship between the employer and the employee. Indeed, one can even argue that work becomes precarious and informal as it is either unrecognizable or only partly accepted under the protective umbrella of labour law. In the present legal framework, to be recognized requires dependence (subordination) at work and while working.

This paper takes a critical stance towards the default assumption of the legal model and the continuous efforts to make the changing forms of work fit in to the binary model. The focus in this paper is not on the question of how the problematic ways to work can be recognized within the existing legal framework and thereafter granted the protection provided by mandatory legislation. Rather, this paper seeks ways to rethink and challenge the basic presumptions of labour law. It suggests that we need a new organizing principle. The focus should be moved to economic dependence instead of dependent working if we want to overcome the pitfalls of present regulation. Only in this way the potential of labour law can be revitalized.

Work-Life criminality? Informalisation and unfree labour in the Swedish labour market

Rasmus Ahlstrand, PhD, Department of Sociology, Lund University

Withheld salaries, undocumented migrant labour, arbitrary redundancies and companies that avoid paying tax; segments of the Swedish labour market faces a series of challenges in relation to exploitation of migrant labour. Politicians, employers and the Swedish trade union confederation

(LO) unanimously voice their concern for that which they term work-life criminality. Since 2018, together with eight other national authorities, the Swedish work environment authority coordinates the intensified work to combat criminal activity in a number of industries specifically targeted as vulnerable to work-life criminality. Two of these are the cleaning and the construction industry (Arbetsmiljöverket, 2021).

In this paper, I set out from notions of othering and racialisation (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) and argue that despite its seeming good intentions, the narrative of- and the political focus on work-life criminality ties the over-exploitation of migrant labour to foreign firms and networks specifically. While doing this, the narrative obscures structural transformations of the Swedish labour market that results in processes of informalisation (c.f. Slavnic, 2010), including augmented possibilities for both Swedish and foreign employers to avoid collective agreements. A narrative of criminalisation also de-legitimises local trade union initiatives from outside the LO to mobilise migrant labour, by questioning to what extent it is the role of trade unions and the social partners in the labour market to act on criminality. Based on ethnography and qualitative interviews with stakeholders and migrant workers involved in both cleaning and construction, I show how unfree labour, wage theft, work intensification, and human exploitation indeed are recurrent features of migrant labour exploitation in the contemporary Swedish labour market. However, I also demonstrate that rather than tied specifically to foreign firms, these exploitative elements are core aspects of de-regulated capitalist labour markets. Consequently, the focus on work-life criminality diverge the political debate away from key conflicts of capital and labour, and instead of addressing the failure of previous labour market reforms, it potentially also diminishes voices of exploited migrant workers and their attempts to collective mobilisation.

Enforcement gaps, a precarity trap? Cross-border labour mobility and the Swedish model of labour market regulation

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The effective enforcement of labour standards constitutes a major issue for labour law systems as it ensures workers the access to rights and entitlements and the functioning of the labour market in accordance with the regulatory framework. Deficiencies in adequate enforcing measures creates instead inequalities and lack of uniformity, opening for precarity, exploitation, and substandard working conditions. Specific enforcement challenges arise from cross-border labour mobility due its spatial and temporal attributes. Cross-border temporary mobility can take different forms – posted work, seasonal migrant work, cross-border employment – which are regulated by different regimes according to EU and national law. The interplay with the mechanisms proper to the Swedish model of labour market regulation, characterised by non-statutory minimum wages, collective agreement regulation and industrial relations enforcement mechanisms, create the conditions for enforcement gaps and labour market segmentation.

Against this background, this paper addresses the question of labour standards enforcement in situations of cross-border temporary work within the Swedish context. By investigating the interplay between labour law enforcement mechanisms and the spatio-temporal attributes of cross-border temporary work, the aim is to reflect upon the conditions of precarity and labour market segmentation within the Swedish model. In Sweden cross-border temporary labour mobility is

particularly present in sectors such as construction, agriculture, and transport, in which trade union density and collective agreement coverage are low and temporary employment is often the norm. Given these sectoral circumstances, labour standards can be circumvented, and precarious working conditions prevail.

By looking at labour law regulation and collective agreements and by relying on industrial relations and legal geographic analyses, this paper explores the ‘enforcement gaps’ in the Swedish model in relation to cross-border temporary work. Eventually, this would bring about new perspectives on how those enforcement gaps could be filled and cross-border workers’ rights secured.

The Role of Trade Unions in Precarisation: LO's Negotiations on Employment Security 1990-2020

Thea Holmlund, PhD-student in Economic History, Stockholm University

In recent decades, most European countries have experienced a significant rise in more insecure employment arrangements. This change of working life is often referred to as precarisation. The deregulation of employment protection is widely viewed as a central precondition for the precarisation of working life. During the 1990s och 2000s the agency work in Sweden was deregulated and the opportunities to use fixed-term employment were expanded What role has unions played in these processes? Historically, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) has had large influence over the regulations of the Swedish labour market and has organised unions in industries where workers have been affected by precarious employment. Studying LO's actions in relation to the liberalisation of employment protection can therefore contribute to the understanding of the processes of precarisation in recent decades. Previous research on LO's approach to the deregulation of employment protection has largely described the organisation as a homogeneous actor and its' interests have been taken for granted. Other researchers have noted that whether trade unions act inclusively towards workers with non-standardised employment depends on the extent to which they identify common interests with these workers. Therefore, there is a need to gain knowledge about how LO's interests have been created in relation to the deregulation of employment protection, what differences have existed between its member unions, and in what ways dominant perspectives have been given priority. The aim of the dissertation is to examine how precarisation is understood within the union movement and what conflicts at the workplace-, industry- and national level that have shaped LO's interests in relation to precarious employment, with an emphasis on agency work and fixed-term employment.

Precarity of work

(chair Lena Näre)

“There is Almost Nothing Left in the Hand When the Other End is Cut Immediately”: Experiences of In-Work Poverty, Precarious Labour and Social Security

Mikko Jakonen, Senior Lecturer in Social and Public Policy, University of Jyväskylä,
PI of the research project “Working Poor in the Post-Industrial Welfare State” (SKR / JY 2021-24)

In-work poverty is a relatively small phenomena in Finnish labour markets. According to official statistics, only 3% of the labour force, around 60 000 people, suffer from incomes which are less than 60% of the overall median income. Half of this number are private entrepreneurs. However, the number of those who gain some kind of social security mixed with their wages is around three times bigger. Main sources of social security in these cases are adjusted unemployment allowance (c. 170 000 people per year) and housing benefit (c. 72 000 households per year), which usually become overlapped. When taken in concern also those who do not apply for social security, or work in other kinds of precarious conditions, it is rather safe to note that in Finland there are around 200 000 people who do not exceed the poverty line solely with their wages or entrepreneurial income.

In this paper I investigate the experiences of the Finnish working poor working in precarious jobs and gaining some kind of social security. In my analysis, I am using two data sets consisting of written experiences of Finnish working poor, collected in 2015 and 2021. These data sets include altogether 417 answers. I concentrate on specific issues concerning the problems of integrating precarious work together with housing benefits, for example, and more general issues concerning the practical problems in applying the social security while working. I am also interested in experiences of shame and other affects related to the fact of having to apply social security while working, and people’s experiences of the social security services while living in complex precarious labour market situations.

The experience of precarious work under extreme digital surveillance: The case of warehouse working environment

Ali Teymoori, University of Bergen, Norway
Amin Mataji, KU Leuven, Belgium

The new forms of labor create a different kind of experience of working day, especially when the working condition is extremely precarious and heavily surveilled. Take the example of a warehouse which has a particular working environment because of the physical closure of the working space, its invisibility to the general public, and its disciplinary digital surveillance methods to control the workers’ body and performance (e.g., GPS, time management, body movement and performance tracking). We believe that such a working condition should dramatically influence workers identity and lifeworld and present an ongoing empirical work that include several phenomenological interviews with warehouse workers in Belgium and Germany

The working environment is extremely precarious with the daily wage labor form (payment on an hourly basis with no pension), short-term contract (daily to weekly contract), and extreme pressure on having high-performance. Such a precarious working condition seems to encourage and harness

a quantified sense of the self and a focus on objective aspect of the work. Our initial reflection on the data shows that workers have a quantified understanding of oneself with extreme self-observation of one's performance and a sense of estrangement during working hours such as dissociation from oneself and from the world, a hypnotic/trance mode of working due to a symbiotic-like relationship with the tracking device, and sudden breakdown of perceptual senses. The systematic quantification of one's working experience in the warehouse creates a different form of lived experience with complete objectification of one's work experience as well as its dissociative impact on the self. We discuss the implications of our study for the analysis of working day and identity formation under new forms of labors.

How much should one work? Workers' negotiations of work effort in restaurant and warehouse work in Finnish workplaces

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This presentation examines the negotiations of work effort in restaurant and warehousing work in Finland through the lens of the labour process theory (Braverman 1974) and the theorization of consent (Burawoy 1979; Sherman 2007). Work in both sectors is physically demanding and turnover is high, but employment relations and work organization differ. The restaurant sector leans on a flexible and contingent workforce. Work is unpredictable, hard to routinize and often understaffed. Warehousing (partly) continues to use standard contracts and work is routinized and standardized. In the restaurant sector, workers do not seek to control the amount of labour they put into their shift but instead strive to 'survive' the workday. Surviving provides strong symbolic rewards, such as feelings of autonomy and self-reliance. In warehousing, workers seek to retain control of the amount of work they put into a day. Workers play a game, where they strategically use the pay structure, autonomy of routinised work and their learned skills to decide what is enough work. The game also provides symbolic rewards, particularly autonomy. In both sectors the employer benefits from the relative autonomy of the labour process and also the high turnover of workers. The presentation is based on ongoing research on work in hospitality and logistics.

Sanctioning the most vulnerable?

Satu Ojala, Tampere University,
Laura Peutere, Kela
Niklas Mäkinen, Tampere University

Since the 1990s, unemployed job seekers have increasingly become activated. Certain behavioral requirements must be fulfilled to avoid sanctions that include reductions in benefit level or exclusion of them. So far, few studies have looked at the allocation of sanctions to benefit claimants considering their background characteristics. The sanctions are supposed to monitor only claimant behaviors, and not target at any background issues such as gender, age, education level, or immigrant or disability background. In this study, we ask, whether there are differences by benefit claimants' demographic and socio-economic background characteristics in how sanctions have become allocated. We use the total register of Finnish job seekers ("CAREER – URA") to establish

the evolution of benefit sanctions in 2013–2021 (RQ1), and their targeting at certain groups of benefit claimants (RQ2).

Four categories of sanctions are formed based on 44 different violations of benefit claimants' requirements: I Resign from one's job; II Refusal of work offer; III Refusal of participating in job-search plan design or neglect of plan agreements; and IV Sanctions specific for the young (under 25 yrs of age). As to RQ1, we find significant increase in the category III sanctions in 2017–2019. Following a policy change in 2017 that introduced the closer monitoring of jobseekers, some 49 000 type III sanctions were given in the peak year 2019. Also voluntary quit sanctions have somewhat increased, peaking at about 38 000 in 2020. Sanctions specific at young have remained at the annual level of 20 000 per year. Type II sanctions have somewhat decreased after the peak year 2015 (from about 17 000 annual sanctions). Given the volume of around 300 000 - 500 000 unemployment spells in the Finnish labour market annually, the share of jobseekers receiving sanctions can be considered high.

As to RQ2, we find, for example, that immigrant status is related to the higher incidence or receiving type I, II, and III sanctions, and that the nr of sickness absence days (in the year before unemployment) is related to the receipt of type I, III and IV sanctions. These findings question the social sustainability of the current sanction system and necessitate a close screening of its foundations.

Workshop session II:

On the margins of work

(chair Ann Cathrin Corrales-Øverlid)

When someone else's home is your workplace: Inequalities in the re-emerging domestic care work sector in Sweden

Sara Eldén, Lund University

The domestic care work sector in Sweden is growing. The expansion of the welfare state in the post-war period made privately employed domestic workers an uncommon practice (Öberg, 1999). Today, we see a re-emergence of the market. The turning point for this is the RUT tax deduction, introduced in 2007 and leading to a tremendous growth in the sector. Approximately 30 000 people are employed in RUT companies (Riksrevisionen, 2020: 34), and during 2021 over 1,2 million people in Sweden made use of the deduction (Serviceföretagen, 2022). This means that a growing number of workers now have their workplace in other people's homes. They constitute a workforce characterized at the outset by vulnerability as they are often women with migrant background, while the customers buying the services are mainly Swedish and upper middle-class (Riksrevisionen 2020).

This paper analyses the development of the private domestic care work market in Sweden by looking specifically at two sectors: the nanny market and the RUT elderly care sector. The political context of the market is described, its' growth and characteristics, especially focusing the underlying assumptions of what care work *is* and how it can be turned into 'consumer services'. Similarities and differences between the two sectors are identified, as both in different ways complement/replace the welfare services of publicly funded child care and elderly care. In addition, I provide empirical examples of 'doings of inequality' in everyday work practices in the nanny sector. I argue that the new private market for domestic care work reproduce and accentuate inequalities between and within families in Sweden, and between employers and employees, by making the realisation of 'good care' for children and the elderly a question of economic resources, and by re-affirming care work as a suitable profession for 'other women', marked by ethnicity and class.

Keywords: care work, domestic work, intersectionality, home, RUT tax deduction

Infinite labour 'on demand': Au pairing transcending precarious and informal work

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Research on precarious and informal work and platform labour has highlighted the increase in insecure and fragmented labour, notably the growth of 'on demand' work via apps. The literature more rarely takes into account similar tendencies in informal reproductive labour, particularly regarding the case of live-in au pairs. Au pairing is regulated by government policies as cultural exchange instead of as labour, although still involving obligations on specific work tasks (mainly childcare and domestic work) and work hours. While the gig-economy disguises work as autonomous self-employment, au pair work is fictionalised as family membership. Au pairs' liminal position between a family member and an informal worker opens up for exploitation for which au pairs lack legal recourse to claim worker rights. Previous au pair literature examines the lack of regulation on au pairing. However, there is a tendency in this literature to treat au pairing like a niche, and neglect the possibility to connect it to present significant changes in employment. This presentation is based on in-depth thematic interviews with au pairs (N=20) and asks what meanings of precarious and informal work are produced by the legal framework and working conditions on au pairing. I propose that au pairing transcends the concepts of precarious and informal work, which typically consist of activities that are societally recognised as work. Au pairing, instead, is unrecognised as work by regulating government policies, by host families and often by au pairs themselves, who prefer to identify as members of the family. I argue that the perspective of informal reproductive labour accentuates how the wider trend on the casualisation of labour involves a familialisation of the relations of labour and capital.

The melancholy of home cleaners: a feminist perspective

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A foreigner who works as a home cleaner in one of the Nordic welfare countries is considered to be *different* comparing to, for example, a Latino woman working in Los Angeles or a Filipino woman

working in Hong Kong; especially if one chose to join a union and work in a legitimate company. Yet, to be secured with basic rights is far from being accepted by the society. Commonly, home maintenance is stated as an old-fashioned feminine, dirty and low-skilled work matching with minimal salaries. In addition, thanks to the ambivalence heritage from the Second Wave of Feminism, home cleaners and their *bad* jobs are drowned and hidden under the feeling of shame.

This discussion aims to challenge such negations by taking home maintenance work *personally*. Firstly, I argue that coordination between the vision and body which happen during home cleaning activities has been largely ignored in the past discussions. Home maintenance is, in fact, a work of maintaining an ideal picture of home, which forms the very daily foundation of middle-class family vibe. It means that modern home maintenance creates massive affective and symbolic values which are not appeared on the workers' salaries.

Secondly, throughout the repetitive domestic cleaning behavior, it is psychically traumatic to deviate one's own subjectivity from the objects they work with. With every single house/apartment, home cleaners create temporary heterotopias and slip out as ghosts in order to maintain a wholesome private domain for the home owners. As the modern Nordic working culture divide formal work space with family space so sharply, domestic workers are inevitably denied from both spectrums.

In the end, the failure to properly identify neither the values nor violence of home cleaning leads to not only the precariousness of domestic workers under international division of labors, but also reveal the very misogynist foundation of contemporary (sexed) work system.

The gig economy: Learning from sex work

'How the state pimps us all'

Ruby, Red Umbrella Sweden

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Research on platform economies and the gig economy have gained increased scholarly attention in the last decade. Critical platform studies (Alfonsson, 2019; Aloisi, 2015; Fagioli, 2021) argues that the economy of work on-demand via apps restructure labor and creates new forms of precarity, mostly focusing on the situation for migrants. However, research fails to recognize sex work as part of this economy, and how such work has existed long before the gig economy (and on-demand apps) became popularized.

In the mainstream Nordic context, sex work is considered as violence against women, as exploitative and therefore as non-work. However, considering the vast Marxist literature on labor, work is per definition exploitation of the bodies of workers. The Nordic law, policy, and discourse on sex work as violence and non-work, makes it almost impossible for sex workers to gain recognition, to unionize, claim labor rights and basic protection. While it is not illegal to sell sex, everyday acts are criminalized through means of surveillance, policing, evictions, and deportations. The Swedish state positions sex workers as unworthy of the state, yet not their taxes.

Anti-trafficking organizations campaign to shut down sex work internet platforms, without recognizing that it pushes sex workers 'back to the street corners'. Benefits of online platform work are more agency, safety, and financial stability for sex workers. However, sex workers are also

negatively affected by the platforms' design and policies, which are developed without consideration of sex workers' health, safety, and wellbeing (ESWA, 2023).

We argue that research on the precarisation and platformisation of work has much to learn from sex work. Drawing on insights from sex workers, we suggest other ways of understanding work by centering experiences of workers in the intersections of criminalization, informalization, and the gig economy. In doing so, we make visible the tensions, contradictions, and continuations of exploitative labor.

Precarious and informal employment

(chair Markus Jäntti)

Informal employment as a Social Determinant of Health: a research agenda to account for heterogeneity and context

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Tim Huijts, Research Centre for Education and the Labour Market, Maastricht University, Maastricht, The Netherlands

Informal employment, that is unregulated and unprotected work, is the most common type of employment globally. Yet despite work being a well-established Social Determinant of Health (SDH), there is a surprisingly little research on informal employment and health. Furthermore, existing evidence reveal that while informality most often is associated with adverse health outcomes, it sometimes has no- or even a protective effect on health. The lack of research and the mixed results could be explained by informal employment being a heterogenous phenomenon that has not been sufficiently contextualized in research. This paper provides a conceptual framework and a research agenda for how to explore informal employment as a SDH in quantitative and comparative research. We argue that to better understand informal employment as a SDH and to explain the mixed health effects, attention should be paid to the context-specific pathways that link employment with health. First, this paper outlines some limitations in existing research that hinders more nuanced investigations of how informality affects health. Then, a prerequisite for understanding the health consequences of informality is argued for, namely, to embrace the heterogeneity within and between contexts around informal employment and to account for how context-specific structural factors interact with informality. This argument is developed into a research agenda for quantitative and comparative studies, setting priorities for a more advanced analysis of informal employment as a SDH with an emphasis on explaining how health consequences are shaped in different contexts, while still allowing for comparisons across settings. This research agenda should allow for evidence on how informal employment shapes health, which is essential for informing effective strategies to mitigate the health impact of informal employment worldwide.

Dimensions and Determinants of Precarious Employment in Turkey: An Analysis of Labor Force Surveys from 2006 to 2019

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This study investigates precarious employment among workers in Turkey by using logistic regressions and Labor Force Surveys (LFS) data from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) for the period 2006-2019. The study measures the intensity of precariousness by analyzing the four dimensions of wages, type of contract, type of work, and income level. The analysis utilizes three different definitions of precarious employment and identifies several significant factors that influence precarious employment in Turkey. The findings of the study reveal that youth are more likely to experience precarious employment, and women face greater job insecurity. Working in larger companies reduces the likelihood of being in precarious employment, and there is a negative correlation between education and precarious employment. Finally, to estimate the casual effect of education on precariousness, we followed a two-stage least square (TSLS) approach for the instrumental variable probit (IVProbit) regressions. For the IVProbit, we chose Turkey's 1997 education reform, which extended compulsory schooling from five to eight years, as an instrument. The IVProbit result suggests a causal relationship between the analyzed dimensions and precarious employment: education reduces the probability of being in precarious employment with its causality dimension. As with the probit findings, males have more secure jobs than females. Also, in the IVprobit models, being married is estimated to reduce the probability of having a precarious job. Overall, this study contributes to a better understanding of the prevalence and determinants of precarious employment in Turkey, highlighting the importance of policies and measures that can mitigate the negative effects of precarious employment on workers' well-being and social welfare.

JEL Codes: J01

Keywords: precariousness, workers, Turkey, women, education

The careers of light entrepreneurs

Susanna Sten-Gahmberg

Aart-Jan Riekhoff

Susan Kuivalainen

In recent years, new forms of employment have arisen alongside wage work and entrepreneurship. In Finland, this development has taken the form of light entrepreneurship (kevytyrittäjäyys) i.e., self-employment through invoicing service companies.

The empirical evidence to date suggests that light entrepreneurs are a mixed crowd. On the one hand, light entrepreneurship provides an opportunity for professionals to make some extra income on the side of their day job, or to test their wings as an entrepreneur. On the other hand, there are indications that some light entrepreneurs have weaker labor force attachment and may be more vulnerable to underinsurance in the social security system compared to wage earners and

entrepreneurs. Because the existing research is mainly cross sectional, we know little about long run consequences of light entrepreneurship, in terms of career development, social security and pension accrual.

In this study, we identify more than 200 000 light entrepreneurs who received payments from 67 invoicing services companies in years 2017-2022. We use detailed register data covering years 2012-2022 from Statistics Finland and the Finnish Centre for Pensions to study the careers of light entrepreneurs. We answer three research questions:

- 1) What characterizes light entrepreneurs in terms of personal characteristics and employment history?
- 2) What does light entrepreneurship look like, and how is it combined with other kinds of work?
- 3) How do the careers of light entrepreneurs develop over time (before, while and after they are light entrepreneurs)?

The results from this research are of value in the development of legislation and policies regarding new employment forms, social security, and pensions, and more broadly for developing services for new types of employment. The results can also be of interest internationally and for academic research, as there is little information about individuals who engages in new forms of employment.

Gender, Welfare State and Participation in Informal Employment: A Cross-National Study of 33 European Countries

Niklas Mäkinen

Informal employment, defined as paid activities that are not declared to the authorities for tax, social security, and/or labour law purposes, is a pervasive phenomenon in the labour markets not just in the Global South but also in European societies. However, there are notable gender differences in the exposure to informality across Europe, resulting in varying levels of social risks and a lack of eligibility for employment protections and social security between men and women. This study hypothesizes that these gender gaps reflect differences in how welfare states structure gender relations within the household and the labour market.

It is widely recognized that social and family policies shape women's and men's access to the labour market, and also the nature of their attachment to employment. While some policies promote gender equality in labour market opportunities, others encourage women to leave the workforce or confine them primarily to low-quality and non-standard jobs. Yet, little is known whether family policies also have employment implications beyond the formal sphere. Therefore, this study explores whether the configuration of family policies also influences gender differences in informal employment participation, which largely draws from the precarious labour of women.

To explore this relationship, the study differentiates between the policy level (e.g. length of parental leave) and the ideal-typical outcomes of policy configurations (e.g. time spent on household and family care). In doing so, the study uses the pooled waves (2004-2018) of the European Social Survey and the OECD and Eurostat datasets on family policies and gender inequalities in employment. Given the hierarchical structure of the data, with individuals nested within countries, multilevel logistic regression models are used for the analysis.

Workshop session III

Gig work and platform economy

(chair Olivia Maury)

Occupational health and safety challenges in in the platform economy – a comparative analysis of app-based food delivery and domestic cleaning in Denmark and Norway

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Although the digital transformation offers new opportunities, it also offers new challenges in the world of work. For instance, digitization has led to the rise of so-called platform companies, where work - unlike before - is organized through digital platforms (e.g. through an app), and where the employment relationship is often more atypical and uncertain (e.g. freelancer or self-employed). In the Nordic research challenges to the working environment and the occupational health and safety in this type of work is under-examined.

In this paper, we present the results from a comparative research project in Denmark and Norway on the connection between technology, new forms of employment and the working environment. In both countries, we have carried out case studies within two areas of the labor markets, where platform work has grown and been consolidated. More specifically, we have investigated app-based food delivery (male-dominated) and cleaning in private homes (female-dominated). Through interviews with platform companies, platform workers, social partners and authorities, we have investigated the occupational health and safety risks associated with this type of work. Our analysis shows numerous working environment challenges affecting platform workers. Most pronounced in both areas is an experience of working under time pressure and thus having a stressful job. Another point is the platforms' control over the platform workers, and workers' lack of control and increased uncertainty. However, our analysis also shows that in platform companies having signed a collective agreement, the working environment challenges seem a little less pronounced, suggesting that the Nordic labour markets tame the negative impacts of platform work and particularly algorithmic management.

Algorithms, discipline and precariousness: insights from Spanish workers in the platform economy

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E-commerce and new kinds of services linked to the so-called platform economy are quickly gaining space at the expense of more traditional economic agents, creating new business models based on flexibility and digitalization. During the last decade, global retailers such as Amazon or Alibaba and platforms such as Uber, AirBnB or Deliveroo have become key suppliers, helping to transform the markets and consumer experiences. However, despite the economic success of these

platforms, their business models remain highly controversial, as they have remarkable impacts not only on consumption patterns, competition or urban life but, more dramatically, in labour conditions. This has pushed widespread debates about new inequalities and the extension of the “working poor”. The rise of a “gig economy” has led to a huge rise of insecure jobs, casual work and low wages.

This paper presents the results of an empirical research on work conditions in the platform economy. Spain offers an interesting example as it is a service-based economy where these platforms have expanded their activity in an impressive way during the last decade. The paper is based on an analysis of in-depth interviews (n=15) with different profiles of platform economy workers. These were carried out in the region of Madrid, Spain, during the autumn and winter of 2019-2020 (just before the outbreak of the covid-19 pandemic). With these interviews the aim is not only to obtain information about the working conditions of these precarious employees, grasping the challenges these workers are facing, but also to gain further insights on new management cultures and the status of work in these new business models.

Pervasive precarity of platform work: A qualitative cross-sectoral exploration on the mediating institutions

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The paper relies on data from two research projects’, RRR-Uber and ORIFODY. The data include 30 interviews in Finland with on-location platform workers about their occupational wellbeing. As such, these projects provide insights from key informant interviews. The paper connects the experiences of the on-location platform workers to the on-going debates about the EU directive draft on “improving working conditions in platform work”. The focus of the paper is on tracking the most pervasive shortcomings related to the precarious status of platform workers, particularly amongst food couriers. The analysis aims at developing a precarity model on the intersections of residency, employment, availability of the social insurance, and access to social security. The results emphasise that the entanglements of platform work with the external institutional systems, such as the residency institution, should be analyzed in more detail, ideally across different country settings. The results indicate that, in the Finnish context, ensuring the equal treatment of platform workers in the Finnish labour market requires cross-sectoral adjustments in both legislation and its enforcement. Furthermore, subcontracting amongst food couriers, related monitoring and inspection practices, and informal work within the sector are topics needing urgent attention.

Key words: Platform work, food delivery, employment, precariousness, social security

Mobility, Precarity and Platform-Based Work: A Comparative Literature Review of Delivery Workers in the Global South and North

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The rise of platform-based companies using computer algorithms to mediate between consumers and self-employed individuals has had significant implications for working conditions around the world. These conditions are partially shaped by national- and city-level regulations, specific institutional arrangements, labour relationships and local practices, but also by varied and changing relationships to place and space. We plan to investigate and compare the links between informality and precarity by tracing different forms of mobility and movement among platform delivery workers in two urban sites: Delhi and Oslo. As a first step, we will conduct a systematic literature review to compare the links between informality and precarity across Delhi and Oslo.

While informal labour in Delhi is well-documented, with grassroots and platform worker mobilisations addressing its prevalence, scholarship on informal work in Oslo remains limited. This paper seeks to provide an overview of the current debates in the scholarly literature that address the implications of platform-based work and mobility in these two cities. We discuss the influence of local and national support systems, such as social security, unions, third sector entities and labour market organisations, on the (im)mobility of people, information, ideas, and technologies. We will also discuss how everyday practices, routines and movements taking place in platform delivery work have been conceptualized.

We seek to shift the spotlight on informal labour from an issue predominantly discussed through cases in the global south to systematic comparisons across contrastingly different contexts and landscapes. This comparative analysis contributes to a broader understanding of contemporary labour trends and to scholarly debates on the practice and meanings of informal work in different urban settings.

Keywords: mobility, precarity, informal work, platform-mediated labour, comparative analysis, global south, global north, urban settings

Time precarity, or: platform labour and the digital economy of time

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This paper explores the emergence of precarious work in Finland through the lens of increasing experiences of time scarcity which is accompanying digitalization of work. With a focus on the rapid proliferation of platform-based delivery services in Finland during and following the Covid-19 pandemic, it argues that labour precarity does not only imply a decrease of job security and risk-shifting towards workers/employees, but also a more hidden, yet nonetheless fundamental transformation of work-life patterns as well as of labour and social relations. Coining the concept of time precarity, the paper suggests that digitalization of work is intertwined with a lack of autonomy and control over time on the one hand and the simultaneous precarization of work on the other: while the digitalized workplace leads to increased time pressures, not least through the spatial and temporal conflation of work and leisure, digital technologies also provide possibilities for speedier work processes and for 'buying time' by micro-outsourcing productive and reproductive tasks through digital platforms, e.g., in knowledge production or in the food delivery industry.

These platforms reflect both the demand and supply of hidden, comparatively cheap, and often precarious labour embedded into a digital infrastructure in which work tasks are delegated to workers in less privileged positions. Labour relations in platform-based work often present

challenges to legal regulation and social protection frameworks, particularly in welfare states such as Finland, while both control of time and labour precarity are socially differentiated, reflecting disparities in social and educational background, gender, class, income, citizenship status and wealth. Drawing on critical political economy as well as on feminist theorizing on invisibilization of labour and of care, the paper concludes by highlighting the relevance of understanding the platform-based monetarization of time, both for governance of work and for labour struggles in the digital age.

Transforming work

(chair Sara Eldén)

Public service interpreting as hybrid and precarious work

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Although legislative and regulatory frameworks on public service interpreting have been developed at both national and international levels, it remains an occupation defined by status misrecognition and precarious working conditions. In Finland, the marketisation of the welfare state has led to the extensive outsourcing of interpreting services to private companies though criticised tendering processes. The failure of companies to procure stable and secure working conditions and quality services has further downplayed the professional status of public service interpreting.

In this paper, we examine public service interpreting in social services in Finland within its linguistically diversifying social services landscape. Social services are addressed as an ambiguous domain in which a specific expertise is difficult to isolate from other forms of expertise, from policy makers or clients, something that is accentuated in a context of rising demands and declining resources.

Empirically the paper builds on reflective diaries produced by 16 public service interpreters in 2022 and a co - analytic focus group discussion conducted in spring 2023. As many of the interpreters are themselves of migrant background, there is a strong intersectional dimension at play in their accounts. We look at the study participants' sense making of everyday working conditions as well as their perceptions of the interpreter role in welfare services and how they see public service interpreting as a profession and career.

We draw on and expand the concept of new hybrid professions through a more critical lens to discuss the precarity and inequalities visited upon public service interpreters and connected to wider societal injustices.

Seasonal work in the wild berry industry in Finland - understanding unregulated labour through epistemologies of ignorance

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The right to roam (or everyman's right) guaranteeing anyone the right to pick berries in the forests in Finland and mobility enabled through tourist visas, form the core of the institutional infrastructure for the Finnish berry industry. Since 2005, the branch has grown to rely on migrant seasonal workers from Thailand, in particular. Equally, since 2005, there has been public accusations, testimonials, and later also court cases and ministry reports that speak of exploitation of the migrant seasonal workers in the branch. There has also been some attempts by the Finnish state to regulate the position of the seasonal workers, who officially lack the status, and the rights, of a worker. A recent example is the so called "berry law", passed in 2021. In 2022, a large-scale police investigation on human trafficking in the berry industry prompted a discussion on further needs for legislative reforms and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs suspended issuing visas for the berry pickers. In summer 2023, visas are processed again at the Finnish embassy in Bangkok, now with "particular precision", and the potential legislative reforms will depend on the newly elected parliament.

The presentation examines seasonal work in the Finnish berry industry through the notion of epistemologies of ignorance that Charles Mills insightfully applied to study racial relations and white privilege. By paying attention to instances of systemic miscognition the presentation analyses how the unregulated seasonal work in the berry industry has been justified by Finnish authorities despite repeated evidence of exploitation in the branch.

Redrawing the boundaries: Feminist economic expertise and struggles for socioeconomic transformation

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Work and living are globally being transformed by the interconnected crises of social reproduction, climate, democracy, inequality and the economy. These entangled crises have been traced back to the global economic system and its tendency to favour economic growth over life-sustaining processes. While the calls to transform the global economic system so that it would sustain social wellbeing within planetary boundaries have proliferated, studies of work and organisation have so far paid relatively little attention to the role of professional work in achieving such a transformation. Therefore, this paper studies the professional practices of an under-researched group: feminist professionals – academics, policy advisors and activists – with expertise on the economy and economic policy. It draws on 16 interviews conducted internationally with feminists who used their expertise to impact upon governments and international financial institutions.

Focusing on feminist economic experts' struggles to shift the terrain of economic policy and discourse, the paper poses the following research questions: What kinds of strategies of knowledge production and diffusion do feminist economic experts engage in to advance alternative economic thinking and policy? What enables and constraints the critical-political potential of feminist economic expertise? Fleshing out the feminist experts' efforts of establishing legitimacy to their demands, I demonstrate how epistemic expertise of the economy and economic policy aided feminist efforts of influencing policy-making, yet having an impact also required discursive and affective virtuosity. However, feminist knowledge claims still faced many institutional barriers and sometimes ended up being non-performative. Concomitantly, I suggest that feminist experts'

struggles for socioeconomic transformation might be seen as a long journey characterised by repetition, attrition and a politics of hope.

The studentification of low-wage service work: Who participates?

Trends and Variations in Part-Time Work among Young Student-Workers in Sweden

Anna Kallos

This study examines the labour market participation of young school students (15 to 20 years of age) in Sweden who work part-time while in full-time education. Drawing on data from the Swedish Labour Force Survey (2005-2019) with linked information provided by population-based registries, the article examines recent development in employment rates, and how work patterns vary for differently situated students in terms of gender, age, class, migration background, and education. The results show that part-time work among school students has risen rapidly over the past fifteen years, especially among female students. The development is particularly prominent in the hospitality sector, which underlines how young student-workers have become an important source of non-standard, low-wage labour. Young students are, however, not a homogenous group of workers. Drawing on intersectional theory, the paper shows that the likelihood of being involved in part-time work is higher among female students and those with better grades, whereas students with a migration background from the global south and those with parents on social benefits are less likely to have a job during school. However, students with higher parental income and education are predicted to limit their work hours during school. Since intensive part-time work during school is associated with risks such as poor academic success and school dropout, the findings in this article raise concerns that the patterns of part-time work among young students may perpetuate class-based inequalities.

Self-reliant citizens, market deregulation, and cheapening the cost of labour: A critical policy analysis of Finnish entrepreneurship strategy (2000-2022)

Anuhya Bobba

Since 2000, entrepreneurship has come to occupy a central position in Finnish policy, praised not simply as a form of work but as a disciplinary ethos that places increased responsibility on the individual for employment and welfare. From decreased labour productivity, depleting labour supply, insufficient foreign investment, and unemployment to climate deterioration and poverty, entrepreneurship will allegedly offer a solution, if necessary conditions for entrepreneurial development and success are enabled by government intervention. According to policy, necessary conditions include but are not limited to reduced corporate and inheritance taxation, reduced social spending, removal of employee protection against unfair dismissal, wages determined by local bargaining agreements, and withdrawal of public firms from market competition.

However, the reality of entrepreneurship differs starkly from policy expectations and predictions. Instead, it is a largely precarious form of work that involves tremendous financial risk and with monthly earnings subordinate to the national average. To explore these incongruities, I take inspiration from Bacchi's (2003) "what's-the-problem-represented-to-be?" (WPR) framework. A traditional policy analysis would assess policy for what it proclaims to solve and the extent to which it solves it, rather than what it considers as the problem and how it represents this problem.

Analysing a total of six strategy documents and five implementation documents through the WPR framework, I argue that the problem representations embedded in entrepreneurship policies since the second Lipponen cabinet do not permit a broader critique of entrepreneurship, the very subject of these policies. If the necessary conditions that will produce more entrepreneurship are also conditions that will severely undermine the provision of welfare, then it presents an important opportunity to ask whether entrepreneurship is indeed the positive economic phenomenon it is constructed to be and who benefits from its significance.

Workshop session IV

Gig work and platform economy part 2

(chair Rasmus Ahlstrand)

Reproducing the gig economy, or how capital hinges on migrant workers' unpaid labour

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A large part of the research on location-dependent gig work has emphasized the technical and algorithmic aspects of work and control as well as the blurring boundaries between employment, independent contracting, and enterprise. Consequently, life and labour become increasingly indistinguishable as the workers need to continuously monitor for prospective gigs in their free time, thereby performing unpaid labour. The processes of entrepreneurialising workers and shifting social responsibility onto them brings to the fore the prominent role social reproduction.

Drawing on ethnography, action research and interviews with migrants undertaking gigs via location-dependent platforms (cleaning, food delivery) in Helsinki, I analyse the intertwinement of production and social reproduction in today's gig economy. Care and social reproduction are not synonymous since the concept of social reproduction seeks to encapsulate "both the reproduction of life and capitalist relations *at once*" (Mezzadri 2019: 37). Thus, social reproduction entails the practices through which social relations and material bases of capitalism are renewed (Katz 2001:709). Highlighting the simultaneous processes of production and reproduction (Marx 1993: 35), I demonstrate how paid work is stripped to the minimal, while the worker needs to sustain the social relations of capital by taking responsibility for their social reproduction (such as using the bathroom, eating during unpaid transportation time, caring for residence permits). In this way, this labour is constructed as a resource free for capital to appropriate (Federici 2012).

I demonstrate how the intersections of the workers' entrepreneurialised position, their migration status, and the varying processes of racialisation and gendering, impact workers' social reproduction. In conclusion, foregrounding the interconnectedness of production and reproduction I stress that the capitalist mode of production is volatile, which invites us to think of modes of living and labouring otherwise (Goldstein 2022).

Infrastructure of arrival, segregation of stay: Platformed distinction experience for migrant food couriers in Norway

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The gig economy is a global phenomenon, but it also requires a physicality. This “globallocal” contradiction is prominent among migrants who engage in gig work: they come to their host countries but work for international platforms; meanwhile, their global standardized work requires them to deal with their physical life in the host country, including visa issues, working culture, welfare system, etc.

This article examines migrant food couriers who are working in Norway. Food courier is a globally well-known precarious work with flexibility and loose employment, while Norway is a well-known welfare state with regulated and high quality working life. This research asks: How do the migrant food couriers deal with their globalized precarious work in local Norwegian context? More specifically: How does globalized courier work help migrant couriers get access to the local labor market? In what ways does the Norwegian local context clash with the globalized work?

This paper adopts semi-structured interview to understand migrant food couriers’ lived experience, stories and opinions towards their work in Norway. Here I do not discuss the problem just with policies or academic theories at macro levels, but more about the process of the macro-level “global-local” conflicts being translated into micro-level personal working lives.

Preliminary findings suggest that, on the one hand, courier work serves as an infrastructure of arrival to accommodate migrants to make a living and participate in certain aspects of Norway’s local life; on the other hand, there is a clear platformed distinction that separates these global labors and locals, occupationally (informal employment), organizationally (low unionization rate), socially (no communities), and culturally (local-migrant dichotomy).

This paper contributes to empirical study on migrant gig workers studies, an interdisciplinary field requiring more academic attention.

Patchworking: Managing precarity in the platform economy

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Through in-depth interviews and digital ethnography, this paper explores how digital freelancers in the Swedish cultural industries manage precarity and sustain their careers. The platformization of the cultural industries has in some ways made it easier for independent producers to spread, market and commodify cultural content. Yet it also generates new forms of precarity, with today’s digital economies being highly competitive with a steady influx of young aspirants willing to work for little or no pay. Rather than focusing on work through a specific platform (which is the common approach in much previous research), this paper focuses on the practices with which digital freelancers navigate the platform economy in order to make a living. I conceptualize this as patchworking, with which I mean the practices of figuratively stitching together a living from several different kinds of income – projects, short gigs, atypical income streams, secondary jobs – and by using several different platforms. It is argued that this approach, which acknowledges the

relationality characterizing the ecosystem of digital platforms, is suitable for understanding the complex demands on workers within today's digitalized cultural industries where "being a specialist rather than a multi-skilled 'creative' is becoming a thing of the past" (McRobbie, 2016:27). I identify three forms of precarity – insecure and fluctuating income levels, the threat of online invisibility, and online competition – and go on to explore how these forms of precarity are managed by digital freelancers through diversified income streams, creating a multi-platform presence, and by building multi-sited networks. The results point to how risk and responsibility are transferred from states and employers to individuals, and how workers are required to adapt enterprising and opportunistic strategies (cf. Virno, 2003) to get ahead or at least stay afloat in the competition.

Migrant and racialised perspectives to precarity

(chair Synnøve Bendixsen)

Continued Precarity: The role of migration law in fostering racial regime and precarity among racially minoritized food system workers in Finland

Dionysia Kang

Food system encompasses a range of actors from labour to consumer within "the broader economic, societal, and natural environments in which they are embedded" (von Braun et al. 2021, 30). Food system is sustained by overwhelmingly migrant workers who are racially minoritized, intersecting with gender and (under)class struggles. It lies in the "international nexus of capital, colonialism, white supremacy" intersecting with "immigration, labour, human rights and international trade laws" (Harris 2021, xii). This paper interrogates how migration law fosters a structural racial regime crucial in sustaining the food system labour force, characterised as precarious and exploitative.

This paper adopts research praxis grounded in critical race, decolonial and black feminist theories, and Third World Approaches to International Laws. Based on qualitative data derived from semi-structured interviews with 20 food systems workers who self-identify as racially minoritized in Finland, this paper details the precarious circumstances that lead to workers entering the food system labour force and varying levels of continued precarity endured by different workers. This paper also elaborates on what it means for workers to "know their rights", and the reality of differentiated access to legal protection. Workers' accounts provide bottom-up mapping of the actors, legal and normative mechanisms that influence precarity of workers, their experience of (under)protection and negotiation within and outside law (Banakar 2019). It demonstrates how migration law fosters the manifestation of racial regimes within food systems in Finland — its context characterised by whiteness, Nordic exceptionalism, racial capitalism and colonialism of indigenous Sami.

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Treat or Victim? Migrant workers at the Margins of the Nordic Model

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My postdoctoral project *At the Margins of the Nordic Model? Experiences of Precarious and Informal Work in Norway* forms part of the umbrella project *Tackling Precarious and Informal Work in the Nordic Countries (PrecaNord)*. In PrecaNord, we explore the sustainability of the Nordic model by analyzing how workers in construction, cleaning, and the platform/gig economy experience precarious and informal work in Finland, Norway, and Sweden. We also examine stakeholders' (unions, employers, NGOs etc.) perceptions of work informality and precarity in these countries.

In this paper, I focus on stakeholders' views and explore how migrants in Norway are presented in discourses on precarity and informality. Drawing on qualitative interviews, I show how stakeholders portray migrants as a threat to the Nordic model, while simultaneously presenting them as victims of increasing precarious labor conditions and hence also as someone who requires protection by a Nordic model that is now "on fire" and in need of fixing. This threatvictim binary particularly appears in discourses on so-called "Arbeidslivskriminalitet [labor crime]". The findings in this study reveal stories of serious exploitation and violations of migrant workers' rights. However, they further show that the common individualization of labor crime through centering "unserious" and "criminal" actors who should be controlled, stopped, and eliminated, risks downplaying structural power relations and hence also obscuring the ways in which informality is incorporated into the broader capitalist economy through exploitative relationships (Castells and Portes 1989).

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Precarious work: A strategic exception in Welfare security

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Could precarious employment, work relations and arrangements be a tool for social, economic, cultural, and political preservation in a Nordic society context, democratic social welfare principles notwithstanding, where some migrant worker groups are concerned?

I am interested in problematising Finland's relations with discrete subsets of its migrant population, especially highly educated black African migrants who migrate to Finland for higher education purposes and remain in Finland as workers. Based on my analysis of the lived experiences of many in this group, it appears as though their unique position in and relation with the Finnish labour market which is poor by multiple accounts is predominantly strategically determined by Finnish institutions. The student residence permit regime sets the group's migration upon a contingent and extremely commodifying economic citizenship foundation, from which only marketized integration earned through labour and skill capital is possible, without provision for welfare intervention. Labour market segmentation based on race, nationality, migrancy, gender, and ethnicity embedded by economic citizenship's not-always-meritorious differentiation mechanisms ensures the group remains at the periphery of the labour market in "the bad first jobs" necessitated in the first instance by economic citizenship demands. Through their own agentic intervention such as resilience, migrants inadvertently solidify their labour market position or class at the peripheries of the labour market segments they end up in.

Whether the nature of their labour market position and experiences fit well in the concept of precariousness is up for discussion especially given the essentiality of the secondary sector service jobs migrants perform to Finland's socio-economic and welfare systems' sustenance and wellbeing.