

# Do Migrants Have Access to Decent Work?

Petra Sauer \*

Stella Zilian †

## 1 Introduction

As response to the unequally distributed benefits of globalization, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has launched an agenda which promotes to provide *Decent Work for All*:<sup>1</sup>

“Decent work sums up the aspirations of people in their working lives. It involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people ... equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men.”

Here, work is neither treated merely as a means for income generation, nor as an end in itself. But it is perceived that work has a central function for social integration and individual well-being. This implies that besides labour income to fulfil basic needs, the conditions of work itself and the employment relations in which work takes place matter.<sup>2</sup> In adopting a rights-based approach to labour migration, the ILO extended its agenda to include all migrant workers (ILO, 2010). Moreover, since 2015 the target to “protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment”<sup>3</sup> constitutes an element the United Nation’s *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Yet, migrants and women have been shown to often find themselves trapped in labour market segments which don’t secure access to decent work, what endangers the integrative function of work. This might even become more relevant as right-wing populists increasingly shape migration and labour market policy in European countries.

Having a paid and decent job has been one of the most defining features of personal life since the emergence of wage labour during the Great Industrial Revolution. Being employed

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\*Centre for Pluralist Economics (CPE), Faculty of Business and Law, Anglia Ruskin University

†Graz Schumpeter Centre, Karl-Franzens-University Graz.

<sup>1</sup>[www.ilo.org/decentwork](http://www.ilo.org/decentwork)(10/06/2019)

<sup>2</sup>In the following, we use the job and work quality interchangeably to refer to the broad concept which looks at the conditions of the work activity itself, e.g. its intensity, the autonomy in conducting it or the social support from colleagues and executives, and the quality of the employment relation which manifests e.g. in the stability of the employment contract.

<sup>3</sup>[www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/economic-growth/](http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/economic-growth/)(10/6/2019)

is not only a source of financial means, but it also affects social status, self-esteem, and is generally associated with establishing own identities (Blustein et al., 2017). The relevance of decent working conditions for individual well-being as well as for the society as a whole has been well-established by various disciplines showing that the quality of work matters for a range of outcomes related to financial, social as well as mental and physical health aspects, among others (cite Munoz).

The sociological tradition that follows Marx's perception of purposeful creative work as the essence of humanity highlights the intrinsic qualities of work, which are considered key determinants of the well-being of workers. Thus, the lack of decent working conditions - in the form of precarious work - has been declared to be the new social question in the 1990s (Castel, 2000). Since the beginning of applied psychology in the 20th century, psychological research has been interested in understanding the person-environment fit in order to help improving productivity and worker tenure on the one hand and job satisfaction on the other hand. The more recent Psychology of Working Theory (PWT) put forward by David Blustein (e.g. Blustein, 2013) emphasises the interrelations between external factors, such as race, gender or disability, amenities at work and individual well-being. Behavioural economic research shows the adverse aggregate effects that result from the individually efficient outcome to accept bad-quality jobs (Muñoz de Bustillo, 2011). Moreover, according to the findings of the economics of happiness literature, higher levels of GDP per capita and wages have not been matched by increases in reported levels of job and life satisfaction (Brekke and R.B. Howarth, 2002, see e.g.), indicating the relevance of quality-related aspects of work for individual well-being. However, the traditional economic approach is based on the assumption that supplying labour is troublesome. The larger the disutility of work due to adverse working conditions, the higher the compensating wage has to be. Thus, the sole determinant of individual well-being is considered to be wage income that is received in exchange for labour. From this perspective, other dimensions of work quality become irrelevant for understanding differences between social and ethnic groups with regards to their position in the labour market.

Due to the focus of the Economics literature on the monetary reward of work, the labour market integration of immigrants has most intensely been studied on the basis of the adjustment of wage levels of workers with migration background, compared to wage levels of native workers over time. While there is a broad consensus on the result that immigrants receive lower wages than natives when they arrive, there is disagreement on the extent to which the initial wage gap can be reduced (Chiswick, 1978; Borjas, 1985, 1985; Card, 2005). Büchel and Frick (2005) analyse differences across countries and find evidence for considerable differences in the size of wage gaps. They attribute this to the national differences in institutional frameworks: for instance, restrictive labour market access policies or social security systems that are tied to citizenship are found to have negative impacts on the economic assimilation of immigrants in terms of household income. Another indicator that is often used is the employment rate. Doing so provides results similar to those on wage assimilation, generally indicating that employment rates of immigrants are lower than for natives and, even if they decrease, may never completely converge to those of the latter. Also unemployment and participation rates of immigrants are

found to be higher and lower respectively (Kerr and Kerr, 2011).

Regarding the quality of work, the economic literature on labour market outcomes of migrants is rather scarce. Yet, some studies exist which go beyond analysing quantity-related aspects of employment. Using Spanish Labour Force Survey data, Fernández and Ortega (2008) look not only at participation and unemployment rates, but also at the incidence of over-education and temporary contracts among immigrants compared to natives. They show that immigrants initially have higher unemployment rates, lower participation rates, and a higher incidence of over-education as well as temporary contracts. Five years after immigration, participation rates converge to natives' rates, while unemployment rates are lower for immigrants than for natives. However, concerning the incidence of over-education and temporary contracts, the gap between immigrants and natives remains constant. Fernández and Ortega (2008) conclude that the reduction of unemployment rates among immigrants in Spain may have come at the cost of bad job-matches for immigrants. The phenomenon of over- and under-qualification is also studied by Chiswick and Miller (2009), who show that labour market experiences collected before immigration are strongly associated with over-qualification. This could be an indicator for the difficulty to transfer human capital acquired abroad to national labour markets. Using Austrian micro data from 2008, Huber also shows that the incidence of over-qualification and atypical employment is higher for immigrants than for natives.

Closest to our work is the study of de Pedraza et al. (2012), who investigate access to decent work in Spain in 2008 using a simple categorisation of the employment situation. That is they determine five "Full-Time-Decent-Work Levels" and five "Part-Time-Decent-Work Levels". The dimensions considered are type of contract (open ended or not), yearly income (the threshold is set at 14000 Euro) and the duration of their employment in their current job (more than one year or more than two years). Using this classification, they test the assimilation hypothesis with Decent-Work levels as the dependent variable and time of arrival as the explanatory variable of interest. Their main finding is that early arrival increases the probability to achieve full time decent-work employment, while late arrivals are more likely to be in employment situations with low levels of decency. The process of assimilation is rather slow especially for women, people arriving during economic crisis and people working in low occupations.

While the existing literature provides valuable insights on some dimensions of work quality, there is, to our knowledge, no study that directly applies a broader concept of job quality to migration topics. The aim of this paper is thus to conduct an integrated analysis of the multiple dimensions of work quality that affect the integration of migrants in European labour markets. Theoretically, our analysis is based on the perception of contemporary labour markets as being segmented along various social, cultural and economic lines. This *new* segmentation-theory approach enables to understand why population groups are simultaneously disadvantaged along multiple dimensions of work quality. Moreover, the vast institutional, political as well as scientific contributions that have aimed at conceptualising work quality since the 1960s and 1970s when the concept of quality of work emerged alongside the concept of quality of life (Burchell et al., 2014), build the basis of the 7 dimensions of work quality we consider in our empirical analysis, i.e. skills, autonomy, social environment, decent work intensity, employment quality,

and pay. To quantify each dimension we use the Adult Skills Survey (PIAAC). Comparatively analysing job quality across 16 European countries enables us to identify the characteristics of labour market segments in which migrants work, and to provide insights into the lines of discrimination that go beyond pay differentials. In this regard, we are particularly interested in the additional disadvantage migrant women face. This draft paper is based on work-in-progress. Building on the descriptive analysis, we will apply cluster- and regression analysis in order to establish a causal relation between migration background, gender and work quality, controlling for confounding factors at the individual level (e.g. education, age) and at the industry level. We thus aim to provide insights into the mechanisms that lead to labour market disadvantage, and into the extent to which different labour market and welfare state institutions produce different regimes of discrimination.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents how labour market segmentation theory explains labour-market disadvantage along various monetary and non-monetary lines. We discuss different theoretical approaches which point towards a range of particular objective features that should be considered for the definition of a *good* job in Section 3. After having summarised existent empirical efforts to measure work quality in Section 4, we present the data we use and our model in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 respectively. Section 5 shows preliminary descriptive results, comparing gaps in work quality due to migration status and gender across 16 European countries. Finally, Section 6 concludes and provides an outlook to the work that follows.

## 2 Understanding Labour-market Disadvantage

Theoretically, we follow a *new* labour market segmentation theory approach (Grimshaw et al., 2017) which enables us to analyse the causes and characteristics of labour-market inequalities from an intersectional and institutional perspective. Labour market segmentation theory emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s (Doeringer Peter B. and Piore, 1971; Rubery, 1978; Wilkinson, 1981). Scholars widened the scope for explaining different labour market outcomes by going beyond differences in human capital and productivity (Becker, 1964). Dual labour market theories divide the labour market into a primary labour market, characterised by high wages, stable employment and prospects of career advancement. The secondary labour market encompasses little security, low wages and few promotion prospects. Early works by Doeringer Peter B. and Piore (1971) explained the labour market structure by technological requirements and industrial structures. The second generation points to labour process control imperatives (Peck, 1996). According to Gordon (1972), segmentation acts as capitalists' tool to retain power over the production process in light of a de-skilled and homogenised workforce. The divides created by exploiting racial and gender differences even within the primary segment of the labour market are thus perceived to be deliberate outcomes which undermine class consciousness and worker solidarity.

The 3rd generation (Peck, 1996) or *new* (Grimshaw et al., 2017) labour market segmentation

of approaches include the supply side into their analysis, what enables to provide explanations for the allocation of workers to different segments of the labour market. These are particularly valuable to explain persistent differences in labour market outcomes between native and migrant workers from a gendered perspective. As they highlight the importance to integrate the sphere of social norms and social reproduction into the analysis of the labour market, they point to the relevance of ascriptive criteria connected to the distribution of economic, social and political power, the role of socialisation for occupational structuring, and the role of the allocation of domestic work and income sharing within the household for gendered labour markets. The disadvantage of women and migrant workers can thus be traced back to the social structures of patriarchy and racism. According to Peck (1996, p. 69) “One reason why secondary work exists, is the prior existence of a group of workers who can be exploited in this way.” The subordinate position of marginalised groups is perpetuated as they form identities and labour market expectations based on their material experiences. And it is legitimised as their participation in the secondary segment itself affects their social and political power, resulting in the devaluation of their skills and social status: “Thus jobs are secondary because they are performed by workers generally considered secondary. Jobs are regarded as unskilled because they are feminized and not feminized because they are unskilled ...” (Craig et al. 1982 in Peck 1996)

### 3 The Multiple Dimensions of Work Quality

In order to define the dimensions that are relevant to study the working conditions of migrants in Europe, we draw on the extensive existent literature that aims to provide answers to the question of *what constitutes a good job*, and to conceptualise and operationalise work quality as a complex and multidimensional phenomenon.<sup>4</sup>

First approaches to study the quality of work used workers’ own evaluations of the quality of their jobs. One early definition by Seashore (1974) states that a good job is one that is valued by the worker and which leads to job satisfaction. Along these lines, the early quality of work indicators were mainly based on subjective measures of job satisfaction. However, workers’ own evaluations can be substantially biased as they are affected by workers’ attitudes, expectations and preferences which adapt to unfavourable circumstances and might be shaped by the particular norms and experiences of social and ethnic groups. They thus do not provide a reliable approach for comparisons across countries as well as of population groups within countries.

More recent endeavours to conceptualise and measure the quality of work thus predominantly consider objective aspects (as far as possible). Although consensus was never reached, different theoretical approaches point towards a range of particular objective features that should be considered for the definition of a *good job*. These provide a sound theoretical basis to identify the main dimensions of work quality.

First, following the traditional economic approach, the monetary labour reward carries the

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<sup>4</sup>For literature reviews see Burchell et al. (2014) and Muñoz de Bustillo (2011)

full information about the extent of the disamenities of work. But also other approaches acknowledge the relevance of income for individual well-being and thus consider pay to be a crucial dimension of work quality. According to [Muñoz de Bustillo \(2011\)](#), "Any evaluation of job quality based on either wages or disamenities could lead to wrong conclusions if there is compensation between both aspects of work." Above all, accounting for both, wages and non-pecuniary factors, is necessary in order to reveal whether particular population groups are simultaneously disadvantaged along monetary and non-monetary aspects their employment.

The neo-Marxist tradition identifies aspects of the intrinsic quality of work as important drivers of job satisfaction. In this view, which has been shaped by the work of [Braverman and Harry \(1974\)](#) in the 1970s, de-skilling (e.g. via assembly-line work) and the alienation of workers from tasks characterised work in the Fordist/Taylorist system of the first half of the twentieth century ([Muñoz de Bustillo, 2011](#)). Skills and autonomy are thus seen as crucial determinants of *good* jobs. As workers became more skilled on average, the component of perceived skill utilization was included as an important factor of work quality ([Burchell et al., 2014](#)). This also relates to the subjectivist approach to alienation and job satisfaction ([Muñoz de Bustillo, 2011](#)) that establishes four dimensions of alienation, i.e. powerlessness, meaninglessness, social isolation and self-estrangement ([Blauner, 1964](#)).

Besides considering individual or group-specific characteristics as race and gender to be important determinants of job quality, segmentation theory highlights the interrelations between wages, skills and the quality of the employment relation itself. As it shows that high(low)-skill and high(low)-wage jobs tend to go along with (in)secure employment and good (bad) career-development opportunities, it explains the existence of labour-market segments with overlapping (dis)advantages. The segmentation approach thus points to the importance of the contractual status, stability of employment, and of opportunities for skill development and career progression for job quality ([Muñoz de Bustillo, 2011](#)). The relevance of employment conditions also gains substantial attention in the related sociological literature on precarious work which emerged in the 1990s ([Castel, 2000](#)) [cite also Standing 2011 here](#). Precarious work refers very generally to working conditions that are insecure and unstable. This applies to all kinds of non-standard employment arrangements ([Dörre, 2014](#)), including all variants of part-time work as well as temporary and fixed-term work contracts.

A range of mostly empirical studies has analysed the extent to which workers are exposed to safety and health hazards in their job. As living standards and working conditions have improved and employment in the service sector has increased, the nature and range of outcomes studied has also changed. While physical health issues were of interest up to the 1970s, health problems became increasingly related to psychological risks due to stress in the 1980s ([Burchell et al., 2014](#); [Muñoz de Bustillo, 2011](#)).

Finally, the balance between work and life has been a central issue in social research. According to [Kalliath and Brough \(2008\)](#), work-life balance can be generally defined as "...the individual perception that work and non-work activities are compatible and promote growth in accordance with an individual's current life priorities." Since the 1970s, questioning the traditional division of economic roles by gender and the increasing participation of women in the labour market



has motivated interest in the balance between working and family life of researchers and policy makers alike (Muñoz de Bustillo, 2011). Moreover, rising employers’ demands regarding the flexibility of their workers and new technologies that blur the boundaries between workers’ home and work place have more recently been identified as posing new challenges for the balance between work and life. Following the definition of Kalliath and Brough (2008), a large part of research on work-life balance looks at subjective aspects, i.e. workers’ expectations, aspirations and satisfaction. Objective criteria that have been used look at the level of work demands to the individual worker, either concerning the intensity of work effort, or concerning the duration and flexibility of working time (Eurofound, 2017; Muñoz de Bustillo, 2011).

## 4 Measuring Work Quality

Different approaches in the social sciences emphasise different features of jobs to be relevant for the welfare individuals draw out of their work. Thus, no uniform concept of work quality exists. In this section we first summarize the existent empirical literature which aims to operationalise the concept of job quality. Thereafter, we present our approach to quantify the multiple dimensions of work quality we use in our empirical analysis in order to provide insights into the multiple challenges migrants face when acting on European labour markets.

### 4.1 A Short Survey of Job Quality Indicators

Empirical applications are diverse as they are driven by their particular policy goals, research questions, and have often been limited by data constraints. The work of international institutions has mainly aimed at providing a single indicator in order to monitor job quality as a prime issue on their policy agenda. The academic literature, on the other hand, is often interested in particular aspects of job quality, e.g. changes in skill demands and autonomy due to technological change (e.g. Gallie et al., 2017). Nevertheless, more recently there have been endeavours to provide an integrated analysis of work quality which are theoretically founded and aim to come up to the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the phenomenon.

One strand of contributions, is concerned with the comparison of work quality across countries and provides indices of work quality at the national level. These are either based on existing aggregate data, constructed and aggregated based on different sources of micro data, or mixed approaches. ILO’s efforts to operationalise its decent-work concept can be grouped into the first category. The *Decent-Work Index* is constructed based on 19 core and 25 additional indicators that capture various aspects of labour market security ranging from decent labour income to representation security (via unions), and 8 variables related to the socio-economic context, e.g. educational attainment, poverty rates or the income Gini coefficient. A similar approach is taken by the European Union. As the EU has put more and better jobs on its political agenda in the Lisbon Treaty, a set of 18 statistical indicators, the so-called *Leaken indicators*, have been developed to evaluate progress in two dimensions: “Characteristics of the Job in itself” and “The Work and Wider Labour Market Context”. Both approaches have been criticised as they

aggregate variables that describe very different phenomena and, by including measures of the overall economic performance and income distribution, they do not limit their analysis to job attributes that affect workers' well-being. The OECD tries to overcome this critique with its *Job Quality Framework*, which is an approach specifically directed towards individual workers (Cazes et al., 2015). The three key dimensions of the framework, earnings quality, labour market security and the quality of the working environment are quantified using the average level and distribution of earnings as well as variables capturing the hazards of unemployment, time pressure, long working hours and physical health risks.

Due to the theoretical foundation of its index as well as its integrated approach, the *European Job Quality Index (JQI)* provided by the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) in 2008 and 2017 is so far the most extensive contribution to the measurement of job quality at the national level. In contrast to the Laeken indicators, the JQI is directed towards the assessment of the employment relationship itself and can therefore be used to study the quality of jobs held by workers in Europe across countries as well as over time. The ETUI's Job Quality Index uses six dimensions to quantify job quality in the 28 EU member countries (Piasna, 2017), i.e. wages, forms of employment and job security, working time and work-life balance, working conditions, skills and career development, and collective interest representation. Each of these dimensions is made up of several indicators based on data from the European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS), the EU Labour Force Survey (LFS) and the database on the Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts (ICTWSS). The overall Job Quality Index is then derived as the simple average of each of the six dimensions. It's main strength is the possibility to monitor the development of job quality over time and across countries. However, as Piasna (2017) puts forward, due to its synthetic nature, the JQI is neither suitable for a more detailed analysis of particular parts of the labour force nor for the in-depth investigation of specific job characteristics.

A very valuable resource that enables to measure job quality based on information collected at the individual level is the European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS) conducted by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound). Since its launch in 1990, six waves of the survey have provided extensive, harmonized information about working and employment conditions of European workers. In its most recent report, Eurofound (2017) uses seven dimensions to operationalise job quality: physical environment (with posture-related indicators as well as indicators to measure exposure to ambient hazards), work intensity (using indicators such as quantitative demands but also emotional demands), working time quality (e.g. duration, flexibility), social environment (e.g. management quality, social support), skills and discretion (e.g. training or organisational training), prospects (e.g. employment status, job security) and finally earnings. The indicators are measured based on individual records on appropriate questions in the EWCS. In combination the seven dimensions are used as a single index of intrinsic job quality. However, since the distribution of each separate index varies greatly, they are often analysed and presented individually.

Due to its extensive information, the EWCS has also been used in academic publications which are not only interested in comparing the level of job quality across countries, but also



in the analysis of changes over time due to the economic crises or technological change, and in distributional aspects within countries (Green et al., 2013; Davoine et al., 2008). However, the main disadvantage of EWCS is the small country-level sample size, what constrains the possibility to investigate differences between population groups in detail.

## 4.2 Data

The Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC) has been launched by the OECD in 2008 in order to assess skills relevant in social life and at work, including literacy, numeracy and problem solving, among other things. In total, 166 000 adults aged between 16 and 65 were surveyed in 24 countries. In our analysis we use data from 16 European which was collected between 2011 and 2013. The country specific sample size ranges from 4,500 to 27,300. In order to provide information which helps to explain differences in skill levels the survey includes questions regarding the characteristics of current and previous jobs which we use to operationalise job quality at the individual level. Doing so enables us to analyse differences by migration status and gender. We use additional background information to explain differences in labour market outcomes based on individual characteristics, e.g. education, and industry-level factors. We limit our analysis to people in dependent employment and compare the working conditions of 1st generation immigrants to those of natives and non-immigrants with one foreign born parent.

## 4.3 A Model of Job Quality

From the theoretical approaches surveyed in Section 3 we derive seven dimensions of job quality: skills, autonomy, social environment, decent work intensity, employment quality, working time and pay. As proposed by Muñoz de Bustillo (p. 150 2011), these refer to “... the characteristics of jobs that have a direct impact on the well-being of workers.” This implies that job-quality indicators are restricted to include information about the attributes of jobs, not about the workers who hold them or the broader institutional context. Each dimension of work quality is calculated at the individual level in order to allow to analyse the situation of specific groups of workers. They consists of subcomponents with equal weights. Table 1 shows the PIIAC variables we use to quantify the 7 dimensions of work quality. The variables are rescaled to obtain range from 0 to 100.

The skill dimension is made up of two components. Following Muñoz de Bustillo (2011), we measure formal skill requirements using ISCO<sup>5</sup> categories. Non-formal skills are derived as the average of 5 indices which measure the use of numeracy, reading, writing, leadership and complexity skills at work. Autonomy refers to the degree of freedom or discretion at work and thus looks at the extent to which workers have control over how they organise their tasks. The social environment is quantified via three questions which provide information about cooperation

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<sup>5</sup>International Standard Classification of Occupations: managers (1), professionals (2), technicians (3), clerks (4), service & sales (5), agriculture and fishery (6), craft and related trade (7), plant and machine operators (8), elementary (9), armed forces occupations (10)

as well as information- and knowledge-sharing with colleagues. Moreover, employment quality is composed of the contract type and development opportunities. We operationalise decent work intensity based physical and mental pressures, while decent working time depends on the number of hours by week as well as the flexibility in adapting them to individual needs. Finally, the pay dimension indicates the quantile of the earnings distribution. Table 2 shows the average level of each work-quality dimension in total and by country.

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***Skills***

- ISCO categories (50%): 1-2 (100), 3 (67), 4-8,10 (33),9 (0)
- Skill use (50%): Use of numeracy/reading/writing/leadership/complexity skills at work

***Autonomy***

- Method (50%): To what extent can you choose or change
  - the sequence of tasks?
  - how you do your work?
- Scheduling (50%): To what extent can you
  - plan your own activities?
  - organise your own time?
  - choose or change the speed or rate at which you work?

***Social Environment***

- Proportion of time spent cooperating with co-workers
- Sharing work-related information with co-workers
- Learning new work-related things from co-workers or supervisors

***Employment Quality***

- Contract type (50%)
  - Indefinite (100)
  - Fixed-term, temporary employment agency, no contract, other (0)
- Development opportunities (50%)
  - On the job training at least partly paid by employer over the last 12 months

### *Decent Work Intensity*

- Not working physically or a long period (50%)
- Challenged enough & able to cope with present duties (50%)

### *Decent Working Time*

- Duration (50%)
  - 21-40: normal hours (100)
  - 41-61: long hours (50)
  - -21 & 61+: very long or short hours (0)
- Flexibility (50%)
  - To what extent can you choose or change working hours?

### *Pay*

- Quintiles based on monthly earnings including bonuses

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**Table 1** – Model of Work Quality

## 5 Results: Work Quality Across European Countries

Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 show work-quality outcomes by gender and migration status, for countries grouped by welfare state regime.

The largest gap in labour market outcomes across the 16 European countries are wage gaps between migrants and natives, and between men and women.<sup>6</sup> In all countries except the UK, migrant women earn least and native males most. For the most part, migrant males earn at least as much as native women. Particularly in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and Estonia, the factor gender dominates so that migrant men are better off than native women. Only in Slovenia does the disadvantage due to migration status dominate gender.

Gaps in autonomy can be quite large in most Continental and Southern European countries involving gender as well as racial aspects. Yet, no gender gap in autonomy exists for natives, but migrants tend to be worse off, and particularly male workers face working conditions with a particularly low degree of autonomy. In Liberal and Nordic countries, on the other hand, discrepancies in autonomy tend to be negligible. Similarly, migrant men face/have the highest

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<sup>6</sup>No earnings data is available for Sweden.

Country	Earnings	Skills	Autonomy	Intensity	Social Environment	Employment Quality	Work-life Balance
AUT	49.39	48.68	69.22	39.78	61.84	84.65	56.98
BEL	52.22	51.51	68.70	51.78	59.40	90.25	57.65
CYP	51.19	47.72	57.81	43.20	62.22	73.56	51.89
DEU	49.88	49.41	65.00	38.74	62.67	79.23	55.58
DNK	48.91	55.19	74.72	48.11	66.55	86.25	66.63
ESP	52.40	45.30	61.91	41.85	63.37	74.52	51.65
EST	51.26	50.72	67.99	43.15	60.38	81.68	58.47
FRA	48.79	47.62	57.54	48.63	62.04	82.35	56.68
GBR	51.74	52.09	62.06	46.97	64.77	78.22	54.23
GRC	58.26	42.10	48.21	41.49	59.57	65.94	43.18
IRL	49.58	51.47	56.28	44.07	65.64	67.45	50.43
ITA	49.02	40.68	53.93	45.33	60.20	78.18	50.94
NLD	48.48	54.46	64.34	52.11	61.56	77.42	57.68
NOR	48.41	56.32	69.85	46.94	66.92	85.92	62.34
SVN	49.99	51.24	52.55	39.23	66.06	84.33	55.97
SWE	.	53.85	73.44	45.38	65.83	81.03	65.91
Total	50.22	48.50	61.75	44.37	62.73	79.15	55.05

**Table 2** – Work Quality: Summary Statistics

degree of work intensity (low levels of decent work intensity) in France, Slovenia, Cyprus, Greece and Italy. Even if differences are relatively small decent work intensity is the only dimension of work quality in which native women tend to perform even better than their male counterparts. Only in Norway, Sweden, Ireland and Italy, migration status turns out to be a relevant category.

The jobs of migrant workers require less skills than the jobs of natives. This is true for all European countries, but less pronounced in the Nordic and Liberal cluster. Even if the obtained evidence indicates the skill level women’s jobs to be smaller than men’s (for migrants as well as for natives), gender differences are relatively small. Only in Spain, female worker’s skill usage is notably/particularly small.

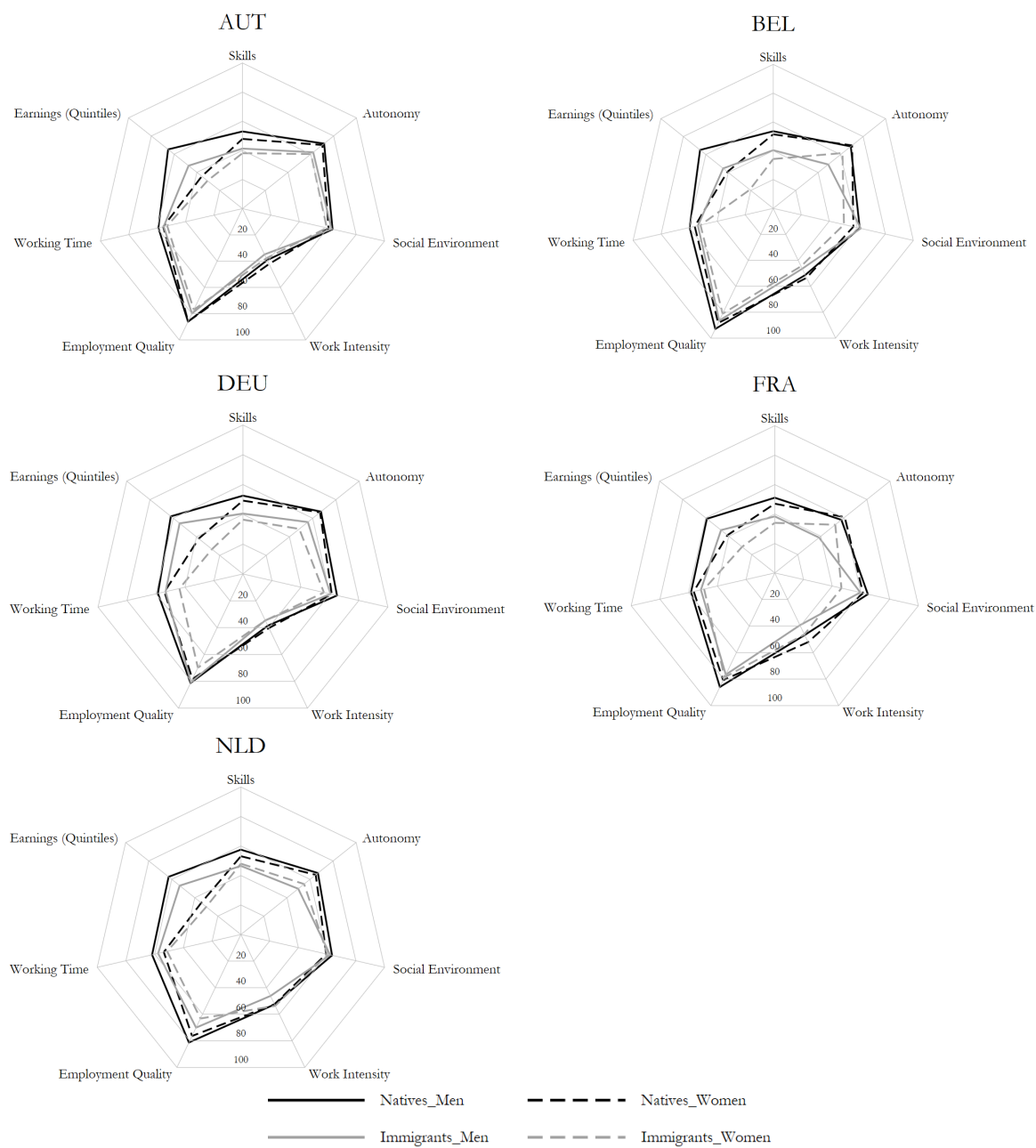
Regarding the social environment at work, no gender or racial gaps exist in most countries. However, in Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Spain and Slovenia, migrant women work in environments that are characterised by little social exchange. Beyond that, particularly in the South, they also find themselves in insecure and unstable employment relations with little career development opportunities. To a lesser extent this is also true in Norway, the Netherlands and Germany. In Greece and Italy, the factor gender dominates with regards to employment quality, so that native women are more similar to migrant women as compared to native men.

Finally, gender differences in working time quality are relatively small across all countries. This surprising finding regarding the gendered allocation of domestic and productive work might be due to the classification of 21-40 hours as the ‘norm’. Yet also in this dimension of work quality, female migrant workers face the worst arrangements, particularly in Germany, Italy and Spain.

## 6 Conclusions and Outlook

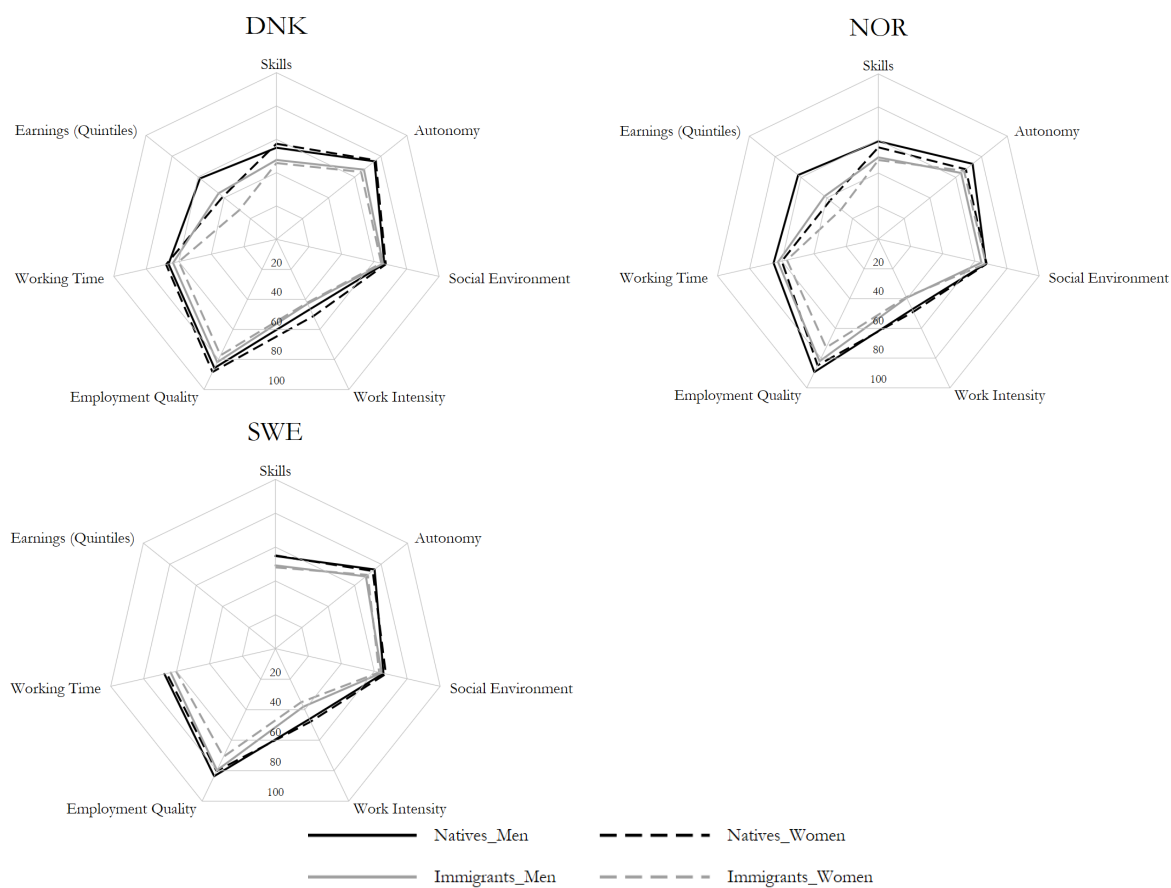
Our preliminary evidence shows that substantial inequalities in access to decent work exist. Female migrant workers constitute the most disadvantaged group in five out of seven dimensions of work quality. Their labour market segment is thus characterised by low pay, low skill requirements, social isolation, low employment quality and adverse working-time arrangements. Male migrant workers, on the other hand, face a relatively high degree of work intensity in conjunction with little freedom and discretion at work. Particularly concerning pay, the factor gender dominates in some countries, so that native women tend to be more similar to migrant women than to native men. The latter performing best across all dimensions of work quality except work intensity.

Differences across countries exist, which can, however, only to some extent traced back to the institutional underpinnings of European welfare states. Further research is necessary in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the causes of labour-market inequalities. Building on the descriptive analysis presented in this paper, we will apply cluster- and regression analysis in order to establish a causal relation between migration background, gender and work quality, controlling for confounding factors at the individual level (e.g. education, age) and at the industry level. Thereby, we aim to provide insights into the mechanisms that lead to labour market disadvantage, and into the extent to which different labour market institutions produce different regimes of discrimination.

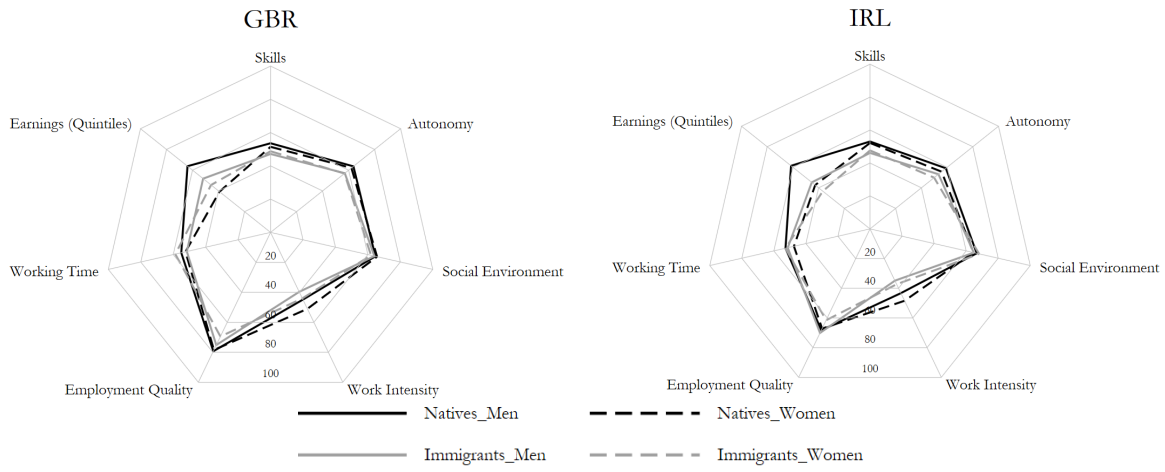


**Figure 1 – Work Quality, Continental Cluster**

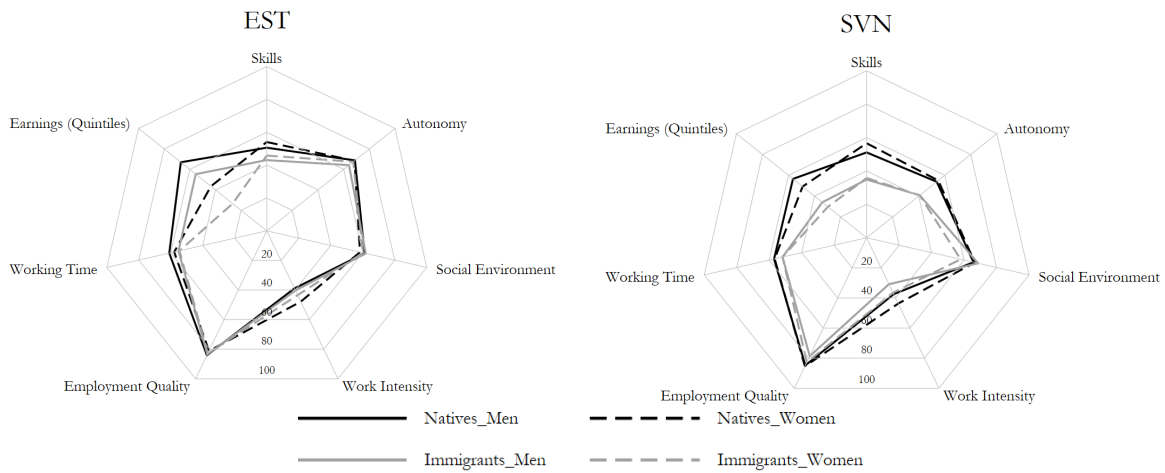




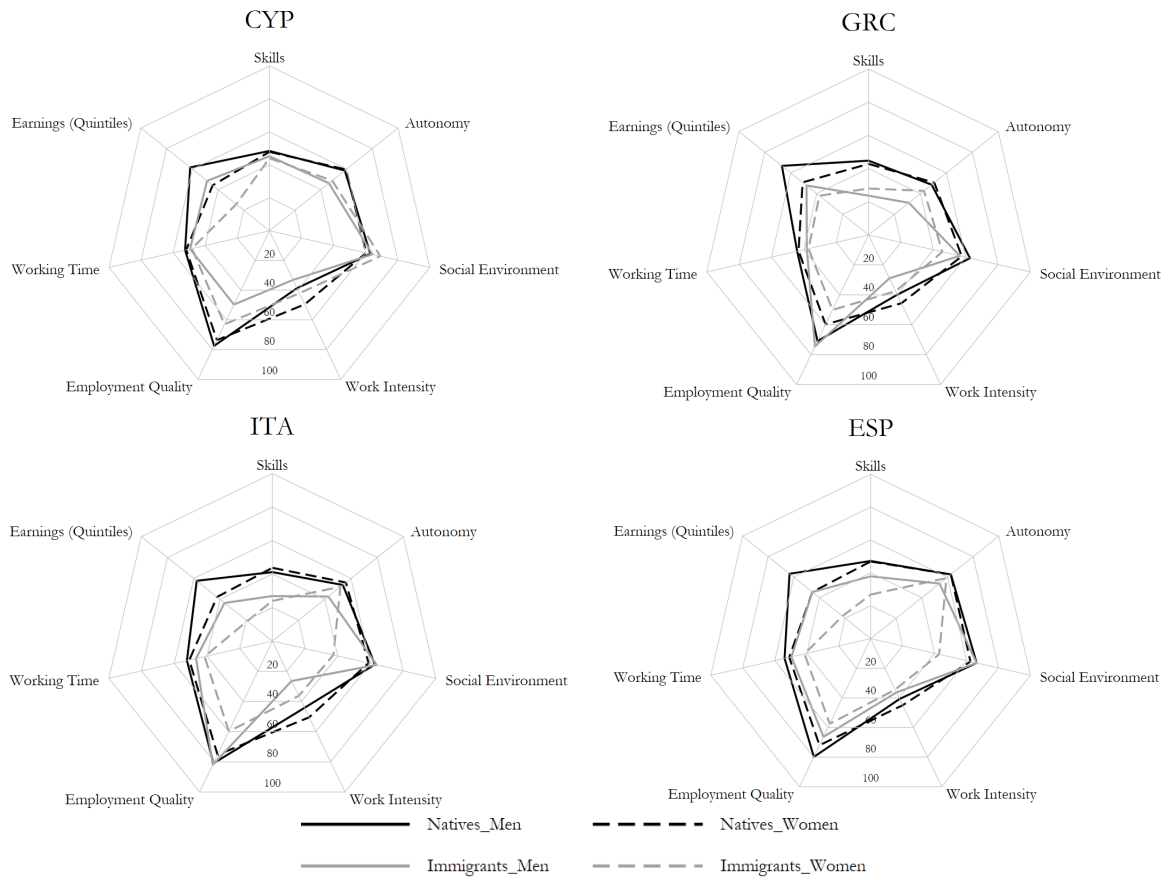
**Figure 2** – Work Quality, Nordic Cluster



**Figure 3 – Work Quality, Liberal Cluster**



**Figure 4 – Work Quality, Eastern Cluster**



**Figure 5 – Work Quality, Southern Cluster**

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