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Rawls' Second Principle of Justice and the Problem of Bad Work

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The ever-progressing division of labour leads to a growing gap between highly demanding, interesting and prestigious work on the one hand, and cruel, dull and demeaning work on the other hand. Advances in automation are likely to increase this division between good and bad work even further. This seems especially problematic since those most likely ending up having to do bad work are those already worst-off. But not only are the least advantaged members in society most prone to end up having to do society's bad work, due to their vulnerability they often work for the lowest wages. Yet, it is utopian to think that this problem will resolve itself due to automation and technological advancement. Certain forms of bad work simply cannot be improved. This is problematic if the work is socially necessary bad work. This raises the question of how a fair distribution of and compensation for bad work could look like. I will answer this question in the light of Rawls' second principle of justice. According to the difference principle, an unequal distribution of benefits and burdens is justified, 1) if it is to everyone's advantage, especially that of the worst-off, and 2) if the more advantaged positions are connected to offices and position open to all under fair equality of opportunity. While Rawls assumes his second principle of justice to apply to the distribution of burdens as well, he never spells out its implications. Yet, it seems that there is a crucial difference between benefits and burdens that might affect the inner logic of this principle: While a defence of an unequal distribution of benefits needs to explain why it is better for certain people to have more benefits and hence to be better off than others, a vindication of an unequal division of burdens needs to explain why certain people should be carrying higher burdens and hence suffer more than others. After all, the burdens of bad work can severely damage people's expectations of wellbeing and hence put them at a serious disadvantage. Thus, whether (and the extent to which) the second principle of justice is applicable to burdens as well, differs depending on whether we assume benefits and burdens to be commensurable or not. Assuming that the burdens of bad work are incommensurable with benefits (and hence that x units of burdens cannot be compensated by y units of primary goods), an unequal distribution of burdens would be justified only if it leads to a drastic reduction in the overall amount of burdens, and hence also of the share carried by the least advantaged members of society (as compared to a state of equality). If we assume that benefits and burdens are commensurable (and hence that x units of burdens can be compensated by y units of primary goods), the difference principle would justify an unequal distribution of burdens as long as the individual share of primary good of everyone, including those performing bad work is higher than in a state of equality – even after having subtracted the individual's losses due to the burden of bad work. However, in both cases the lexically prior condition of fair equality of opportunity needs to be met as well, which leads to problems: even in highly idealized settings, the changes of not having to do bad work differ due to social and natural inequalities. Unless we assume that these losses can be compensated as well (which presupposes

commensurability), the difference principle does not justify an unequal distribution of burdens such as bad work. This raises the question of whether Rawls' second principle is an appropriate principle for guiding the distribution of burdens in the first place.

New paradigm in producing general interest services in basic income and post-employment system: scenario of peer production of the public health and a happier society

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Technological unemployment together with eldery societies in developed countries is a challenge for maintaining wellbeing in the population. While UBI promises some positive outcomes, there is no guarantee that cash transfers will result in positive outcomes in the domain of public health. This paper will argue that a basic income (the version of a UBI that allows a decent living) should be accompanied by additional health measures and services to complement the existing ones. I will explore health (care) outside of the institutionalized domain of state or private medical services or professional alternative and complementary medicine. I will not deal with any reforms in these sectors or propose to replace them. Instead, I will propose additional measures, namely peer production of nonprofessional services outside of state or market provision. UBI can free energy to engage in preventive approach to health and thus a better use of resources. The paper will be an invitation to imagine new organizational structures to promote health. The major part of this paper will focus on the reasons to introduce additional platforms to produce health. The rest will imagine some examples of such nonprofessional services and outline a research agenda to advance this scenario. Such a paradigm change in organizing public health may require new way of thinking in public administration and inspire grassroots' organizing.

Working makes one worthy. Narratives of work, social entitlements and poverty in post-communist Romania

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As the future of both paid work and the classic welfare state look grim, two main concerns shape current discussions about the end of post-industrial order: the rise of robotics and various proposals for an universal basic income (Srniczek and Williams: 2015). Some form of universal basic income is seen as a solution to overcoming the disappearing of some traditional jobs, as well as the ever-deepening social inequality in developed and developing countries. However, giving citizens an unconditional cash transfer is not, as one can imagine, an uncontroversial proposal. This article addresses one of the most invoked argument in the Universal Basic Income (UBI) debates, that a *post-work society* (Wilson: 2004; Beck: 2014; Srniczek and Williams: 2015) where anyone can receive money transfers, irrespective of work status, citizenship or deservingness (as UBI is in the original proposal by van Parijs) is an immoral one, as it allows (certain) individuals to be lazy and/ or take advantage of others. In my proposed presentation, I will look at this debate in the Romanian context, where public debates have often veered after 1989 in the direction of *poverty shaming* (Walker and Chase: 2012). Drawing on my previous research (Dragolea: 2016), I will argue that social policy in Romania has been and still is shaped by two interlinked processes. On one hand, I will show, using evaluative and critical literature

review, that the post-communist welfare and social policy academic studies have emphasized paid work as a fit-for-all anti-poverty solution. While this approach was reflected in public policy making, there is ample empirical evidence that in-work-poverty is in Romania prevalent and hard to escape, especially for women, single-parents and Roma population. On the other hand, I will show that the perpetuation by the mass media of the image of the *undeserving poor* (Kitschelt: 1995), people that shouldn't be entitled to social benefits unless they work, makes it very difficult to overcome the narrative that links work and deserving social entitlements. In the final section of my presentation I will question the potential impact of these two factors on future discussion about implementing some form of UBI in Romania.

New Forms of Trade Unionism

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Collective identity politics in the labour relations have been the predominant form of worker agency representation. Since the industrial revolution time, the trade unionism has been considered to be vital intermediary in securing betterment of work and living conditions of the workers. Trade unions played an active role in representing workers and the collective action have been instrumental in achieving the present day labour regulations both at local and international level. While the prominence of workers collective identity is considered vital, the contemporary work relations have been putting forth challenges towards to this traditional form of collective identity. Contrarily, the new form of service industry such as ICT-ITES, specifically those involving high-end knowledge workers, the formal collectivization is becoming obsolete and redundant. Hence, this essay is an attempt towards establishing new theoretical insights on the existing trade unions in the context of technology proliferation of new-age workforce (knowledge workers). It also seeks to unravel the (possible) emergence of trade unions in the ICT-ITES sector in India.

Reification Under the Hegemony of Immaterial Labour

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The phenomenon of reification, although a central theme of discussion, at least in the broader tradition of humanist Marxism, from the 1920s until the 1960s, has, largely, fallen out of fashion within radical political theory – with some notable exceptions, such as the works of Moishe Postone, Paolo Virno, Franco (Bifo) Berardi, Anselm Jappe, and Axel Honneth – since the 1970s. It is exactly in that same period (i.e., the 1970s, with the end of the Bretton Woods system in 1971- 1973 constituting a key turning point) that a number of crucial changes in the form of capitalism emerge. Changes such as the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism and from the hegemony of material to the hegemony of immaterial labour, the fall of the (Keynesian) planner-state and the rise of the crisis-state with the dominance of the neoliberal economic model, and the resulting alterations in the composition of capital and the working-class. The main goal of my presentation is to discuss the phenomenon of reification in light of the above changes. I plan to do that by addressing the question of how is reification to be (re)approached in the context of the hegemony of immaterial labour, and more specifically, the question of if and how reification

changes in that context either from a qualitative or a quantitative point of view. In order to address the above questions, I will start with an analysis of the hegemony of immaterial labour based on the broader approach of Michael Hardt and Toni Negri, as explicated in their joint works, with a special emphasis on their positions on the real subsumption of labour, society, and life under capital and the demise of the (sharp) division between labour time and leisure time. Furthermore, and taking into account the essentially linguistic and affective character of immaterial labour, I will also present some of the main points of my unorthodox reading of Wittgenstein's later philosophy as a critique of the reification of meaning, language, and consciousness. In such a way I aim to highlight how reification under the hegemony of immaterial labour becomes, on the one hand, even deeper and more widespread and, on the other hand and at the same time, due to this very immaterial/biopolitical character of the hegemonic mode of production, easier to be recognized as a mystifying phenomenon and to be (potentially) overcome.

The goods of work outside paid employment

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In a paper published by the Journal of Social Philosophy last year, Lisa Herzog and I have argued that the evaluation of labour markets and of particular jobs ought to be sensitive to a plurality of benefits and burdens of work. We use the term 'the goods of work' to refer to those benefits of work that cannot be obtained in exchange for money and that can be enjoyed mostly or exclusively in the context of work. Drawing on empirical research and various philosophical traditions of thinking about work we have identified four goods of work: 1) attaining various types of excellence; 2) making a social contribution; 3) experiencing community; and 4) gaining social recognition. Our account of the goods of work can be read as unpacking the ways in which work can be meaningful. The distribution of the goods of work within paid employment is a concern of justice for two conjoint reasons: First, they are part of the conception of the good of a large number of individuals. Second, in societies without an unconditional income and in which most people are not independently wealthy, paid work is non-optional and workers have few, if any, occasions to realize these goods outside their job. Taking into account the plurality of the goods of work and their importance for justice challenges the theoretical and political status quo, which focuses mostly on justice with regard to the distribution of income. We defend this account against the libertarian challenge that a free labour market gives individuals sufficient options to realise the goods of work important to them, and discuss the challenge from state neutrality. We also indicate possible implications for today's labour markets. However, the reforms we discuss may seem, with respect to many kinds of jobs, anachronistic. Several labour market experts predict the disappearance of whole categories of jobs, due to computerisation. The question then is whether it is a good idea to channel energy into reforming jobs that might cease to exist soon, such that they can provide some of the goods of work. A better solution might be to create alternative possibilities for the enjoyment of these goods outside paid employment. I side with the second possibility and explain that the goods of work can be realised outside paid employment. I will also argue, in this paper, that the likelihood of growing levels of unemployment in the future puts further normative pressure on the creation of universal basic income policies in order to provide all individuals opportunities to enjoy the special goods of work outside paid employment.

How much should we work? Overwork, overemployment and the justifiability of policies of working time reduction

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My research project deals with normative questions relating to overwork and overemployment. More specifically, I analyse the justifiability of policies of working time reduction and the distributive justice of working time and leisure. Recent contributions in the field of normative philosophy of work have mainly focused on: a) The regulation of the quality of work (Are state efforts to make meaningful work more widely available morally permissible?), b) The control over work (Should states aim at democratizing the workplace and or the ownership of productive means?) and c) The pay for work: (What kinds of productive activities should be paid? Are citizens entitled to a Universal Basic Income?) However, much less attention has been paid to questions pertaining to the regulation of the quantity of work – that is to say to the question how many hours we should work. Proponents of working time reduction have long argued that several problems of contemporary welfare states could be tackled by shortening average working time to approximately 20 hours per week. Shorter working hours could create a redistributive employment effect (Bosch and Lehdorff 2001; Walker 2007), reduce greenhouse gas emissions (Rosnick and Weisbrot 2007; Hayden and Shandra 2009), improve gender equality (Weeden 2014) and reduce overwork (Burke et al 2008). These arguments draw on a long-standing tradition of thought which has it that technological progress should mainly serve to free humans from unnecessary work and free up time for higher self-realizing activities (Gorz 1999; Keynes 1963). However, I argue that in spite of their intuitive appeal, many of the above-listed consequentialist arguments do not succeed in establishing the justifiability of state promoted working time reduction. In her recent book *Free Time*, Julie Rose (2016) defends the view that free time should be regarded as a resource to which all citizens need to have access in order to advance their conception of the good life. She advocates maximum work hour legislations and Sunday closing laws on the grounds that citizens are entitled to a fair share of free time. While more defensible, this argument is limited in scope in the sense that it does not succeed in justifying the more radical proposal to significantly expand leisure and move toward the utopian goal of a ‘society of freed time’ (Gorz 1999). I advance a different argument for state-promoted working time reduction, which holds that such labour market interventions are legitimate in so far as they are targeted at correcting a market failure that leads to an objectionable under provision of leisure. Firstly, labor markets, operating under familiar idealized conditions, create an allocation of working time that unfairly benefits individuals with preferences for long working hours. This is due to a Prisoners Dilemma type coordination problem, which leads to a situation where it is rational for each individual to pursue a ‘long-work-hours-strategy’ although everyone could be better off if a ‘reduced-work-hours-strategy’ was chosen by everyone. Secondly, and related to that, this allocative pattern creates an unfair disadvantage for women, who on average have less opportunities to use long working hours as a means of advancing their careers. I argue that policies of working time reduction are justifiable insofar as they help to overcome a coordination problem that unduly restricts citizens ability to opt for short work hours arrangements. I then defend this argument against several objections – the most important one being that policies of working time reduction violate the liberal demand for state neutrality.

Digital literacy of the occupational structure: Unique pattern or a myriad of patterns across Europe?

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What occupations are more likely to attain updated digital skills? How does digital literacy furnish the occupational structure across different European countries? Is there a unique pattern or a myriad of patterns based on how digital literacy furnishes the occupational structure? My research objective is to build on the literature of “digital divide” or “digital inequality” (DiMaggio et al. 2004) in order to enhance the knowledge on the types of occupations resulted from levels of digital literacy employed, considering the short supply of papers in this area of study (Reinartz 2016). My research brings about types of occupations based on the digital literacy employed. The importance of the findings goes to the area of social mobility especially because if someone wants to get hired on a certain position, certain skills are required and this may provide an opportunity if they can have access to attaining those specific skills or a restriction in terms of social mobility if they do not have such an opportunity. While the literature review on digital inequality made by Reinartz (2016) considers it mainly a dependent factor in the explanation chain, I employ it as a predictor which reveals updated skills needed for a specific occupation, thus furnishing occupational typologies. I expect to find a higher likelihood for certain occupations to employ higher order digital literacy levels than for other occupations. As we know that education influences occupational attainment (Tufiş 2012), in the current research framework I expect that digital literacy will continue have an effect on occupational attainment, over and above the effect of education. For example, using a computer for programming activities is more likely to be a characteristic of certain types of occupation and less likely for other types. This is important especially because it creates the need for individuals to update their skills in order to be socially mobile or to achieve a certain occupation if they would like so. Its importance is also given by how the occupational structure is defined in terms of digital literacy. The dataset to be used measures technology at work, vocational training and occupational structure across Europe in 2004, having as unit of analysis individuals: Eurobarometer 62.1 – ZA4230 (European Commission 2012). Given that my dependent variable is measured at a nominal level, measuring the occupational structure using the available EGP class scheme, my research will employ multinomial regressions on each of the analyzed countries. The independent variables constructing digital literacy will be related to usage of technology, skills practiced while using technology, updated skills after finishing formal education, ways of training and their perceived importance. My models control for education, age, gender, size of locality and number of years of working experience.

Being Working Poor or Feeling Working Poor? The Effects of Work Intensity and Instability on Objective and Subjective Poverty

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As recent studies have pointed out, the number of working poor families is increasing. The fact that workers might live in households whose income is below the (relative) poverty line suggests

that having a job does not prevent households from the risk of poverty. All studies on working poor define poverty in monetary terms: an individual is considered poor if he/she lives in a household in which the household income (computed using equivalence scales) is below a given threshold (usually below 60% of the median household income of the population). Poverty, however, does not have an objective dimension only. On the one hand, subjective perception of poverty concerns an even larger share of the population. On the other hand, conceptualizing poverty in terms of material deprivation is relevant to understand families' well-being and consumption behaviours. As far as we know, none of the existing empirical evidence considers the subjective poverty and material deprivation as crucial dimensions when studying in-work poverty. Feeling poor or materially deprived may worsen subjective well-being and affect negatively the consumption levels regardless of the resources actually available to the household in terms of equalized income. We contribute to the literature on in-work poverty by tackling the issue of contrasting monetary poverty, subjective poverty, and material deprivation. We focus on Italy, that over the last decade has experienced a dramatic increase in the number of poor households (Filandri & Struffolino 2014). We use the 2014 Italian wave of the EU-SILC dataset (European Survey on Income and Living Conditions) that includes information on employment, income, and living condition of a sample of 19,663 households. We selected a subsample of 8,007 families with no retired individuals receiving pensions and with no more than two working members. This sample selection allows us to compare across a more homogeneous group of households. In the first part of the study we investigate the phenomenon of working poor by comparing the definitions of monetary poverty, subjective poverty, and material deprivation in terms of changes in the prevalence of the phenomenon. In the second part we investigate how the number of (full-time equivalent) earners within the household and the type of job contracts (permanent or temporary) of household members affect objective and subjective poverty of Italian households. Our results show that living in a dual-earner family does not prevent from feeling poor and/or materially deprived. What does matter is instead the stability of the job contracts. Having working members with temporary contracts, in fact, increases the probability of feeling poor and materially deprived for all level of household income (except for well-off families). Similar results are found for material deprivation. Our results have crucial policy implications. Governments should promote not only policies to increase employment tout court: attention should be paid in reducing work instability to increase population well-being, which might have long lasting consequences in other life domains. The spill over effects of fostering adequate level of consumption in the households will also serve the purpose of supporting the economic growth.

Understanding work as a fundamental category of capitalism: What does the crisis of work entail for contemporary society?

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This paper aims to discuss the present and future of work in the framework of the value-critique theory (also known as Wertkritik). As argued by value-critique theorists such as Robert Kurz, Norbert Trenkle, Anselm Jappe and others, a critique of modern society should not take the standpoint of any subject formulated by this society – as for example the working class. Instead, critique should challenge all the fundamental categories of modern society such as value, money,

capital and labour. The aim of this paper is to offer an insight to the following questions: Is the category of work trans-historical? What does the current crisis of work imply for the present and future of contemporary society? Why does thinking of a future beyond work entail considerable difficulties? The category of work is an ambiguous one. On the one hand, it is the banner under which all sides of society rally. Work is perceived as the creator of everything and there is a consensus, shared by both workers and capitalists, on the constant need for more work. On the other hand, work, in the form of abstract labour, is regarded as the “source of value” (Marx, 1992) and consequently, as the theory of value-critique points out, must be understood from the outset as a negative concept. As is the case for every social category, questioning *a priori* constructs (Vincent, 1991) through a historical conceptualization contributes to the understanding of the category of work. On this basis, the paper discusses the notion of work as a historical category specific to capitalism. Historical conceptualization will contribute to a better understanding of the category of work and its pivotal role in contemporary society. The expression “society of labour” used by value-critique theory to emphasize the importance of work for the constitution of contemporary society is indeed valid. In this context, work (or better yet, labour) is an abstract end-in-itself which acts as the internal motor for capitalist development. On this basis, understanding work is a key in understanding, on a deep and fundamental level, the logic of capitalism. Consequently, the crisis of work, in this light, may disclose the possible future of contemporary society. On this issue, the paper discusses the concept of abstract labour in the framework of what Marx identified in the *Grundrisse*, as the “moving-contradiction”. Any effort to rethink work and especially to envision a future without it, encounters a number of difficulties. As Kurz has aptly pointed out in the introduction of his book *Marx lessen* “it becomes very difficult to make any progress against labour”. These difficulties arise primarily from the “historical limitations inherent in society in which [one] live[s]” (Marx, 1992) and can be generally explained with the concept of fetishism. The final part of this paper briefly discusses what these historical limitations may entail for the subjectivity formulated in contemporary capitalism.

The Persistency in the Status of NEET: two different models in Europe?

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Young people should work, study or be in training. The unemployment and the inactivity are seen as socially undesired statuses. This negative idea is so pervaded that is often associated with shame, even as a self-presentation of young people (Karlsen et al., 2014). However the part of the young people that is out of the educational system and workless is not residual. The NEET acronym aims to be a comprehensive expression to include all young people to address a broad array of vulnerabilities among youth, touching on issues of unemployment, early school leaving and labour market discouragement. All these issues deserve warrant greater attention as young people continue to feel the aftermath of the economic crisis, particularly in advanced economies (Elder, 2015). However the literature has adopted almost only a cross sectional approach (e.g. Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Williamson, 2010). Longitudinal evidence is still lacking. Given the cross-sectional percentage of the young NEET, the NEET status may

concerns many young people for a limited period of time, or a smaller portion of young people but for a longer period of time . Moreover there can be relevant difference across countries. The article aims at starting to fill this two gap, analyzing the EU-SILC data from the period 2008-2014, in eight countries: Italy, France, Spain, UK, Poland, Czech Republic, Finland and Norway (largest sample size). The sample is restricted to the age group between 16 and 29 years old in the first year of observation and following them for four years. The first results show that - depending on the country- the condition of NEET can be both a persistent state and a transient state for short periods of time. It also seems to emerge a different model in the North and Central Europe, compared to the South and Eastern Europe.

Labor market liberalization and successful return to work for Italian injured workers.

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Policy reforms introduced in Italy after 1998 increased labor market flexibility but reduced job security. We investigate whether these reforms affected the successful return to work (RTW) of injured workers. The seminal study by Butler et al. (1995) highlighted that the focus on workers' first RTW can produce a very misleading picture. It does not capture the real post-injury employment dynamics, as many injured workers fail to return to stable employment and instead drop off the labor force, or experience several new disability spells. The outcome we analyze is the work status of the person up to 36 months after the first RTW: (i) non work; (ii) employed in the preinjury firm; (iii) employed in a different firm, with a permanent contract; (iv) employed in a different firm, with a temporary contract; (v) on leave because of a new incident. Italian injured workers enjoy full job protection (if hired with a permanent contract) till the end of the healing period. However, after RTW they are still at risk of layoffs if no viable accommodation is found, or may quit if they cannot cope with job demands. It becomes crucial to understand whether different rules about job security may affect their long run employment outcomes. In this paper, in an unchanged setting with respect to health insurance and welfare provisions, we focus on EPL reforms, defining a period "before" (1994-1997), a period "during" (1998-2001) and a period "after" (2002- 2005) liberalization. We use a database that combines individual employment histories from the Work Histories Italian Panel (WHIP) with injuries records from the Italian national workers' compensation agency. The matched database is a 1:15 random sample of the population (about 1.5 million workers each year) covering the period 1994-2012. Our final sample includes about 29,000 incidents for 27,442 workers. Multinomial logit estimates show that reforms made successful RTW less dependent on national employment protection rules and potential accommodation (linked to firm size) and more a function of individual's human capital (as measured by wage). Liberalization reforms decreased job security particularly for injured workers hired with temporary contracts. But all injured workers lost protection if they earned low preinjury wages: as the reforms were introduced, workers with higher preinjury wages had lower probability of non-work or of moving to a new firm under a temporary contract, they faced increasing probability of remaining in their preinjury firm, or of joining a new firm with a permanent contract. Women and immigrants were penalized more. For women and immigrants the probability of remaining in the same firm flips after the reform and becomes negatively related to firm size. This suggests that larger firms took advantage of the

liberalization reforms to reduce the share of injured women and migrants on their payroll. For immigrants, the most vulnerable, this process started as soon as the reforms rolled in; for women, as the reforms were completed

The Possible Implications of Universal Basic Income for the Feminization of Poverty and for Gender Equity

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The viability of the existing welfare state is being questioned across Europe and the discussion around UBI can be linked to the drafting of a new welfare state model, one that recognizes the new gender order. This paper proposes a gender perspective on the potential effects of a Universal Basic Income (UBI). Seeing how one of the main functions the welfare state is preventing and eliminating poverty and seeing how there is an over-representation of women among the poor, this paper will try to answer whether UBI could be a potentially poverty eradicating tool. Furthermore, I find that a better version of the welfare state needs to involve a new “*gender contract*” and, according to Fraser (1994), the path to gender equity within this contract is possible through three different kinds of policies: the universal breadwinner model, the caregiver parity model or the universal caregiver model. It is important to establish, from a feminist point of view, which of these models of gender equity proponents of UBI have in mind when arguing in favour of the policy. Using the current discussions and literature on the subject, I argue that UBI could be a poverty eradicating tool if (1) the amount is sufficiently high to ensure de-commodification; (2) it is truly universal (no one is excluded due to implementation bottlenecks); (3) its consequences on existing welfare programs don't entail eliminating benefits in a manner that would directly disadvantage the worst-off (e.g. basic medical care, education, disability benefits); (4) it is paired with policies specifically designed to challenge women's „double day”. Moreover, having the most prominent arguments of UBI proponents in mind, I argue that UBI would not be the optimal policy for achieving gender equity through any of Fraser's (1994) models of welfare state.

The Rise of the Trust Worker

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Today, digital platforms like Uber, AirBnb, TaskRabbit and many others disrupt occupational and organizational boundaries. They create jobs that are contingent and they turn every idle asset into a productive piece of capital. However, identification of the work and the worker in these platforms is obscured. Interpretive schemes of individuals and the orientation of organizational practices have reassigned meaning for who should be called an employee, employer or a customer. More importantly, the role of institutions has subsided since there are no regulators left to control the assets that are being shared, rented or swapped. Within this network of relations individuals trade their talent, product or know-how and they do not have to use a central institution or an organization for doing so. In an autonomous market as such, the future of work will transform significantly. Previous terminology will fade away, as every single individual would be capable of selling their labor power independently. From songwriters to academics and unemployed groups with the necessary skills and assets would be able to execute services without paying any commission fee to intermediaries. On one hand, it creates an insecure and

inconsistent market because it would not be possible to protect transactions or ensure user rights. On the other, it will distribute wealth in a more egalitarian and fair way where the suppliers of various services would be compensated directly. While selling their own labor power, emerging actors in this economy are not considered as employees or owners of their work. So how should we classify them? I propose that a new employment category is needed for these “workers” who are both providers and guarantors of their services. They participate from all around the world with various skillsets, assets and socio-economic status. They aim to fulfill the expectations of consumers by providing transparent, accountable and distributed information about their capabilities and past performance. For that reason, at their core these actors are providers of trust and participants of a democratized platform economy. Therefore work has been tied to social capital more than ever. Through a literature review on the history of contingent work and the evolution of social capital in organizations, I will denote the need for a new employment category called “trust workers”. The conceptual framework I aim to outline will provide a theoretical model for the new worker in platform economy and thus will contribute to the surroundings of the future of work.

Mental Capital and the New World of Work - A Critical Analysis of European Union’s Occupational Mental Health Policy Frames

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As the world of work is changing, so is the subjectivity of the worker. New technologies of the self are required for the adaptation to the new configurations of the labour scene. This paper meshes a late-Foucauldian governmentality approach with post-Marxist concepts such as immaterial labour in order to critically examine projections of the future world of work present in EU policy texts, as well as representations of the role workers’ mental health and well-being will increasingly play as we transition more and more towards the *informatization* of labour. A Critical Frame Analysis approach will be used in the analysis 17 EU documents on the topics of labour changes and occupational mental health (OMH), in order to bring to light taken-for-granted ideas about the nature of these changes, the subjectivity of the worker and the role of mental health in a context in which productivity depends increasingly on our cognitive and emotional skills. The opening up of these representations, of the diagnoses and prognoses contained in the policy frames present at an EU level, will expose power relations embedded in them, tensions, contradictions, and instances of resistance, thus sketching a nuanced landscape of an EU-level perspective on present and future labour developments and the role mental health as a key resource, as a new form of capital, plays in them.

Creativity Beyond Humans. New Perspectives on Work Engagement in the Field of Communication

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In the age of “post-truth”, bots are designing logos (Logojoy), writing press releases, building PR campaigns, launching products (Pingo), preparing agencies’ showcases (Saatchi & Saatchi) or even creating music for ads, writing scripts, posting spots and buying media (Coca Cola). The world’s first Creative Director robot, called AI-CD β , was used in 2016 by McCann Erickson

Japan to compete with a human, while Saatchi & Saatchi launched in the same year, the first movie conceived, edited and directed by machines. According to ECM 2017, over 40% of practitioners were pointing out that ‘coping with the digital evolution and the social web’ will be the ‘most important strategic issue for communication management until 2020’ while only 6.2 organizations are using social boots today. A more general landscape is showing a huge country-to-country difference. For example, in Germany over 67.1% of communication practitioners are following the debate about social boots while in Romania we can hardly call it a “debate” while only 21.6% of the communication practitioners are aware about a possible use of social boots. In less than 10 milliseconds (faster than a blink of a human eye) computers are taking decisions about what kind of products to be shown on ads, according to the user profile. In the same time the main concern of the marketers now is: how to deal with big data (2.5 quintillion bytes of data is daily released - according to IDC), while less than [0.5%](#) of this data is ever collected, analyzed and used. Our paper explores topics related to the future of work in advertising aiming to frame a hypermodern paradigm in designing work in the field of communication.

Living on Projects: Reconfigurations of Work and International Intervention

Nejra Nuna Čengić, New Europe College, Institute for Advanced Studies, Bucharest

I propose to present findings of my ongoing research about the role of international intervention in the transformation of work relationships. Specifically I explore transformations of lives and work of ‘locals’ engaged in internationally-funded project-based work in the city of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Positioned primarily against those in permanent publicly-funded jobs, still widely regarded as a norm, this local group is marked by permanent insecurity, uncertainty, living from project to project (some for 25 years) - a specific precarity along with certain privileges, produced by the transformation of labour under the umbrella of postwar humanitarian, peacebuilding, democratising, ‘Europeanising’ intervention. The study asks: How do project-based work experiences affect broader temporal reasoning? How has the passage of time (sometimes through different life cycles) impacted on their realisation of plans and hopes? More specifically: Do they attempt to follow ‘normative’ patterns of social reproduction? Have they developed back-up strategies and innovative adaptations to deal with precarity? Do they consider their position to be privileged? Who do they compare themselves with in such assessments? Should we consider local workers in this sector a distinct social group? Precariat (Standing 2011)? Projectariat (Baker 2014)? Do these local workers consider themselves agents of international intervention? How does international intervention affect their activism? To answer these questions, I trace life/work trajectories (based on in-depth interviews with Sarajevans with a minimum of ten years of cumulative working history in managerial or specialist positions on short-term internationally-funded projects) as strategies of social reproduction, with a special focus on possible changes in socio-economic status and in heteronormative patriarchal kinship relations. With this, I aim to contribute to the socio-political contextualization of work and life transformation and ongoing debates on workers’ autonomy and flexibility, capitalization of talent on the one hand and precariousness and insecurity on the other. The study constructs a dialogue between four cross-disciplinary bodies of literature: studies of post-war reconstruction, of precarious work, of postsocialist transformations, and of postcolonial subjectivity. The novelty of my investigation is at least dual: it situates transformations of employment *under the umbrella of international intervention* (i.e. not as a

separate, domestic issue) and it approaches research subjects primarily as *workers* (i.e. not as the 'voice of the locals'). I thus conceive of this project sector as an interface between international intervention and changes (particularly in life/work trajectories) *produced* by that intervention. The relative absence from scholarship of local workers in foreign-funded projects in BiH, among other reasons, is product of presumption that the status of their engagements is *transitory*. Yet, what when that status lasts for decades, as in BiH? What wider theoretical contribution can this inform on multiple transitions and transformations (war-affected or not) marking the 21th century globally, but less visibly and less acknowledged than in BiH? What new light can this shed on international intervention, peacebuilding, democratization and sovereignty today on the one hand and work transformation on the other?

Peer Production: Deconstructing Work and Leisure

HUANG, Hao, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

This research focuses on the new production paradigm in the networked society (i.e. “gig economy”): the common-based peer production. According to Yochai Benkler (2002, 2006), peer production is a socioeconomic mass-participated production type. A typical peer production is a collective and collaborative organization without a centralized or vertical authority. For instance, the open source communities (which are typical peer production organizations), which have become a substantial force in the software industry, are some loosely organized self-managed voluntary online communities. A typical peer production usually has fewer direct employees. Most participants are volunteers or employees from other companies and organizations. One of the biggest open source software project, the Linux Kernel has most of its contributions done by other companies’ employees. The latest stable version of Kernel (4.14.6) has 102 commits committed by 63 dedicated individuals. And only 10 out of the 63 people are employed by the Linux foundation. According to the developers’ words (Foster, 2017), they consider themselves a Linux Kernel developer first, an employee second. Thus the permanent value and interest of Linux Kernel development dissolved the traditional dichotomy of work and leisure. Peer production can even achieve higher productivity than traditional working styles. According to my researches (2016, 2017), software development projects adopting a peer production strategy can gain up to 79.6% of productivity than projects with-in a commercial company. This can be explained by theories including the open innovation (Chesbrough, 2005) and MYB production model. The productivity gain means even the commercial company are willing to open their production project (source codes), encourage and support their employees to contribute to the peer productions (at least in the software industry where the marginal cost is merely zero, open source strategy has become more and more popular). The peer production and open source boom is not only a culture-based hackerdom, but also a *gesellschaftlich* and rational behavior for homo economicus. Besides the deconstruction of work and leisure, peer production also blurred the boundary of production and consumption. Many users of peer production products are contributing to the production in different methods. Clay Shirky (2010) has indicated that the users of internet platforms are willingly and unconsciously contributing their ideas and knowledge (cognitive surplus according to Shirky). The same things happen with-in the internet-based peer production. When users are able to access the source codes and the developers freely, they are more willing to do bug reports, issues and pull requests (Huang,

2016). This research introduces and analyses peer production and its applications, indicates its economic and cultural advantages, and suggests the future development paths based on the common-based peer production.

Rethinking the future of work in the legal profession: May lawyers be replaced by Artificial Intelligence?

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The Tech revolution, driving new approaches to employment, has reached worldwide expression. Even the most conservative industries, such as the Legal Profession, are propelled to advance towards disruptive innovation to meet clients and market demands (Harper, 2013; Mottershead, 2010). Traditionally, the legal work requires long hours from lawyers, who perform extensive research and analytical tasks. Albeit the daunting demands, the linear career towards partnership is increasingly restricted. The up or out career model links with the business model. Drop in demand relates directly with more restrict career prospects (Lopes, 2016; Stumpf, 2007). Facing the challenge, lawyers embark on a multi-job career, throughout multiple industries and employers (Van Zandt, 2009). Nonetheless the career resemblance to boundaryless careers (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), the option is more an outcome of limited career prospects than a choice of lawyers to take (Cappelli, 1999; Dries, van Acker & Verbruggen, 2012; Lopes, 2016). Legal services fit the classic profile of an industry on the verge of disruption - the application of technology, Big Data Analysis and Artificial Intelligence (AI) in the legal sector may contribute for a paradigm shift on how legal work can be delivered. AI platforms may replace analytical tasks. Algorithms may be applied for prediction as well as to increase efficiency and for process improvement. A major question stands out: could it be the case that lawyers will, in the near future, be replaced by automated software or machine algorithms? Some studies revealed that the impact on lawyers working hours was non-significant (Remus & Levy, 2016). But there are literature pointing to a wider range of tasks that can be fully automated, impacting on the nature of working hours and jobs in a substantial level (McKinsey Global Institute, 2017; Susskind, 2008). This lecture proposes to explore the changes occurring in the legal profession, regarding the organization of work, career perspectives, team work and skills for career success in the future. A case study of technology and AI implementation by a Portuguese law firm will be presented. Implementation challenges will be shared and career impacts will be explored. Avenues for the work in the legal profession in the futures will be opened. Legal profession theories and career theories frame the discussion.

Tackling the Future of Work: Perceptions on Job Automation in Romania

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Andreea Nedelcu, Chief Business Development Officer, Questia Group

The contemporary work environments are transforming at a fast pace: advanced technology, increasing globalization, and the influx of a new generation of workers are all factors that will change the structures that govern the contemporary workplaces (Born and Drori 2015). All these trends – economic, technological, demographical – threaten to reduce work opportunities, in a time where the need for employment is growing, coupled with social and economic inequalities (ILO, 2016, OECD 2017). Together, these trends are likely to affect the quantity and quality of jobs that are available, as well as how and by whom they will be carried out (OECD 2017). In this sense, the future of work will offer both opportunities and constraints. The scientific research about work generally tends to be rather ad-hoc, narrow, circumscribed, and merely anecdotal (Coates 2002). Few studies take into consideration the topic from the workers' perspective. In this sense, we ask what is the level of awareness among employees regarding digital changes? How are they understanding job automation? Do they feel prepared for any of these changes? In order to answer these questions, this article aims to fill this gap by analyzing people's perceptions on the impact of digital on their work, as well as studying the changes that are occurring now and trying to understand their significance for the future. To do so, we conducted a study in July 2017 through an online survey among a sample of 500 respondents, aged 18+, working in the private and the public sectors in Romania. The research has +/- 4% margin of error, at a 95% confidence level. The findings show that employees understand and are anxious for the upcoming job automation that will affect the overall job market, but only few expect their own jobs or professions to be part of this process. Positive perceptions on the future of work are connected to economic growth and the opportunity to learn new things. On the other hand, work relations and the increase in societal inequalities have been attributed negative connotations due to digitalization.

Investigating Practices of Labour Exploitation of Bulgarian Citizens in Countries of the European Union

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Labour exploitation and its extreme forms such as forced labour, severe labour exploitation and trafficking in human is not new phenomenon globally. It is present also in Central and Eastern Europe, and in particular in Bulgaria (FRA 2015; Walk free 2016), even if there are different estimations of the number of those involved in it. According to ILO (2009), the indicators for labour exploitation are: low or no salary; wage manipulation; excessive working days or hours; bad living conditions; hazardous work; very bad working conditions; no access to education; no social protection (contract, social insurance, etc.) and no respect of labour laws or contract signed. Talking about the future of work and the de-regularisation tendencies of the labour markets in Europe used for the increase of its flexibility are raising also some concerns. The balance between employers and employees rights and responsibilities are challenged and a more precarious labour practices are implemented which increase the uncertainties and vulnerabilities for workers on the labour market. The transferred economic risk from the state to the private sector making it less regulated and giving it more space for irregularities can lead to the development of precarious work practices (Beck 2000). As Evans and Gibb (2009:2) stated "From a workers' point of view, precarious work is related to uncertain, unpredictable and risky employment." This study focuses on the scope and characteristics of this phenomenon, on the example of Bulgarian citizens working in EU countries. The study is based on in-depth

interviews on the factors leading to the workers' vulnerability (type of household, employment status, educational level and economic and social situation in the region of origin (Ranci 2011). Very often in practice those people combine multiple vulnerability characteristics (low educated, low income, no knowledge of foreign languages, single parents, and ethnic minorities). The limited information on this research phenomenon raises number of methodological challenges. There is a lack of quantitative data about the Bulgarian citizens with problematic labour experience abroad. However multiple sources suggest the existence of labour exploitation in number of countries and sectors (for example construction workers, carers, agriculture workers). So the methodological choice is to carry out in-depth interviews with Bulgarian citizens with working experience abroad. The selection of the respondents will include respondents in settlements in Bulgaria with high unemployment rates and the concentration of citizens with low level of education and qualification, where emigration is seen as an opportunity and exit from this situation, which is in line with the recent conclusions of FRA (2015) that the main reason for working abroad is the lack of work in Bulgaria. The paper will present the finding of the pilot study and will address the specific situation and challenges of the emigrants from Bulgaria to other EU countries and the mechanisms used for overcoming the vulnerabilities of the workers.

Writing precarities in academic workplaces: narratives of exclusion through unequal access to writing

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The power to speak against unequal treatments is often held back by lack of authority, status or meaningful cues worthy of legitimizing one's act. Despite this, in some academic landscapes, as a compensatory form of retribution, access to collaboration in research projects is seen as a status worthy of effort. This analysis focuses on the precarity of such projects, especially on unequal access to writing, in collaborative projects of doctoral (female) candidates or other junior researchers in relation to more established (male) academics. Writing is seen as a fundamental activity for having an academic self. This writing inequality is a form of silencing one's intellectual worth and of reproducing different (gender) inequalities. In order to do that, I studied practices and meanings of writing refusals in academic workplaces. In pursuance of this, I followed the narratives of junior academics about their working and writing trajectories from their beginnings in academia. These stories of often-failed-writing are depicted through personal accounts of discomforts of exclusion, but also through negotiation and empowerment. The potential disruptive nature of my research, as well as the promising interpretations that laid under the first interactions regarding to hidden writing activities, was obvious when some of the questions were received as a potential threat to one's professional worth and identity, posing ethical boundaries that needed to be accounted for. Hidden writing trajectories (stratifying practices like negotiation of one's ideas or political standpoint in collaborative writing, subaltern relationships and the struggles of solo writing) are important for their potential to be used as a regain of power and as means to re-signify exclusion from writing and use it to construct some form of social resistance. Being refused the writing can take many forms. Refusing to write becomes a mean of empowerment. There is a ubiquitous narrative of academic labor precariousness associated with writing in underpaid or unpaid conditions, often subdued or re-imagined in a positive manner by placing writing and being an academic writer as a privilege,

but reassigning different and empowered meanings can transform these fragile writing processes in allies of resilient and resistant professional trajectories.

The Influence of Work Tools on the Frequency of Performing Cognitive Tasks: Firm-Level Evidence from Germany

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The ongoing computerization of our economy leads to fundamental changes in the working environment. In order to evaluate the impact of technological change, Autor, Levy and Murnane (2003) introduced the so-called “task-based approach” distinguishing between routine and non-routine tasks. Whereas computers substitute for workers skills in performing routine tasks, they are complementary in performing non-routine tasks, such as problem solving. This leads to changes in the task composition of workers. This paper empirically investigates the influence of technological change on the frequency of workers performing cognitive, nonroutine tasks. As an instrument to measure technological change, information on work tools (Troll, 2002) is used. Data and Measures: The BIBB Training Panel The BIBB Establishment Panel on Training and Competence Development (BIBB Training Panel) is an annual survey to collect representative longitudinal data on the training activities of companies in Germany. Around 3,500 establishments participate every year. Selection takes place via a disproportionately stratified sample of the statistical population of all companies with one or more employees subject to mandatory social insurance contributions. The analysis is based on information provided by the 2016 and 2017 survey waves. Companies indicate how often low, medium and high-skill workers use certain hardware and software applications ranging from electrical tools and computers to multimedia and analytics software. In addition, information on the frequency of workers with different skill levels executing cognitive tasks is provided. Frequencies are measured in five categories from never (1) to very often (5). Methodology In order to analyze the influence of work tools on the frequency of workers performing cognitive tasks an ordered probit model is applied. The five frequency categories of cognitive tasks are the outcome variable, whereas the usage of work tools acts as a predictor. The dataset also contains information on firm characteristics, such as sector, number of employees and region, which are used as controls. In order to take worker skill heterogeneity into account, the model is estimated separately for three skill groups (low, medium and high-skill workers). Expected Results Work tools are expected to vary regarding their depth of influence on cognitive tasks. The more technologically advanced tools are and the more frequently they are used, the more demanding work becomes. Ultimately, this might lead to an increase in the performance of cognitive, nonroutine tasks. The distribution of work tools over the three different skill groups differs substantially; hence the effects on cognitive tasks can be expected to differ in magnitude. Observing the skill groups who are subject to a stronger increase in cognitive tasks could hint towards potential labour market implications. Also, it might reveal the need for further education and training. This paper contributes to research by concentrating on the complementary nature of technology regarding

the performance of cognitive, nonroutine tasks. This marks an extension to previous studies focussing solely on the substitution of routine tasks due to automation.

Quantifying the Future of Work.

A task level approach to forecasting the future of human capital

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A great many studies have been published in recent years purporting to forecast the future of occupations and human competencies, collectively described as work. Many such studies are founded on questionable methodological bases. While often employing an innovative approach, forecasts regularly lack an appropriate and consistent unit of analysis which can be used to describe both the demand for and supply of human capital. This results in wildly differing prognoses for the future of work, ranging from the benign to the apocalyptic, and puts the design of effective educational and social policy at risk. To expand opportunity to all workers in the future, we must resolve this issue preventing consistent and reliable analysis of the future of work. Our paper addresses this by first examining weaknesses in the information available to specialists and researchers on the supply and demand of human capital. We do so by interrogating the three units of analysis most commonly used to analyze work today, occupations, education and skills, and by highlighting gaps in their application to understanding and forecasting the future of work. We go on to present a method of collecting data systematically on human competencies at the task level, a more descriptive unit of analysis. Finally, we propose a method for forecasting the future supply of and demand for human capital using the task unit of analysis, and share policy insights for educators and employers from data gathered in our research to date. Our conclusions highlight the weakness of traditional units of analysis for analyzing the current and future state of work, and identify opportunities to better match the supply and demand of human capital as the nature of work evolves.

Agency and Abstract Labour

Simon Tunderman, Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS)

The CfP is right to say that the future of work is already here; at the same time, however, it could be said that the future of work is not here yet. Despite the theoretical possibility of a different social organisation of work, work (labour) still functions as what Moishe Postone, following Marx, calls a social mediation. That is, in modern capitalist society labour relations remain one the foundational principles which determine how people relate to each other. And this despite the fact that work, as a source of value, has become relatively less important for the production of economic wealth due to rising levels of productivity and a changing organic composition of capital. If work has become relatively less important for the production of wealth, but remains fundamental as a social matrix of capitalist society, then this raises the question as to why a different future of work has not come about. The 'futuristic' forms of work of the gig and sharing economies remain firmly situated in the old social function of work, because they bind people in the social value mediation of labour, if only more precariously. For that matter, the gig economy also illustrates the distinction, analysed by Postone as the central contradiction of capitalism,

between wealth and value: the value produced by work in this economy is small relative to the wealth circulating in companies like Uber and Deliveroo. So despite the fact that the importance of work in terms of value creation diminishes relative to total wealth produced, value as the objectification of labour continues to be a social mediation that structures relations between people. In other words, the future of work is announced by the apparent obsolescence of work, but at the same time this future is postponed indefinitely as long as labour relations remain their function of social mediation. The question I would like to begin to address in my contribution is why this is the case. How, then, is the value mediation upheld in the face of its relative economic decline in terms of wealth production? To narrow down this broad question, I will formulate it as a question internal to the work of Postone. As he himself admitted in *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*, the question about structure and agency remains underexposed in his work. As a consequence, his account of abstract labour domination privileges the structural dimension, while the question of human practice retreats into the background. In my contribution, I will bring in the concept of articulation as put forward by Ernesto Laclau to account for the dimension of agency in the structure of abstract labour. What I will present, then, is an account of how the abstract labour mediation is constituted by the articulation of individual labour acts. In turn, bringing in the individual dimension of agency in this way will shed new light on the question what accounts for the fact that abstract labour and value remain a fundamental principle for structuring relations between people.

What do contemporary social movements say about work? Evidences from Western and Eastern Europe

Raluca ABASEACA, Research Institute of the University of Bucharest/ICUB

The fall of communism has succeeded in imposing the idea that the major challenges of neo-liberal capitalism and of liberal democracy have been confined to the dustbin of history. Nevertheless, socio-economic discontent returned as an important feature of mobilizations in the global justice movement emerged at the turn of the millennium and in the anti-austerity protests that, starting with 2010, raised issues concerning labor rights, redistribution, social welfare. The activists involved in these movements contested precariousness and reclaimed a universal basic income. More recently, the recent European migration crisis led to mobilizations against immigrants 'stealing jobs' from the local citizens in many countries of Western and Eastern Europe. Therefore, the issues concerning work remained relevant for the contemporary collective actions. In this context, relying on data and examples from contemporary social movements in Western and in Eastern Europe (mostly on the case of Belgium and Romania), my presentation will focus on the activists' visions of work and of the future of work and more generally, on the connection between work and collective action. Second, I will emphasize the difference between social movements emerging in the context of the economic crisis in Western Europe and in Central and Eastern Europe and I will illustrate what is at stake for the future of work. I will show that, unlike in the case of Western Europe, where the crisis has triggered a salience of socioeconomic issues, in Central and Eastern Europe, the economic crisis was connected to "the pre-existing corruption and political scandals" (Kriesi, 2008). The differences of the activists' visions and claims on work in Western Europe and in Central and Eastern Europe depend on the different socio-economic trajectories of the spaces in which these movements operate. Unlike in

the case of Western Europe, the calls for higher wages and the right to work have a lower resonance in the post-communist space, being associated with the state socialist system.

Overcoming the one-dimensional worker: Towards an intersectional methodology

Nicoleta-Elena Apostol, University of Bucharest, Romania

I start by arguing that the concept of domestic and care labor has a pivotal role in showing the conditions of possibility of the universal worker. Since the late 1960s, socialist feminists have emphasized that the one-dimensional working subject, projected by public policy, was able to engage in full-time paid employment – and, consequently, was entitled to full benefits – because it was taken for granted that the activities of social reproduction were the responsibility of other subjects. Both in the male breadwinner-female homemaker family and in the dual-earner model – and independently from the states' contribution to social reproduction – the household “adjunctified” work was primarily expected from women, while the significations of the universal worker converged with a homogeneous masculine identity. As women's participation in the labor market has increased in the global North-West, domestic and care labor has become, to a greater extent, a precariously regulated waged work, either performed by migrant women and by other categories of women who lack “employability”. The concept of domestic and care labor – as part of the social reproduction processes – represents an essential point of departure in rethinking work. The issue is not only to gain more recognition for domestic and care labor and its inequalities – as both waged and non-waged work – but to challenge the “traditional” labor policymaking which conveniently does not consider systematically the dynamics between the public (market-driven) and the private (individual/ family) spheres of life, and how they shape work(ing) experiences. In order to overcome the one-dimensional worker as the privileged subject of policymaking and, ultimately, of labor politics, intersectional methodologies need to be applied. Intersectionality is both a theory and a perspective which places at its center the principle that categories of difference – such as gender, class, race/ ethnicity, nationality/ migrant status, disability, sexuality – are not experienced in a “separate and additive” manner but produce inequalities which are “interactive and multiplicative in their effects” (Chafetz, 1997, p. 115). Intersectionality can be used (1) (inter)categorically, to enhance comparison between social categories (for example women and men) while paying attention to the interaction with co-existing identity dimensions which are deemed relevant for the purpose of the research (for e.g. age, religious belief); and (2) intracategorically, to examine how the experiences of the members of the same social category or social group are not homogeneous, but vary across axes of difference. However, the overall focus is not on groups and subgroups *in se* and *per se* but on the power relations which produce specific discriminatory dynamics (structural intersectionality) and/ or the inadequate political representation of experiences and interests (political and representational intersectionality).

The Future of Work and the Crisis of the Left: Has the European Left become Conservative?

Valentin Quintus Nicolescu, and Vlad Bujdei-Tebeica, National University of Political Science and Public Administration. Bucharest/SNSPA

When problematizing the future of work, there seem to be two main sides of the argument: either the advancement of technology will free us from doing labor for the sake of daily subsistence, or it will leave many people in a position of socio-economic vulnerability with no prospect of employment and of ensuring that day-to-day existence. So far, the traditional left seems to have positioned itself on the second side of the debate, in a struggle to preserve jobs which face redundancy. However, we believe that this is in contradiction with one of the fundamental principles of the left: progressivism. In our presentation we will argue that the European socialist and communist parties that are part of the European Left, despite their form of discourse and the progressive values assumed formally, present certain conservative traits. Thus, we aim to answer the following questions: (1) what role does the left in Europe still play in the ideological debate about the future of work?, (2) are the European socialist and communist parties fundamentally conservative parties? and (3) can the Left still be a force for progress? In order to address these questions we will analyze the specific ways in which issues related to labor and labor relations are approached in the political manifestos and public policy proposals of specific parties which are members of the European Left. Our assumption is that, since the European Left isn't explicitly assuming a clear anti-capitalist stance, the European socialists and communists are forced to operate programmatically within the constraints of the capitalist political, economic and social order, therefore assuming a political agenda centered around preserving certain intrinsic aspects of that order. In other words, considering the fact that the central value of the left is social justice, the types of programmatic answers which the European socialist and communist parties formulate reveal in fact a tendency to preserve even the most redundant of jobs under the guise of protecting the interests of the workers.

Günther Anders' "obsolescence of work" – a reappraisal

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Disregarding Günther Anders' thinking is arguably one of the major faults of the last decades of philosophy of technology. It doesn't even need to concern us if this omission was in fact orchestrated (as B. Babich would have us believe), or just another of those all too common cases of important contributions falling through the cracks of the academic industry. Given Anders' methodical concern with assessing and responding to the biggest problems of his time, and ethical, personal responsibility that compelled him to take stand, restoring his work to a proper historical place is less important than the reappraisal of the results of his "hermeneutical prognosis". Bridging with recent efforts to "recover", as it were, his thought (see Dries), the contribution would critically evaluate Anders' dialectical philosophy of work, setting it against more recent contributions. This might prove to be helpful in assessing the pertinence of some

post-work society proposals, as, for instance, the transhumanist (extropian) and the techno-progressive accounts of the matter, as seen in work by Srnicek, Williams, Wark, a. o.

The Labour Future Is Now: Decent work and profiles of crowdworkers – insights from Serbia

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The digital labour, including both workers on demand via Internet/app and workers who provide services entirely via online job platforms (crowdworkers), is growing exponentially. Forecasters claim that by 2020 contingent workers (both workers on demand via Internet/app and crowdworkers) in the USA will make up nearly half of the whole US workforce. At the same time, the number of freelancers in the EU rose by 24 percent between 2008 and 2015. The purpose of this presentation is to showcase initial research findings on crowdworkers' profiles from Serbia. The overall purpose of this research is to analyze demographic, socio-economic, regional characteristics and perception of their status, and identify predictors of their unmet health and social protection needs and consequently determine the size of inequalities in the availability, accessibility and acceptability of their health and social protection care. In broader terms the research aims to address the decent work agenda and its application to crowdworkers from Serbia. According to the 2016 World Bank data, Serbia is ranked as the world's second online outsourcing country when it comes to the number of crowdworkers relative to the country's population. Together with Romania, this is the largest pool of digital labour among European countries. More precisely, there is estimated 80.000 crowdworkers from Serbia who work on global online platforms and live locally. An initial assessment of laws on labour rights in Serbia indicates that crowdworkers are not recognized by the employment and labour law, which leaves them out of collective bargaining, social welfare system (absence of retirement plan, health and disability insurance, etc), and without the protection of fundamental socio-economic and other human rights. The presentation will offer initial set of findings related to demographic profiles of crowdworkers from Serbia based on analysis of data gathered through scrapping major/global international job platforms. It will also outline legal provisions aimed at protection of their socio-economic and other human rights, based on the content analysis of labour and employment legal frameworks in Serbia. By doing so, the presentation aims to steer the discussing about the impetus of gig economy in Serbia with focus on the relocation of jobs online and its impact on workers' livelihood and their labor and other human rights. Such approach constitutes a departure from exclusively theoretical papers on the future of work and provides guideline for stakeholders to develop policies corresponding to profiles of crowdworkers from Serbia based on the decent work premises.

Enhancing Human Work: Competing Narratives and Theoretical Challenges

Diana-Teodora Chis, Central European University

The automation of labor can be currently found at the center of discussions regarding the future of work, especially when it comes to the role that new technologies play in this respect. While

automation is especially appealing given its potential in increasing output while simultaneously decreasing production costs, my presentation will focus on a different solution, one which does not imply replacing human labor, but improving it: executive function neuro-enhancement drugs and devices. Even though neuro-enhancement does not seem to be particularly widespread outside post-industrial, affluent societies, its potential impact on our understanding of work can be quite compelling. On the one hand, there is a large set of ethical challenges already being raised due to the use of neuro-enhancers, such as the issue of implicit coercion that individuals that seek to remain competitive on the job market face. There are also bioethical questions being raised, such as those related to the commodification of human talent, or the medicalization of work. On the other hand, the ethical fuzziness of neuro-enhancement interacts with a series of medical, legal and commercial variables that further complicate the policy-making process. After offering an overview of these issues, as discussed in the limited amount of literature on the topic, I will focus on a specific piece of the puzzle of neuro-enhancement and its impact on work, namely the competing discourses shaping the process by which these technologies are diffused, by which they become salient and by which they take distinct forms. I argue that, besides the technological and market-related factors that could potentially lead to neuro-enhancement becoming a widespread feature of post-industrial work, an undeniable role is also played by the various ways in which these solutions are displayed and conceptualized, especially in the context of a larger narrative about what it means to be human and to work. I will thus offer an account of these main narratives, which I will tentatively call *better humans/laissez-faire* (valuing increased productivity on the moral grounds of the ideal of improved human condition; opposition to regulation) *less human/high regulation* (problematizing the implications that enhancement can have for the "natural" human being; support for regulation) and *cautious/soft regulation* (recognition of potential benefits paired up with prudence regarding controversial aspects; limited policy interventions). These have been determined through discourse analysis of normatively charged documents of relevant stakeholders (legislative bodies, regulatory institutions, neuro-enhancement technology providers, socio-political movements). A discussion of the possible policy implications of these narratives will follow. Finally, by doing this, I also hope to contribute to the larger theoretical and methodological debate concerning the nature of change in the world of work, and to challenge the technologically deterministic position that views these shifts as inescapable consequences of material progress.

Global Labor

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The main argument of the study is that globalization has entered a new stage – the stage in which the operations of economies rely on a global labor market – a system of free or total labor.¹ However, this does not only mean that national labor markets are solely integrating, rather that integration has resulted in creation of a new market, which is not simply sum of its components (either perceived as local/national markets in a geographic context or industrial from an occupational perspective) but presents a new economic entity. In practical terms, this means that global labor cannot be neglected as a market neither by employers, workers or governments in most parts of the world; however, its manifestation is always localized even when digital work is considered. While in some instances it reinforces the existing power constellations, in other cases, it challenges them and generates new forms of industrial relations. The aforementioned

arguments stem out of a social theory model which served as basis for an analysis of comparative economics scholarship on labor (how different economic theories position labor within their frameworks), and an empirical political economy analysis of institutions, organizations and practices that construct and shape labor into a global/total market. The study uses well studied aspects of globalization - technological change, economic theoretical modelling and neoliberal policies – and integrates them through the aforementioned model in order to showcase how global labor was created. The ultimate aim of the study is to use its findings and revisit the economic modeling of the social realm and challenge the standard division of modes of production, perception of ‘limited resources’ and to question the popular notion of jobless growth. In fact, the notion of global labor, as well as many illustrative examples from the platform economies, such as video gaming, cryptocurrencies, new media and entertainment, point towards the fact that economies are invented and socially constructed. This proposition is in line with the scholarship on technological change, social innovation, entrepreneurship and the most recent developments noted in the sociotechnological studies. Consequently, any attempt to understand the future of work requires an indepth exploration of how such inventions and constructions take place. In doing so, one must look at ‘work’ and ‘market’ as interfunctional social phenomena. The labor market is an extended process of work, or part of the social value creation process which encompasses both work and market. This view, however, is not only applicable to production in the scope of agriculture, 1 In the context of this study, labor is defined as commoditized work, i.e. work sold on a market. industries or services – the usual ‘economic’ context – but to all aspects of human behavior, including family, sports, arts or any social endeavor. Labor markets are institutions through which social value of work is generated; and in this instance, it is important to keep in mind that markets are profoundly relational. Thus, one can regard the current state of affairs as a crisis of the mainstream socio-economic imagining. In its final sections, the author discusses the role of social scientists in these processes and potential political developments.

The academic arithmetic of hourly laborers

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Recent years have seen a great deal of discussion about changing practices of labor within the university, leading to debates about “precaritization”, “corporatization” or, simply, neoliberalization of academia. Central to these debates is a deepening anxiety about the future of academic labor and indeed of knowledge as a broader social practice and product. This only underlines the urgency of detailed inquiries into the political economy of academic knowledge production. Such an approach entails critical investigation of the specific modes of calculation that underlie the precarity of contemporary academic labor as well as of the ways in which current contractual forms of employment and remuneration are defining the substance and value of academic labor. It is by now clear that the quantification that supports precarious labor has a deep and potentially irreversible impact on academic metrics (including here the measurement, divisibility and valuation of academic work products). What kinds of labor do these modes of quantification ignore, silence or simply outsource? Just as importantly, what are the calculations and forms of commensuration developed by the academic workers who are locked into

precarious labor? How are these calculative logics translated into tradeoffs that render precarious academic labor acceptable and perhaps even desirable to all the parties involved? The paper, based on ethnographic and auto-ethnographic research, addresses these questions in relation to the widespread practice of temporary, “pay per hour” teaching contracts in the Romanian university context.

Changing Employment Relations and the Future of Work: Lessons from Germany and France

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We are witnessing a fundamental sectoral shift in employment relations and work patterns away from manufacturing and the public sector – sectors traditionally characterised by standard employment relations, high levels of trade union membership, and larger employment units – towards the more informal, relatively union-free, and smaller employment units of the service sector. This ‘new economy’ is presented as the future of work incorporating innovative forms of business organisation, employment patterns and flexible work. The transition is driven by five key factors that interact with each other and directly affect the world of work: globalisation, demography, technological innovation, climate change and rising financialisation. We observe specific patterns of diversity in employment relations, job characteristics and job quality. The distinction between those in permanent, full-time jobs and those in temporary/flexible employment will be one of the major divides in future labour markets. This proposed contribution focuses on low-wage workers in advanced economies and highlights the importance of ‘good’ labour market institutions that allows for the creation of productive, sustainable jobs contributing to positive socio-economic outcomes. It asks: How are changing employment relationships going to affect organisation of employers and workers in the new economy, and what strategies are nations using to respond? The research reviews the rapidly growing form of non-standard and flexible work (permanent part-time, Mini-jobs, agency/subcontracting, own account, zero-hours contracts etc.) and compares the active employment policies towards low wage, undertaken or planned in Germany and France. The two leading economies are at the cutting edge of innovation and labour market transformation, particularly involved in stimulation programs of “Industry 4.0”. They are also faced with demands of flexibility and structural change arising out of technological progress and the growing forces of international competition in a post-crisis world. The proposed research develops an internationally comparative approach going beyond simple models and captures a broader range of factors that reflect the connections between and within national systems shaping employment relations outcomes. It recognises the policies that need to be designed in order to ensure decent work and help improve the operation of labour markets. To shape tomorrow's world of work it is essential to craft employment policies that can equip the workforce with the tools they need to cope with the changes ahead. This will include aligning skill-learning systems with productive development policies as well as social protection for new forms of work with limited access to employment protection. Given the differences in skills, there is a tendency towards inequality in access to good jobs, with some groups being confined to less attractive types of work regarding lower job stability, low pay or poor social protection. The research identifies the extent to which relevant drivers of future work transition may induce either a worsening or an improvement of structural labour market problems. Drawing on these findings, the research recommends alternative ways of organising

work that can improve income security of low-wage workers in the ‘new economy’ and their overall efficiency. The paper will consider if previous shifts towards non-standard work and low-wage employment may probably be reversed or accelerated through spreading digital technologies. The results will contribute to the literature on labour market transition in the twenty-first century. In methodological terms, the research employs socio-economic and interdisciplinary approach with structural analysis. It makes use of institutional economics and applied economics with a comparative approach to study the current relevant trends in Germany and France.

Volunteering as neoliberal subjectivity: Investigating Practices of Serbian Youth Volunteerism

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the ways in which the practices of volunteering are coopted into neoliberal discourse and policies in postsocialist Serbia. The local political climate in Serbia is marked by increasing privatizations, reduction of worker rights, the shrinking of the private sector, dismantling of the safety net and general economic insecurity and precarity. I examined how the practice of volunteering – one of the core elements of Serbia’s socialist past – is reshaped in order to promote new forms of neoliberal subjectivity, as well as reduce the responsibility of the state towards its citizens and workers especially. The goal of my research is not only to analyze how volunteering is being transformed to fit into neoliberal rationality, but on a broader level to investigate what is the future of work in a context where worker rights are being diminished, while the volunteering sphere overlaps with the sphere of uncompensated and underpaid labor. This research is conducted through semi-structured interviews with university level volunteers engaged in major volunteering organizations, through a historic and contextual analysis of neoliberal reforms in Serbia and by deconstructing mainstream public and political discourse. By posing the question what constitutes neoliberal and postsocialist practices I also wanted to problematize and contextualize the explanatory power of these concepts in anthropological analysis.

The future of work: Lessons learnt by deconstructing career myths in a low-resourced South African case study

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Global economic crises, technological innovations and unstable global employment patterns have had a drastic effect on career development processes and the world-of-work (Savickas, 2007). Lifetime occupations and linear upward mobility have become outdated. Instead, temporary assignments or contractual labour have become the norm (McMahon & Yuen, 2009), with individuals who work part-time or are self-employed frequently revisiting career decision-making processes (McMahon & Patton, 2002). This has resulted in a wider and more diverse range of career issues and clientele that challenge traditional career conceptions (Maree & Beck, 2004). However, research is needed in contexts of limited career information, resources and exposure to vocational realities, to explore how acceptable career beliefs are reduced to career

myths by rapidly fluctuating economic markets and socio-political changes (Stead & Watson, 1993). Variances in career decision-making processes are most apparent in multicultural contexts and diverse socio-economic contexts, such as that of South Africa. The current research focuses on the career beliefs that are perpetuated in low socio-economic communities and negatively influence career opportunities. The present study uses the Systems Theory Framework (STF) as a means of engaging with clients from marginalised groups. It also offers a mechanism to explore the impact of overlooked career influences such as culture, religion, community and socio-economic conditions. The qualitative career measure, My System of Career Influences (MSCI), was used to explore the irrational beliefs that had affected the participants' career decision-making behaviour. Although a vast amount of quantitative research has been undertaken investigating variables that have an influence on career decision-making, qualitative research that focuses on the exploration of career beliefs and myths is scant. The social webs in which individuals are embedded are largely overlooked in these assessments. This is problematic, as career myths are often socialised over generations and individualistic career measures fail to address this. From the results of this study, suggestions are made for further career counselling and guidance practices to determine whether clients hold irrational career beliefs, whether these beliefs are socially constructed, and whether these beliefs may have served a protective function in order to survive the psychological stressors of the hardships previously faced. Cultural sensitivity is needed to assess whether incorrect career beliefs may perform an adaptive function, protecting individuals from hopelessness and despair. Therefore, career counselling practitioners are encouraged to sensitively explore all the career beliefs that may currently affect career decision-making processes in an uncertain future of work (Saunders et al., 2000).

Workfloor Precarity and 'Adverse Inclusion' in an era of Economic Growth: A Case of Women Workers in Kerala, India

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This study attempts to examine the changing dynamics of women's work in India, with a focus on the reshaping of the state and the capital on the labour. Against the broader trends in the nature of economic growth and its distribution and social sector spending, the study evaluates the precariousness underlying the reconfiguration and restructuring of the labour market outcomes among women in Kerala, the southernmost state in India. With the changing composition of the female workforce alongside a change in employment rates as the entry point, the study attempts to unravel how the human capital accomplishments of women or socio-demographic achievements of the state founded on the pillars of public action and social welfare arrangements have failed to arrest the growing informalisation and casualisation of work. The study attempts to address the vulnerabilities faces by the households, both in terms of the decisions to participate in the labour market, and the types of work they are offered. The paper focuses on the labour market changes observed to emerge from the current decade, the period corresponding to increased economic growth and rising inequalities, and a withdrawal of the state from welfare oriented approach. The study understands the compositional shift in employment, which drew in a substantial share of women from poorer households with relatively lesser education along with a considerable withdrawal of higher educated women, as adverse inclusion of secondary women workers from vulnerable households into the labour market. Using both field-survey based primary data, as well as secondary sources of data, the study highlights the labour practices in the

services sector occupations in Kerala, wherein more and more workers are falling into the ranks of informal workers resulting primarily from the absence of formal job contracts and social security coverages. The observed precarity in the labour market, the study argues, is reflective of the recommodification effects of a skewed distribution of economic resources and a neglect of the state's expenditure on social sectors.

Neo-liberal subjectivities and the new spirit of capitalism: attitudes toward work within personal and spiritual development programs in contemporary Romania.

Sorin Gog, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj

My paper analyzes the changes in industrial relations and labor market in Romania during the past two decades and explores the neo-liberal socialization devices that have emerged after the financial crisis and the way they offer plausibility and legitimacy to the vast economic transformations that took place in this region. By using the 'Varieties of Capitalism' approach I explore the specific forms of disembedded neoliberalism that has been institutionalized in Romania and the precarisation of the workforce through labor market de-regulations, short-term contracts and emphasis on flexibility and employability of workers. My research focuses on the various programs of personal and spiritual development that produce a distinctive type of religious subjectivity and an immanent ethics of authenticity. My research looks at how within these programs innovative technologies of the self are developed that emphasize creativity, wellbeing and a new understanding of subjective interiority that discovers in itself the resources needed to live within a spiritualized ontology of the present. This produces the proximities for the formation of a radical neo-liberal entrepreneurial subjectivity that is tuned to the recent capitalist transformations of an economic environment centered on competitiveness, creative work and enhanced productivity.