The confluence of two rivers: the impact of social capital on the experience of work precariousness

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Abstract

Grounded in a phenomenological paradigm of enquiry about precarious work and its impact on workers in the Northwest of Britain, this research study seeks to understand if workers can re-construct the influences of precarious work through two questions. First, can workers re-construct the (negative) influences of precarious work on their lives? If so, what enables them to do this?

This research views precariousness as relational and changeable rather than fixed. and examines how reconstructing the precarious experience draws on the support of social groups in general, and social capital in particular, to support fulfilling work identities. Through a focus on the role of social capital, I challenge assumptions that precarious work has an entirely negative impact on workers and draw attention to the often-hidden acts of informal and collective resistance that can alter the precarious experience in positive ways. By bringing together social capital and precarity I demonstrate how precariousness is reproduced, making life tolerable on a day-to-day basis, yet trapping individuals in precarious roles.

The body of work contributes to the literature on precariousness through four interrelated contributions: a holistic theorisation of precarity and social capital; ripple effects of precarity; phenomenon that create and reproduce precarity; and community and collective action and resistance.

The conclusion examines the above contributions and suggests areas for future research. To meet the grand challenge of precariousness more insights around the antecedents and consequences of precariousness are needed; above all, what ties them together and enables the identification of moderating elements to inform the 'happy precariat'.

Declaration

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

Glossary of acronyms

AACSB Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business

APPG All Party Parliamentary Group

AROD At Risk of Disengagement

CEE Central and Eastern Europe

DHSS Department of Health and Social Security

DWP Department of Work and Pensions

EDI Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion

ESF European Social Fund

ESOL English for Speakers of Other Languages

GTRSB Gypsy Traveller Roma Showmen and Boaters

HE Higher Education

HMRC His Majesty's Revenue and Customs

LJMU Liverpool John Moores University

LREN Liverpool Roma Employability Network

MHCLG Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government

REAP Roma Education and Aspiration Project

TEC Training and Enterprise Council

TEFL Teaching English as a Foreign Language

TUC Trades Union Congress

UFHRD University Forum for Human Resource Development

USS Understanding Society Survey

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A big thanks to my co-authors for their collegiality, good humour, and insights, and to Tricia Jolliffe for the many long and fruitful conversations we had in the development of the argumentation contained in the co-written publications. Her human and scholarly support has been nothing short of a blessing.

To my family, Dave, Tim, Matthew, and Oliver for keeping me grounded and content. To my Dad, Ed, for inspiring his children to question and prod whenever we stumbled across injustice, and never be bullied into silence.

Above all I would like to thank the Roma residents of Kensington and Toxteth. Words cannot truly express how indebted to you and honoured that you welcomed me into your community and homes. Your stories will remain with me forever, and this project would not have been possible without you. Your community is filled with a sense of kinship that many will never know. Thank you so very much.

Core Papers

Publications

(for summary details about wider impact and dissemination of each paper see Appendix 1)

Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2005) Discriminating Ethics *Human Relations,* vol. 58, 6: pp. 799-824

https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726705057175

Collins, H; Harrison, P; Palasinski, M (2020) Out of the shadows: a young Roma woman's journey from hiding to celebrating her identity in *The Qualitative Report*, 25 (12)

https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2020.4730

Harrison, P; Collins, H; Bahor, A (2020) 'We Don't have the Same Opportunities as Others: Shining Bourdieu's Lens on UK Roma Migrants' Precarious (Workers) Habitus *Work, Employment and Society* 1-18

https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017020979502

Collins, H; Barry, S; Dzuga, P (2021) 'Working While Feeling Awful is Normal': One Roma's Experience of Presenteeism *Work, Employment and Society* 1-10

https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017021998950

Jolliffe, P; Collins, H; Gold, J (2023) Skilling Marginalised or Skills Eco-System, Precarious Workers and Higher Education - A Case Study of Roma in Liverpool, UK *International Journal of Training and Development* 1-23

https://doi.org/10.1111/ijtd.12303

Introduction

This submission for PhD by Published Works is based on integrated theoretical concepts within five key papers, which are published in international peer reviewed journals in the period between 2005 and 2023. This body of research has impact by informing policy resulting in new legislation and practice. Papers 2 and 3 directly inform Gypsy Traveller Roma Showmen and Boaters (GTRSB) policy in All Party Parliamentary Proceedings (APPG) on education and employment for GTRSB pupils. Papers 2, 3 and 4 influenced GTRSB policies relating to the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, now renamed as the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities.

This body of knowledge was built largely following my return to academia in 2015 and informed by the previous decade working with newly arrived migrants and especially Roma. Roma was selected for three reasons: first, my previous role had increased my knowledge of and interest in Roma; second, they are a growing population in the UK's Northwest; and third, relatedly, little research has been undertaken about Roma in the UK, so they are a fairly unexplored and little known about group. After a decade of this work experience in the community I have focused my growing academic research career on this area, to extend research outcomes and capacity for improvements in GTRSB policy and practice, underpinned by an in-depth knowledge and understanding of inequalities in the UK. I see great value in the dual role of universities (and impact oriented LJMU in particular) when knowledge can be progressed on important social issues while working collaboratively with those tasked with implementing policy and practice.

The concept of precarity occupies an uncomfortable place in the uneven process of moving a society from the post Second World War norm of permanent employment to precarious patterns of work. The United Nation's view of precarity as a grand challenge sits alongside the frequent evocation of the term in Human Resource Management, with both camps agreeing that precarious work is a problem (United Nations 2021). According to the International Labour Office (2022) it is an endemic and growing problem. While work in the Global South has typically been neither permanent nor secure (Munck et al 2013), a regrowth in precarisation has occurred in the Global North since the 1970s when neoliberal policies aimed at labour market flexibility were introduced.

Background: reflexivity and my narrative

Fournier and Grey (2000) deeply influenced the spirit of this thesis. In their seminal piece, the authors underscore how any critical intent should engage in reflexivity, that is to clearly state the author's standpoint. I am a white woman of Irish and Spanish heritage.

Growing up with a left-wing father from a large Irish/Spanish working-class family who had, against cries of who do you think you are? got a place at Oxford, and a socially conservative mother from a more affluent and very Catholic background, family conversations about politics were lively. When I came across Pablo Freire's work, his notions of critical consciousness spoke to me.

Aged 4 or 5 I recall the excitement of standing on a bridge in Appleby and seeing hundreds of people on horseback in the river Eden below. Then it's the year 2000, and my own three kids, aged 1, 3 and 6 are on the same bridge enjoying the same experience and the impact on them is similar. As an adult it made me thirsty to find out as much as possible about these people and this tradition known as the Appleby Horse Fair, centuries old and visited every June by tens of thousands Gypsy Traveller Roma Showmen and Boaters (GTRSB).

At the start of the journey that has culminated in this PhD process, I knew I wanted to conduct research which felt somehow positive, rather than focusing on the negative impact of gendered norms within HE, where I was at the time of the first publication in 2005. The legal case that culminated in paper 1 left me disheartened with HE, where I had witnessed a huge gap between theory and practice in a very personal way. I exercised my (little understood at the time) social mobility, opted out and together with another disillusioned academic applied to the ESF for money to develop a programme that we called Equaliser. Equaliser ran for five years, working with young people aged between 15 and 30, known at the time as ARODs (At Risk of Disengagement). Many participants were newly arrived migrants, so I became a qualified ESOL and TEFL tutor (English for Speakers of Other Languages and Teaching English as a Foreign Language). With the benefit of hindsight, I now regard the risky step of leaving HE as opportunity, since it empowered me to re-discover and accept the precarious experiences which had structured my own identity.

After Equaliser ended a stroke of serendipity led to me working with newly arrived migrants. I found Pablo Freire's work highly influential, particularly his ideas about a radical education, as I found education with asylum seekers and refugees to be very limiting. For example, a key part in passing an ESOL exam is to describe a journey such as from your home to the post office. Many participants had travelled thousands of miles across multiple countries, often fleeing neighbourhoods that had become battlegrounds, wedged to the underside of a lorry or pick up. The irony was excruciating.

In this role I worked with people from many countries, mostly fleeing war in Syria, Sudan, Eritrea, and Iraq, as well as many Roma from former CEE countries. Lacking a homeland, Roma has a rich diaspora that includes many European countries as well as North and South America. I was shocked at the extent of discrimination towards Roma expressed by those working in authorities such as welfare support, housing, and education. The blatant discrimination, while bad, was also ironic. Many of the migrants in the ESOL classroom were (and still are) denied institutional and legal recognition and, with it, the possibility to become workers that 'matter' (Hultin et al., 2022; Segarra and Prasad, 2020; Ulceluse and Bender, 2022). Roma, coming from EU countries, did have institutional and legal recognition so their path should have been smoother. Questioning the deep prejudice towards Roma led me to two authors' work: Yaron Matras: *I met Lucky People* and Isabel Fonseca: *Bury Me Standing*.

One young Roma, arriving to class one day, recounted how the night before his windows were smashed and excrement left on his door. He said his family was taunted daily, because of being Roma. Smiling, and turning to sit down he claimed 'that's not to say our lives are not glorious'. That has stayed with me and helped me to appreciate two shortcomings. First, much discourse explains individual experiences in socio-economic terms and make inferences of how conditions of work are likely to be experienced. I stand guilty of that. Second, through the interaction with this young Roma, I consciously adopted an approach which did not make the same assumptions about the context of precarity determining individual's experiences. Rather, I chose to go back to 'the things themselves', to paraphrase Husserl's (1969) phenomenological motto, and study worker experiences as framed by the workers themselves, rather than make a priori assumptions about them. 'That's not to say our lives are not glorious', that single sentence, has helped me to become a better researcher, removing (or reducing) the habit of making

assumptions.

My days working with migrants and ESOL remain the most fulfilling of my career, yet a combination of Brexit and cuts to ESOL funding foreshadowed the end of that job for me, and more significantly, English language for migrants. As redundancy loomed, I started to think about returning to HE. Yet thinking about it was not enough. In practice I experienced the same precarity that is shot through this piece, being offered work far below my capabilities, stacking shelves or lorry driving being two such examples.

By now much more appreciative about how privilege, its presence and absence, play a huge part in people's journeys, not least my own, I used my own social capital and contacted people in my networks about work opportunities. Again, serendipity played a part, and I was offered some sessional teaching work in HE, teaching EDI. My first lecture was an expose of hidden and marginalised people, Roma!

The Published Work Submitted for Consideration

These research papers contribute to (i) a greater understanding of the relationship between precarious work and the experience of precariousness (ii) deeper insights into how a society conceptualises and prioritises precarious work, and (iii) an explanation as to why multiple experiences of precarity should be validated. The research that underpins these five publications was conducted in the northwest of Britain. While each paper has its own research aims, collectively, they form a coherent and developing set of research inquiries that focus on the challenges presented by precariousness both in and outside of the workplace.

Origins of the Published Work

The trajectory of my research inquiry over the past quarter century developed from two, simultaneously held standpoints. First, that there is inherent value in the rigours of academic debate and the evolution of normative concepts as a way of advancing knowledge on a given subject. Second, that it is a wholly wasted opportunity not to apply knowledge gained to the realities of real-world problems, policy, and practice. As Smith (2016, p.1) notes in his critical reflection on Applying Theory to Policy and Practice, "too

often the business of theoretical and philosophical rigour and issues of detailed application are kept apart to the profound detriment of both pursuits".

Roma, in particular their growing community in Liverpool (UK Census 2021) has proven to be an endlessly fascinating case study in which to advance debates about the multiple needs of societies emerging from EU expansion, migration, and subsequent leaving EU. My interest in Roma sprung from two events: first, as a child witnessing their joy at the Appleby Horse Fair, then years later with my own children; second, working as an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) tutor, witnessing the degree of discrimination they were subject to by authorities, peers, and others. While Roma was one group among many in the ESOL classroom, attitudes to Roma were extremely hostile and influenced the sorts of housing and jobs they got. Such blatant discrimination lodged in my mind (this is discussed in my narrative page 11) and took me for the subsequent four papers to the margins of societies I inhabited and worked in, and made confrontations of racism, precariousness, and other structural forms of inequality inevitable.

The Roma community has enabled me to gather new data to contribute to improved policy and practice outcomes for societies grappling with systemic inequality in general, and in workplaces in particular. Further, it has enabled me to consolidate the equality work I engaged in with government departments such as DHSS and HMRC in the 1990s that culminated in a series of authored books that I produced on equality issues.

Coherence of the Published Work

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the significant and coherent contribution to knowledge of the published work submitted. Coherence of the publications is evidenced by the intersection of three core areas: the thematic focus of the research, the subject focus, and the methodological approach taken. The publications submitted have been primarily concerned with enhancing understanding of the relational aspects of precarity. Viewed retrospectively, two overarching research questions have dominated the research and reflections: can workers re-construct the (negative) influences that the experience of work precariousness exerts on their work and lives? If workers can re-construct their precarious experiences, what are the factors enabling them to achieve this?

A consistent qualitative methodology used to gather primary research data reflects my

interest in exploring and valorising individuals' experience and knowledge. Significant value has been placed on in-depth conversations, using semi-structured interviews, to tease out the areas of agreement and discordance in people's views and experiences of precarity. My work draws extensively on scholarly literature and policy documents to do justice to the complexities of the topic.

List of supporting work: journal papers, books and conference papers

The books, journal articles and conference papers below span a 30-year period from 1992 to 2023. Centred on related themes of equality, discrimination, and marginalised worker experience and the HRM practices and local skills ecosystems in which workers' experiences sit, they present context and background to the five core publications selected for this piece.

Journal articles

Jolliffe, P; Collins, H; Jolliffe, K (2021) 'lots of little jobs' - building local ecosystems for the precarious worker' Chartered Institute of Personnel Development CIPD

Collins H; Harrison, P (2019) Supporting Liverpool's Roma community: an illumination via Bourdieu's theory of capital in Innovations in Practice 13 (1). Pp. 10-15.

Collins, H, Wray-Bliss, E (2001) Equal Opportunity Policies: The Authority of Discrimination in Management Research and Work Futures vol 23 no 9/*10*

Books

Collins, H. (1996) Equality in the Workplace; Blackwell

Collins, H. (1996) Human Resource Management; Hodder and Stoughton

Collins, H.(1995) European Vocational Education Systems: A Guide to Vocational Education and Training in the European Community; Kogan Page.

Brown; Collins; Green; Humm; Landells (eds) (1994)The International Handbook of Women's Studies (W.I.S.H); Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Collins, H. (1994) EU Law: A Guide for Human Resource Managers; Blackwell.

Collins, H. (1993) Equality Matters: Equal Opportunities in the 90s; The Library Association

Collins, H. (1992) The Equal Opportunities Handbook: A Guide to *Law and Best Practice in Europe; Blackwell*

Conference Papers

Barry, S; Collins, H; Jolliffe, P (2023) The 'dark side' and unintended consequences of front-line worker high employee engagement practices in the hospitality sector. UFHRD Conference National College of Ireland, Dublin

Harrison, P; Collins, H (2021) ' lots of little jobs' – building local skills ecosystems for the precarious worker CIPD Applied Research Conference

Collins, H; Harrison, P (2018) The Roma of Liverpool presented at UFHRD conference, Newcastle, UK

Collins, H; Sanders, B (2015) Teaching English to newly arrived refugees and asylum seekers CELTA conference

Collins, H (2014) ESOL and Gypsy Roma Traveller communities: opportunities and barriers presented at University of Manchester Roma Conference

Collins, H; Robinson, S (2008) Informal Economies in UK Cities; presented at the 2008 Welfare to Work conference, Birmingham, UK.

Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2002) Ethical Codes: Representing (un) ethical agency; *invited paper for presentation to 2nd Critical Management Studies Workshop; Keele; May*

Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2001) Knowers, Knowing and Known: Developing Corporate Codes of Ethics - taking methodological lessons from Feminism; paper presented at Paradigms Lost and Paradigms Gained: Negotiating Interdisciplinarity in the 21st Century; June; Calgary, Canada.

Collins, H. (2001) Gender: Portfolios and Paradoxes; Critical Management Studies Conference, UMIST, July

Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2001) Discriminating Ethics; Critical Management Studies Conference, UMIST, July

Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2001) Behind Closed Minds; Uncovering Women's Resistance... and Problems of Exclusion in Dominant Representations; Gender, Work and Organisation Conference, Keele University, June

Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E. (2000) Women's Consciousness, Man's World: (un)learning Patriarchy and LPT; Invited paper presented at the 18th Annual International Labour Process Conference; University of Strathclyde; April 2000.

Collins, H., Wray-Bliss, E. (2000) Equal opportunity policies: The authority of discrimination; Paper presented at 15th annual ERU conference, Cardiff Business School, 6–7 September 2000.

Literature Review

Precarious work

History of precarious work

The following literature provides an insight into the history of precariousness and highlights the key contributions to the debate. Initially associated with poverty, the term precarity originated in France and has roots in sociology, and now used to refer to a lack of social capital, pertinent to some newly arrived migrants as the 'quintessential incarnation of precarity' (Schierup and Jorgensen 2016:2). In this collection, papers 2, 3 and 4 demonstrate the migrant population as representative of precarity.

Precariousness in work is not unique to Western societies (Munck, 2013), and in the UK it could be argued to be a return to pre-Second World War conditions typified by insecure work and few rights. Indeed, Shin et al (2023) argue that permanent full-time contracts institutionalised in the Global North since the end of the Second World War has been but a deviation from the long global history of precarious work under capitalism. Viewed from this perspective participants in all five papers here are typical of workers in the recent past: insecure, precarious and with few rights. Precarious livelihoods common across the Global South are now more commonplace in the Global North, and according to Bonneuil and Fressoz (2016) pandemics, climate change and migration may thrust the prosperous Global North countries into new forms of precarity.

First entering the sociological debate with Bourdieu (see Bourdieu, 1999), more recently 'precariousness' has been used to capture the (Western) dilution of social protections and of secure, unionised labour markets since the 1970s (Alberti et al 2018). This is problematic as Non-Standard Employment (NSE) impacts the social and economic fabric of communities and increases inequality (Bidwell et al., 2013). Examples of increased inequality is evidenced in paper 1 through direct discrimination and a lack of employee protection (Standing, 2011), in paper 3 through flexploitation (Suliman and Webber 2019) of participants and in paper 4 the ripple effect of precarity impacted the work life interface for Piotr negatively.

The historical conceptualisation of precarity pre-dates both Standing and Bourdieu; for example, precarity is applied to the context of chronic poverty in 16th and 17th century Britain and is applied by Marx to describe the 19th century labour market context. Interestingly, Polanyi and Seccareccia (2022) uses it in reference to the state of flux accompanying movement from neo-liberal to state-regulated markets in the 20th century, while Standing (2011) uses it to refer to the state-regulated to neo-liberal markets from the 1980s onwards.

A critical mass of contributions to debates about precarity occurred between 2010 and 2015. Since then, world events such as the Covid 19 pandemic, increased migration from the global south to the north, wars in Syria, Ukraine and the Middle East, to name some of the factors, have impacted workers and labour markets. Since 2018 arguments about precarity have developed in three ways. First, more emphasis is now placed on the role of precarious workers self-organising against rising precarious conditions (Berry and Bell 2018; Aslam and Woodcock 2020). Second, and relatedly, there is greater onus on trade unions to be the voice of precarious workers and support rights and protections for them (Atzeni 2021; Las Heras and Rodriguez 2021; Pero 2020; Tassinari and Maccarrone 2020). Third, and not without some backlash, there is wider public expectation and acceptance of the role and value of precarious workers in society, evidenced in the UK government's Understanding Society Survey (2020). The papers presented here follow this change and pattern. For example, less acceptance of their precarious working lives was voiced by participants in paper 4 than in paper 3, and by the time paper 5 was in print, examples of self-organising to increase security at work was evident.

Understanding the term

Precariousness or precarity relate to a lack of security manifest as material and psychosocial deprivation (Alberti et al., 2018). The terms precariousness, precarity and precarisation are used interchangeably in literature, and in this research. In general, precarity is a broader term that locates insecure employment in structures of power and control, while precariousness focuses on describing the experience of insecure work. Both terms describe the growth of unstable employment.

In summary, what precarious work means, its causes and consequences and what it entails for individuals is often unclear (Campbell and Price, 2016; Hewison, 2016). While the definitions for precarity are multiple, at their essence they all agree that precarity signals greater insecurity and uncertainty for workers (Heyes et al., 2017; Kalleberg & Vallas, 2017).

Extent of precarity

The 2008 financial crisis saw an increase in the prevalence of precarious work in the UK both in terms of the quality of work available and the levels of in-work poverty (Burns et al., 2016; Tinson et al., 2016). There is consensus drawn from a range of disciplines that the amount of precarious work in the UK is increasing and rose by more than 27% between 2011 and 2019, with 1 in 10 UK workers in precarious employment in 2019 (Wiengarten et al., 2021). These are trends that the Covid-19 pandemic amplified globally (Matilla-Santander et al., 2021). Quantitative tools that measure the exact number of people in precarious jobs include the Employment Precariousness Scale (EPRES) critiqued as underestimating the magnitude of the problem (Vives et al 2020).

Some authors assert that work precarity has always existed (Kalleburg 2021; Millar 2017), and job security is a relatively recent phenomenon that since the Second World War has masked widespread insecurity lurking beneath. Contemporary interest in precarity has occurred as a way of making sense of deteriorating work conditions since the implementation of neoliberalism in the 1970s and 80s (Standing, 2011; Alberti et al., 2018), the advent of which removed state responsibility for workers' protection and enabled markets, that is organisations to set their own norms. As a result, many workers, such as participants in papers 2, 3 and 4 have been left with little protection at the hands of agencies and unscrupulous employers (Harrison et al 2020).

Precarity and social capital

De Witte and Naswall (2003) argue that social capital leading to social participation is not possible for precarious workers due to uncertainty over hours and income, implying that social engagement is costly, time consuming and requires physical presence. While this

may often be true, participants in papers 2, 3 and 4 used bonding capital at work manifest in singing, chatting and storytelling, with no associated financial costs. This continued outside of work through 'being Roma' (Grill 2012), lending support to each other in everyday activities like meal preparation, childcare, car sharing, vegetable growing and collective purchases like televisions, washing machines and bicycles for everyone's use.

Standing (2014) develops the inability to combine precarity with social capital further by suggesting that notions of social capital are inappropriate for the precariat as this implies the ownership of a surplus, which they do not have. Standing's argument seems to be premised on bridging social capital and its capacity to access external activities like theatres and clubs; in contrast, abundant bonding capital shared among participants reported in papers 2, 3 and 4 enabled participations in many low or no cost social activities. Further, Standing's conception of social capital and focus on physical or concrete resources fails to take account of the equally important manifestations of capital like the transfer of knowledge, contacts, and information that the receiver would not have known otherwise. Participants in paper 3 shared knowledge about unscrupulous employer practices among their social group, protecting others and at the same time accumulating social capital.

The precariat

Guy Standing (2011, 2012, 2014) has been a prolific writer about precarity, and argues that precarious work is both unstable and insecure and devoid of the traditional benefits of permanent employment. Standing asserts that precarious work has been growing in Western economies since the 1980s, due to neoliberal policies that have enabled companies to demand more flexibility from their workers. Standing argues that precarious work leads to increasing inequalities because it creates a new class-in-the-making of 'precariat' - insecure workers without access to rights like fair pay, benefits and representation, typical of participants in papers 2, 3, 4 and 5. The precariat, he believes, face chronic uncertainty about finances and employment such that it affects their whole lives negatively such as witnessed by Piotr in paper 4. This spill over to the private sphere concerns Standing who believes that precariats have the potential to become a 'dangerous class' and cites demonstrations in Europe as evidence that the 'precariat is stirring' (Standing 2011:1). While participants in papers 2, 3 and 4 did not

engage in demonstrations, small acts of collective resistance were evident against a backdrop of what Bourdieu calls flexploitation that limits individuals' capacity to protest through their engagement in chronic labour insecurity.

Standing asserts that the ripple effects of precarious work undermine community and family structures and with unstable hours and incomes, workers struggle to engage in caregiving and community life. While this aligns with Piotr's experience in paper 4, the extent of bonding social capital or intra-precariat cohesion shared by participants in papers 2, 3 and 5 made their precarious working lives more tolerable and their private lives rich in shared care giving and community engagement.

Standing argues for economic reform to include basic income guarantees and better legal representation to give precarious workers some security. According to Standing (2011, 2013, 2014), precarious workers represent a rising class of denizens, caused primarily by the absence of seven types of security which negatively impact an individual's life. The seven types of security include decent income, terms and conditions, representation and opportunities for training and development to build specialist skills.

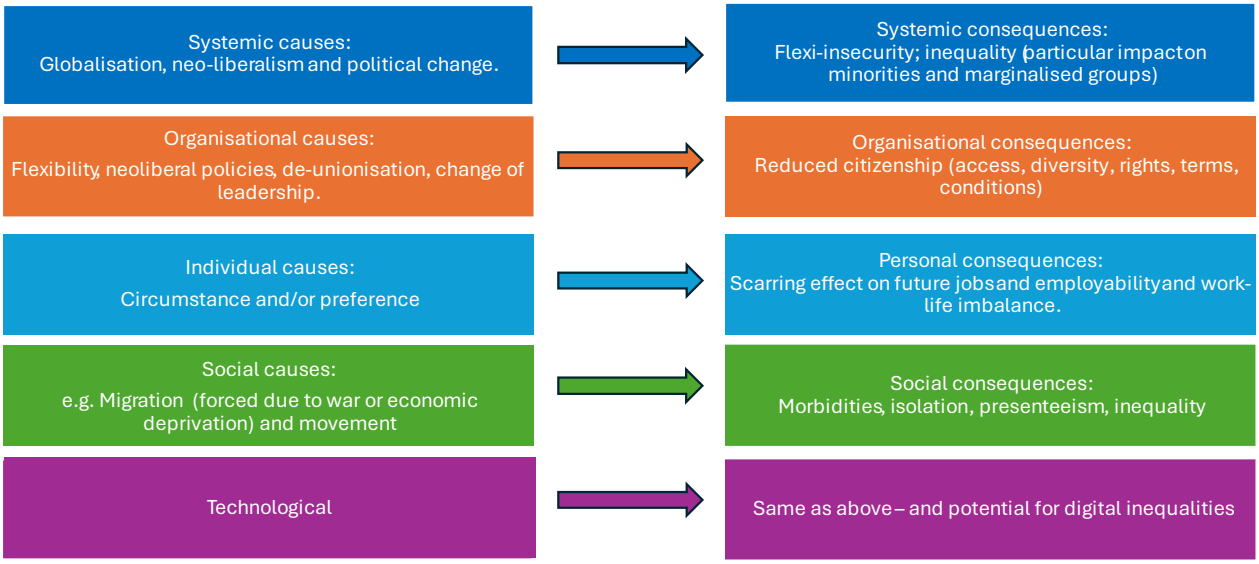
Critique of Standing's precariat

Much of Standing's commentary on precarious work occurred between 2011 and 2015 and shifts in society and the labour market have occurred since. Standing's conceptualisation of precarious work has been critiqued as too broad and simplistic, risking presenting workers as voiceless victims unable to challenge or resist precarity that participants in papers 1,2,3 4 and 5 demonstrated both a willingness and ability to do (Campbell and Price, 2016; Alberti et al., 2018).

In addition, Standing conflates the conditions of work with the uncertainty that people experience in their lives and takes little account of other factors that might shape experience, such as the willingness of governments to support workers, family background and individual disposition (Smith and Pun, 2018; Campbell and Price, 2016; Sissons et al., 2017). While paper 4 shows the ripple effect of precarious work upon the work life interface, and often the two are linked, working in a precarious job does not automatically mean that a person has a precarious life. Levels of uncertainty and insecurity that people experience is influenced by their jobs, the presence or absence of

social capital in their communities, their dispositions, households, and workplaces, as well as their relationship with the state (Lain et al., 2019). In paper 3, the state enabled agencies to recruit workers on insecure terms with very low pay, and through punitive measures made it very difficult for Roma to seek more secure work. In paper 5 participants organised to support more secure livelihoods, demonstrating that they may well be in precarious work, but owing to social capital embedded in their community networks, they may not have a wholly precarious life (Campbell and Price, 2016).

Visual - Antecedents and consequences of precariousness



The positive side of precarity

The papers highlight that precarity is not solely a source of insecurity but can also be a formative experience. These papers provide a rich theoretical base to analyze and address rising precarity by emphasizing its social relational character, capacity for change, interconnected systemic causes, and ripple effects beyond the workplace. They offer a more nuanced perspective that complements macro-level accounts and highlights precarious workers' agency and resourcefulness. Papers 2 to 5 show that through social capital and community support, individuals in precarious situations can find meaning, build supportive networks, and resist adverse conditions. Specifically, the papers' findings on the positive side of precarity suggest that:

- Social capital can be a buffer: strong social connections can provide support and security, lessening the negative impacts of precarious work (papers 1, 3 & 4).
- Collective resistance: precarious workers can find strength in numbers, using informal tactics to challenge unfair conditions (papers 3 & 4). The studies showcase how precarious workers self-organize, resist, and leverage community embeddedness, challenging the view of them as passive.
- Be a formative experience providing access to meaningful social identity and in-group support.
- Lead to development of a "precarious habitus" that enables flexibility and adaptation.
- Develops skills and identity: precarious work experiences can shape a person's skills and sense of belonging to a community and strive for a better future through skill development (papers 2, 3 & 5).
- Access to training and development: partnerships between communities and institutions can provide opportunities for marginalized groups to gain skills and improve their employment prospects (paper 5).

The papers extend theories of precarity by integrating the concept of social capital and demonstrating its dual role in both supporting and constraining individuals and propose a more holistic theorization linking precarity and social capital and provide a more nuanced understanding of precarity by emphasizing its social relational character and capacity for change through informal support and collective action. They introduce the concept of a "precarious habitus," which enables recipients to transform from being "a fish in no water" to a "fish in many waters" and show how social capital on the move can reshape experiences of precarity. The research also highlights the multidimensional, changeable and relational nature of precarity that is not just determined by working conditions, emphasizing the importance of community and informal support networks. Additionally, the findings highlight the ripple effects of precarious work on various aspects of life, thus broadening the scope of how precarity is understood beyond employment yet also reveal hidden mechanisms that reproduce precarity such as organizational rhetoric masking inequality and stigma limiting opportunity.

Papers 3 and 4 extend Bourdieu's concept of social capital by showing how it becomes mobilized through experiences like escaping persecution, producing "social capital on the move", and both these papers highlight the paradoxical nature of social capital, showing how it can enable individuals to challenge precariousness and confine them in their roles, highlighting how different forms of social capital (bonding, bridging, and linking) interact with precarity, sometimes providing security and other times limiting aspirations. As such they demonstrate that while social capital can offer support and mitigate the negative effects of precarity, it can also constrain individuals by reinforcing their marginalized positions. The papers propose social capital as a skill that can be taught and become a valuable resource for everyone and illustrate how social capital mediates between work precarity and broader life precariousness.

My approach

The studies here explore the nuances between 'precarity', as terms and conditions of insecurity and 'precariousness', conceptualised as the corresponding experience, and expose how any construction of precariousness draws on the presence or absence of social capital, and how its presence can be complex. For instance, social capital can counter the dire consequences of precarity in one realm, such as the workplace, through an abundance of social capital in another realm such as the community. While the studies presented here acknowledge the impact of precarity on individuals' lives, papers 2, 3 and 4 challenge assumptions that precariousness in work has an entirely negative impact on an individual's whole life and assert that it is not fully determined by its portrayal as low pay and insecure contexts.

Broadly speaking this collection expands our understanding of precarity by moving beyond two key contributions in literature: structuralism, which attributes its main causes to institutions and mechanisms enshrined in policy and individual analyses of precariousness, which only considers how individuals' experience it. By bringing together social capital and precarity I demonstrate how precariousness is reproduced through in group solidarity, bolstered by bonding capital to make life more tolerable on a day-to-day basis.

What I believe is underexplored therefore in debates about precarity to date is threefold: individuals' subjectivity; first person accounts of lived experience of precarious work; and migrants' experience. In part these gaps have been filled by the papers contained within this collection, especially their determination not to accept a conflation of precarious work and precarious lives but to dig deeper and find out what else is going on. Overall, these papers focus on one group, migrant Roma, who undoubtedly share some common experience, cause, and consequence of precarity with others. Yet much remains to be discovered about experiences of precarity by different groups and individuals, experience, and insights necessary not only for the workers but for policy makers to ensure that they are responding precisely to workers needs.

The approach I take is representative of my belief that an important perspective underexplored in precarity debates is that of the precarious workers themselves. Some commentators draw attention to precarity's 'scarring effect' that is, how experience of working in a precarious job has a negative impact on one's future career path (for example, Jin et al 2022). This is generally in line with current research that focuses on a range of predominantly negative worker experiences, such as uncertainty, insecurity, and risk, which are complex sociological categories themselves that intersect in their impact on workers. Schierop and Jorgenson (2016) represent many contributors' belief in positing that precarity of work develops in tandem with precarity of citizenship. Adopting a deterministic relationship, from context to (largely negative) experiences, would lead to bias. Without rejecting the connection between precarity contexts and precarious experiences, I allow for 'precariousness' to be both positive and negative, and to be moderated by factors outside the context of precarious work. Two factors emerge from the papers here to suggest the existence of at best a 'happy precariat' and at least a satisfied precariat. From the participants' experience captured in these papers these states are influenced by two points: first, the importance one places on social capital above economic capital; and second, relatedly the number of informal connections one has with others. To date, the inclusion of individual' experience of precarity has been captured most by Tirapani (2021) in what he terms 'received precarity' that captures how the positive narratives surrounding precarity can co-exist with its dire consequences.

In summary this section has focused on the history of precarity, its significance and rise

within both the global north and south, and included commentary about the multiple ways in which the terms are used synonymously and conclude with an outline of my approach. A discussion of social capital follows and draws attention to the influence of social capital on precarious experience in both enriching and limiting ways.

Social capital

The term 'social capital' originated in the early 20th century (Hofer and Aubert 2013), and has since been driven by two prolific authors, Bourdieu and Putnam. Most research about social capital is quantitative, using measures to assess the institutions to which people belong (Hofer and Aubert 2013; Zhang and Anderson 2010). Definitions of social capital vary. Bonding capital describes inter-community ties based on trust, and while it supports everyday survival, it can limit social mobility. Bridging capital enables mobility between social groups and the formation of ties between people from different networks. These concepts map readily on to Granovetter's (1973) social network theory, where strong ties provide security and weak ties support social mobility. The concept of 'linking' capital refers to a relationship between a community of insiders (e.g. family, neighbourhood) with outsiders (e.g. NGOs), in other words connections where there are differences in power or social status, such as marginalised groups and their Members of Parliament. Linking social capital enabled participants in paper 5 to grow their networks.

Further distinctions exist between thick and thin social capital. The former describes the multidimensional connections between people based on trust and shared norms such as local community ties, and the latter to weaker connections such as acquaintances who interact occasionally at social functions. Further, online social capital involves social connections derived from digital platforms and includes both bonding and bridging capital (Hurlbert et al 2017), enabling individuals' access to groups that they previously have not had.

The first two types, bonding, and bridging capital are the focus in these papers. Often conceived in terms of its numerous benefits, Beyerlein and Hipp (2005: 995) note that "social capital promotes social support, boosts physical health, improves academic performance and increases job contacts". These authors warn, however, that too much bonding capital can affect a group's efficacy. For example, in paper 4 where the behaviour

of the group, supported by bonding capital, at the same time increased the risk of spreading covid. While Putnam (2015) argues that bonding capital promotes security, this is somewhat negated when the ties are so strong that they become restrictive and participants become prisoners of their own making, as inferred by Marcella's frustration in paper 2 about her own community members.

Putnam (2015) examines the decline of social capital in American society and cites declining membership of groups like the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) as his evidence, where he argues that less engagement means less social capital. Putnam urges readers to increase their bridging capital through formal channels, for bridging is the capital that helps us get ahead. This makes for a compelling argument, yet my research with Roma on the workings of social capital challenges this since membership of formal organisations was very low, yet informally the Roma communities were overflowing with bonding capital. Putnam's focus on membership of formal organizations and amassing bridging capital frames social capital as an elite concept that potentially discriminates against those that do not fit or cannot afford to join formal organisations, like participants in papers 3, 4 and 5. I challenge Putnam's argument that to increase social capital we create formal links. The data for this research indicates that people are very engaged informally (paper 3, 4 and 5), would like to be more welcomed and engaged formally (paper 3 and 4), and that the amount of social capital is compromised because of the presence of stigma (paper 2). Further, Putnam argues that economic benefits accrue from strong social networks (Putnam 1993). For many participants in this research, this notion is challenged when a community rich in bonding capital is suffering economic hardships.

Social capital literature remains divided. Claims that an increase in (only) bridging capital improves a community, are met with counter claims that bonding capital provides the backbone to a community (Recker 2013). Based on my studies, to help a community have access to and utilize more social capital an increase in both bridging and bonding is necessary, yet marginalization potentially affects the eligibility rules and outcome of both. Much of what I saw in Roma communities illustrates a conflict between wanting industry to move into the community to produce jobs, and the fear of outsiders entering the community (paper 3 and 5). While this points to a need to establish more bridging capital, in paper 5 many residents spoke of establishing a better job market by harnessing bonding capital within the local community itself.

Both Bourdieu and Putnam (2001) suggest that people in poorer areas have fewer social capital ties, and such ties are worth less. Through this we can see that social capital and access to resources is cyclical, illustrative of the ripple effect in paper 4. Here is where we start to see Bourdieu's notion of the reproduction of inequality beginning to emerge, and the ways that capital can be reproduced, depending on its presence, absence, who has it and eligibility rules. Relatedly, whether a group has high amounts of capital – no matter bridging or bonding – if a mechanism to stave off stigma is not in place (see paper 2), then the value of that capital is already negated.

According to Bourdieu (1973), an individual's mobility is determined by the social mobility that occurs between and across generations. We see in paper 5 how an individual's mobility may be subject to change when supportive interventions are implemented. Bourdieu sees individuals occupying spaces or fields within which lie the potential to access various forms of capital, and in turn greater social mobility. Viewed from this standpoint, I had the opportunity (see paper 1) to meet Roma in Liverpool (see papers 3 and 4) who do not have the social capital necessary for economic and social mobility because their ancestors never acquired it. Unsurprisingly, from this viewpoint, economic hardship and persecution have encouraged individuals to concentrate more on bonding capital because these cannot be taken away. Yet this takes little account of intergenerational transfer of social capital that I witnessed in papers 2 and 5, nor to regard social capital as a tool to be taught as seen in papers 2, 3 and 5.

In summary this section has discussed the types of social capital, mainly bonding and binding, their provenance, and a critique of Bourdieu and Putman's standpoints. Social capital, as I conceive it, is the resources and networks that an individual has, that can be both beneficial and/or detrimental, and these two elements have sculpted our understanding of it. My research suggests that drawing on the interplay of bridging and bonding capital is more effective than focusing on having more of one than the other.

Papers 2, 3 4 and 5 illustrate that bonding capital, while primarily considered positive for a group's security, can also weaken and divide, a dynamic that I observed in this research. However, based on my research in paper 2, this is sometimes a result of stigma from external communities. Interestingly much scholarly focus has been on the role and acquisition of bonding capital, with correspondingly less on bridging capital, about the

nature of opportunities and their acquisition that increase one's bridging capital, especially in marginalised communities, which I discuss in areas for further research.

Core papers: overview

This section shows the development of the overall submission and draws upon a range of research undertaken over a ten-year period (2013-2023) and personal experiences over a 25- year period (1999-2023). Smith (2017) suggests that for this retrospective approach to a PhD, a series of questions on each paper is useful. Following Smith's guidance, the following questions have steered the review of each submission:

- What is the aim and background of the paper?
- What themes does the paper address?
- What are the findings and connections to related research?
- What is the impact and contribution to the body of knowledge?
- How has one paper influenced the next?

Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2005) Discriminating Ethics Human Relations, vol. 58, 6: pp. 799-824

This paper explores gendered lives through the lens of one female academic (at the time of writing Paper 1 I and my co-author needed the technique of anonymity, but now this is no longer needed – over a 20-year gap is more than sufficient to give a critical and dispassionate perspective), characterised by precarity through workplace casualization. Precariousness is experienced here as financial harms – inequalities in material distribution, and insecurity on a temporary contract, aligning with Standing's definition of precariousness: uncertain, insecure, and lacking tenure. During my maternity leave my male job sharer was given an unadvertised full-time job, leading to an employment tribunal that I won as a case of direct sex discrimination and unfair dismissal. Conditions of precarity thus prevailed at three levels: throughout the job, the employment relations dispute and after the dismissal, alleviated by the social capital created among supportive colleagues.

The paper argues how a discourse of equality silenced disagreement, and led to practices that created or exacerbated precarity, and feeds directly into Gray et al's., (2015) argument that inequality is reinforced through organisational procedures that render the precariousness beneath invisible. While Discriminating Ethics speaks directly about the

experience of precariousness, the term precarity is used just once, primarily as it was not in vogue then.

The paper makes four contributions to knowledge: first, it shows how phenomena, in this case organisational policy and practice, can be used to deny the discrimination effecting individuals that leads to precarity. Second, it highlights the ripple effects of precarious work on an individual's work life interface. Third, it enhances our understanding of how social capital can support colleagues in precarious work and during work conflict. Finally, much like participants in papers 3 and 4 it adds to our appreciation of why and how individuals resist their precarious experience.

How paper 1 influenced paper 2, 3, 4 and 5:

The experience of inequality in paper 1 foreshadowed my interest in working at the coalface of inequality, specifically with individuals and groups that typically experience discrimination. My initial interest in equality and diversity came from a family background steeped in it drawn from Irish history and feminism. Upon leaving university my first posts were in the EDI field, as a researcher for the Trades Union Congress (TUC) into the causes and effects of the 'glass ceiling', and then as a lecturer in women's studies at Wolverhampton Polytechnic. In the 1990s I established myself as an EDI author and published several textbooks. I gained my subsequent post in HE teaching EDI from my prior professional experience in EDI and book authorship. My background thus influenced me to follow procedure when direct sex discrimination occurred to me and caused the organisation to use policy as a shield (paper 1). Work with other marginalised communities (ARODs, Roma) led to my current position of Roma ally and PhD candidate.

An ESF funded project I co-founded with a fellow disillusioned academic, Equaliser, supported several GTRSB young people into education or work. Many were ashamed of their ethnic identity and hid or denied it to secure work. Upon my return to HE my own experience of discrimination, coupled with the more brutal experience of Roma, meant that inequality became the central theme in my work and academic practice from 2015. Concretely, I wanted to understand why the story of a Roma migrant was different to that of an Italian migrant, for instance. Why the stories of witnesses to persecution were seen as 'memorable', while others like Roma were less so? Why so

many stories from the margins are not listened to, and why some groups of people are not recognised as legitimate voices that demand respect and attention and so forth.

Collins, H; Harrison, P; Palasinski, M (2020) Out of the shadows: a young Roma woman's journey from hiding to celebrating her identity in The Qualitative Report, 25 (12)

Through a case study, the paper exposes how a young Roma woman managed the discrimination faced by her family in Romania. As a child Marcella observed that the only way her father could keep a respected job was to hide his Roma identity. She evoked the acting mask of Goffman (1963) adapted by her father forced to suppress his emotions in the face of insults thrown at his ethnic group.

Marcella's story contains many aspects of precarity (insecurity, low income, uncertainty) yet did not lead to an all-consuming experience of precariousness. Early exposure to anti-gypsyism and the pain of identity suppression made Marcella determined to align her work with her core sense of identity. A surprising finding was the two-sided role of social capital. On the one hand, it supported Roma; on the other hand, it acted as a constraining force, holding Roma back from deploying other agency.

The study provides a new direction for rethinking precarity and stigma. Following Goffman, it posits that we are all actors on a stage and stigma assigned in one context might not necessarily be so in another. Negative conceptualisation of precarious work could have led us to investigate experiences through the lens of stigmatised worker identity. This perspective, however, carries inherent assumptions of what the corresponding worker experiences would be, so a focus on Marcella's narrative served as the anchor against the sway of assumptions around the impact of precarity.

How paper 2 influenced paper 3:

Since paper 2 had provided the opportunity to access the Roma community in Liverpool and influenced by my prior experience working with Roma teaching ESOL, I became very intrigued about how they managed their working lives, against a backdrop of discrimination experienced in their everyday lives. This led to the research that became paper 3.

Harrison, P; Collins, H; Bahor, A (2020) 'We Don't have the Same Opportunities as Others: Shining Bourdieu's Lens on UK Roma Migrants' Precarious (Workers) Habitus Work, Employment and Society 1-18

Paper nominated for the SAGE Prize for Innovation and Excellence

Paper 3's focus is on Roma migrants from Central and Eastern Europe and addresses three gaps in the literature. First, few studies have considered the impact of precarity on this marginalised group. Second, guided by Munck (2013) and Castel (2000) the paper provides evidence as to how precarity has always been the norm for groups such as Roma. Third, utilising Bourdieu's Field Theory, the research examines the value of social capital and its capacity to transform the experience of precarious work.

Based on a qualitative study of 29 Roma, the study highlights the impact of what Bourdieu termed flexploitation that occurs as workers' experience unstable wages which creates a permanent state of insecurity, forcing them into submission (Suliman and Webber 2019) social capital becomes mobilised through escaping persecution to produce social capital on the move. Second, the paper argues that a precarious habitus emerges and shapes precarity, and that precarity is formed at the intersection of social capital with an adaptive habitus.

The paper contributes to the sociology of precarious work in two ways. First, while participants engaged in few formal labour practices, there was evidence that informal practices like sharing knowledge about bad employers occurred. In this context our participants showed that they were not merely passive workers but demonstrated 'relational' forms of engagement with the labour process (Alberti and Pero, 2018). Second, through Bourdieu's notion of cultural sabir (Bourdieu and Sayad, 1964), where one is 'cast between two worlds and rejected by both', we see glimpses of the strength of a precarious habitus. The precarious habitus, fuelled by social capital on the move, enables recipients to transform from being 'a fish in no water' to a 'fish in many waters', yielding a flexibility, beloved by neoliberal work agendas, that protects yet confines workers.

How paper 3 influenced paper 4:

Paper 3 consolidated our research with Roma, and serendipity played a part in accessing a group of Roma vegetable pickers during the covid pandemic. Through Paper 3 I witnessed the power of social capital in maintaining a group's security and wellbeing; paper 4 reinforced this further, as the nature of their work was very difficult, compounded by the pandemic.

Collins, H; Barry, S; Dzuga, P (2021) 'Working While Feeling Awful is Normal': One Roma's Experience of Presenteeism Work, Employment and Society 1-10

While Paper 3 argues that shared social capital and a precarious habitus made life more bearable for Roma, this paper builds on individuals' coping strategies and demonstrates the ripple effect of precarity and spill over into family life. Despite his precarious circumstances, with no rights or contract, Piotr strived to limit the impact of precarity on his colleagues and family.

Piotr's (and his peers) strategies to resist precariousness contribute to the sociology of precarious work in two ways: first, with no formal bargaining power or security, there is evidence of what Martin (2003: 20) calls 'organised striving' for a better future (for instance, by improving his English and driving). Second, insights into Guarnizo's (1997: 311) 'dualistic dispositions' were apparent, highlighting how responses can be calculated (for instance, reducing the fear of Covid by agreeing not to talk about risk). These informal mechanisms gained traction through migrant workers' formation of strong social bonds (Holgate, 2005). Strong social bonds also enabled the organisation of work to be simplified such as through shared travel, covering for each other, and through motivating and supporting each other.

The paper also contributes to our understanding of the contagiousness of precarity in one aspect of an individual's life upon other areas. While Piotr tried hard to prevent the negative spill over, his experience of work spilled over into family life manifest in conflict over financial matters, exhaustion, limited energy for his childcare role and long hours.

How paper 4 influenced paper 5:

Participants in Paper 4 demonstrated a steely determination to make the most of any given situation, while at the same time showing aspiration for greater opportunities. This led to many lively conversations about skills, community and precarity leading to the research questions in paper 5.

Jolliffe, P; Collins, H; Gold, J (2023) Skilled Marginalised or Skills Eco-System, Precarious Workers and Higher Education - A Case Study of Roma in Liverpool International Journal of Training and Development, 1-23

A qualitative case study that explores the human resource development interventions used in respect of local eco-skills building with one marginalised community group in Liverpool, UK, illustrates the extreme difficulties precarious workers face in accessing training and development. The study demonstrates how a partnership approach, rooted in the community, involving NGOs, Roma and universities can devise HRD interventions that address local skills gaps that support local people into more secure and sustainable employment, reducing their experience of precarity. Paper 5 demonstrated two elements of social capital: first, how social capital can be taught; second, how linking social capital can be leveraged within a community through collaboration and inclusive social networks that were key to the success of the interventions.

The issues highlighted in this paper draw attention to an ongoing problem of a “low-skills equilibrium” trap in many parts of the UK and elsewhere (Bachtler & Begg, 2018, p. 156). Even if they have good skills, Roma, often must accept low-skilled and low-paid work because it is the norm of their local labour markets (Green et al., 2017). The paper points to HRD theorising that must critique such norms by facilitating a collaborative approach to develop skills eco-systems through a commitment to participatory research, such as Community Based Participatory Research, to work with marginalised groups (Wallerstein, 2020), or Morrison’s (2020) Community- Engaged Scholarship (CES). The study highlighted how CES principles, such as meeting community-identified needs, whilst cultivating reciprocity and inclusivity, empower marginalised groups and create a social change agenda within HRD. The study posits that what it terms an integrative skills model, that is

the partnership between a university and an NGO, both located in the Roma community, was coterminous in enabling successful project outcomes for the interventions.

Holistic contributions to knowledge

The research publications that form this collection have developed to take account the need to drive changes in government and public policy making and therefore have ongoing important impact. This body of research reflects the realities of precarity in the UK for marginalised groups like Roma. Further, serendipity has most certainly informed the impact of these papers. Being in a particular place at a particular time, where a set of EU and UK government policies has created the opportunity to come face to face with people that in my everyday life I would likely rarely encounter. The impact of this collection is to shape a new trajectory of thinking about how precariousness and social capital intertwines. Through extending Bourdieu's concept of social capital, paper 3 challenges received wisdom that privileges the economic dimension of precarity and argue that it is within the social dimension that precariousness has the potential to be re-constructed. While acknowledging the largely negative impact of precarious work on an individual's life, the papers highlight how precarity is not the whole story, that it is not always an inescapable source of insecurity but can be a formative experience, providing access to a meaningful social identity and in group support. All five articles are grounded in a phenomenological paradigm, chosen in order to understand how individuals construct their precarious experiences. Conversely to Standing's (2011) work in this area, precariousness here is identified as being relational and influenced by factors beyond labour conditions, particularly the role of social capital on meaning and fulfilment. The main contributions are discussed below under four headings: holistic theorisation of precarity and social capital; ripple effects of precarity; phenomenon that create and reproduce precarity; community and collective action and resistance.

Holistic theorisation of precarity and social capital

The research underpinning this collection proposes a holistic theorisation of precarity and social capital. While much research frames the presence of social capital as positive, papers 2 and 3 demonstrate its constraining properties, and posit that while social capital

can enable individuals to challenge precariousness, too much bonding capital can result in the reproduction of precarity that confines individuals in their role. Papers 2, 3 and 4 expose the paradoxical nature of social capital since even when it is present, its various strands can contradict, protecting the individual in one sphere yet confining them in another. In exploring social capital, Bourdieu's work has laid the foundations for this analysis. Paper 3 extends Bourdieu's concepts of social capital and habitus in two ways: first, by showing how social capital becomes mobilised through escaping persecution to produce social capital on the move; second, how the experience of precariousness shapes the habitus into a precarious habitus.

Papers 2, 3 and 4 contribute to new knowledge relating to the sociology of precarious work in three ways. First, while participants engaged in few formal labour practices, informal practices supported by shared social capital reduce precariousness, demonstrating that social capital can be shared and the experience of precarity can be a collective one. While I (largely) concur with Putnam, for instance, that engaging in formal action might count for more, I think these fewer formal acts have much to teach us about how individuals manage their precarious experiences.

I offer a more nuanced understanding of social capital for future researchers to elaborate. Data from these papers indicate that the future of social capital is to understand it as a tool and a skill to be taught. For example, in paper 5, linking social capital was evident in connecting individuals and groups across power differentials. Not simply a resource of the elite, but rather a resource for everyone that can be accessed and accumulated. Second, insights into Guarnizo's (1997: 311) 'dualistic dispositions' are apparent in papers 3, 4 and 5 highlighting how responses can be calculated, without assuming that subjects are merely exploited or imbued with 'false consciousness'. Third, Bourdieu's notion of *cultural sabir* shared by the participants who had fled from persecution demonstrates the strength of a precarious habitus, underpinned by shared social capital. The conceptual contribution of papers 3 and 4 affirms the need for a recalibration of precarity in work relative to the social dimension. Further, papers 1, 2 and 4 demonstrate how social capital collapses the boundaries between precarity in work and the experience of precariousness, social capital acting as a buttress against the dire consequences of precarity.

Ripple effects of precarity

Much of this collection demonstrate the ripple effect of precarity in one area of life upon another area. Notwithstanding the positive impact of social capital on soothing the harsh conditions of precarity, the impact of the ripple effect was generally negative. Papers 1, 2, 3 and 4 show how it led to harsher economic situations, including poverty for some. Thus, it positions precarious work in the broader debate about precarity beyond employment, providing evidence about how precarity affects both the working and the private lives of individuals, with the potential to make their whole life precarious, not just work.

Papers 2 and 4 demonstrate the ripple effects of precariousness in one area of an individual's life upon friends, colleagues, and family, and enhance and extend current discussions about the ripple effects of precarity. For instance, effects upon one's sense of identity (paper 2), work family interface (paper 4) or employment status such as paper 1 where Marie went from having a secure albeit temporary job contract to unemployment.

Paper 2 presents the links between stigmatised identity and precarity, demonstrating how an individual's ethnicity is used to stigmatize and make assumptions about their worth, and often limiting access to bridging capital beyond one's group. Goffman (1963), most notably, introduced how the notion of stigma affects our perception of others and ourselves, and in turn, how we see our position in society, and proposed that individuals represent themselves to fit normative expectations and avoid stigmatization, much like Marcella's father did in paper 2. Stigmatized individuals embody the failings of society, and for participants in paper 3 and 4, potential employers stigmatized Roma, claiming that they were lazy, dirty, or criminal. This experience exemplifies what Goffman was referring to when he stated, "[a] stigma, then, is really a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype" (1963: 2). Both Marcella's father (paper 2) and Piotr (paper 4) exhibited this. For both individuals in papers 2 and 4 we see the ripple effects on the work family interface, and its impacts on life pre work, during work and post work.

Phenomenon that creates and reproduce precarity

All the papers posit that the experience of precariousness is variable and demonstrate how the structures and mechanisms in which workers and organisations are embedded

shape both the dimensions of precarious work and workers' experiences of them. Evidence contained in the collection highlight phenomenon that are often less visible yet create precarity and reproduce the precariousness experienced by individuals.

There is consensus that the combined effect of globalisation, privatisation, deregulation, and technological innovations have led to a decline of standard work (Vosko, 2011), and a return to pre second World War forms of precarious employment. While a growing body of work focuses on how workers experience precariousness, from gig work to creative industries to freelancers (Chertkovskaya et al , 2013), what is missing, and this thesis tackles it, is how lived experiences of precariousness and organisational structures and mechanisms can contribute to the reproduction of precarity. I show here that the creation and reproduction of precarity are interconnected, often through the very mechanisms such as HRM policy designed to protect us.

Paper 1 considers how an organisational discourse of ethics and equality produces policy that can hide or exacerbate precarity. Paper 2 shows the impact of stigmatised ethnic identity upon precariousness at work that increases the likelihood of discrimination and inequality, in turn reproducing precarity. Papers 3 and 4 bring forth the invisibility (to observers) of phenomenon such as poor terms and conditions, insecurity and low pay that can increase precarity. An antecedent to the experience of precariousness in papers 2, 3, 4 and 5 is poverty with no alignment with Standing's seven forms of security. The relationship between social capital and precarity is presented in these papers as both negative and positive. In papers 3 and 4 plentiful bonding capital provided security yet limited participants aspiration. In paper 1 the bonding between colleagues provided security. The unwillingness or fear of Marcella's community in paper 2 to build bridging capital was a source of frustration. These contributions are highly relevant because of the recognition that precarity at work increases inequality and diminishes wellbeing (Bidwell et al 2013; Hewison 2016).

In contrast, paper 5 shows how linking social capital can be generated to build resources and opportunities to reduce precarity, and thus align a community more with Standing's seven forms of security. While all the papers highlight the interconnectedness of precarity and social capital, papers 1 and 5 show how the latter can be leveraged to reduce the negative experiences of the former.

Community, collective action and resistance

Exclusion of migrant workers such as Roma from the dominant structures of British society, including from trade unions, necessitates their autonomous organisation. As with other migrant communities, most trade unions have not engaged with and represented Roma workers. Virdee (2014) suggests that it could be that they are viewed as unfair competition to local jobs or as difficult to organise. Further, the transitory nature of insecure work means that trade unions often cannot access workers, making representation difficult (Meardi, Martin and Riera 2012).

Papers 3, 4 and 5 show how precariousness at work as a collective experience underpinned by shared social capital foregrounds collective resistance. Papers 3 and 4 show how individuals, through collective action, resist precarity and organise informally to combat its worst effects. By developing 'dualistic dispositions' as referred to earlier participants managed the dire consequences of precarious work through small acts of resistance such as choosing their own pace of work, supporting friends to have time off and devising their own rules of engagement.

Paper 5 shows how community embeddedness - of people, skills, opportunities, resources, training, and development – can support marginalised groups with their own resources and on their own terms. Papers 4 and 5 show how community embeddedness in the form of local interventions and group support can be important tools to counter the disconnection of workers that is produced by precariousness.

Summary of contributions

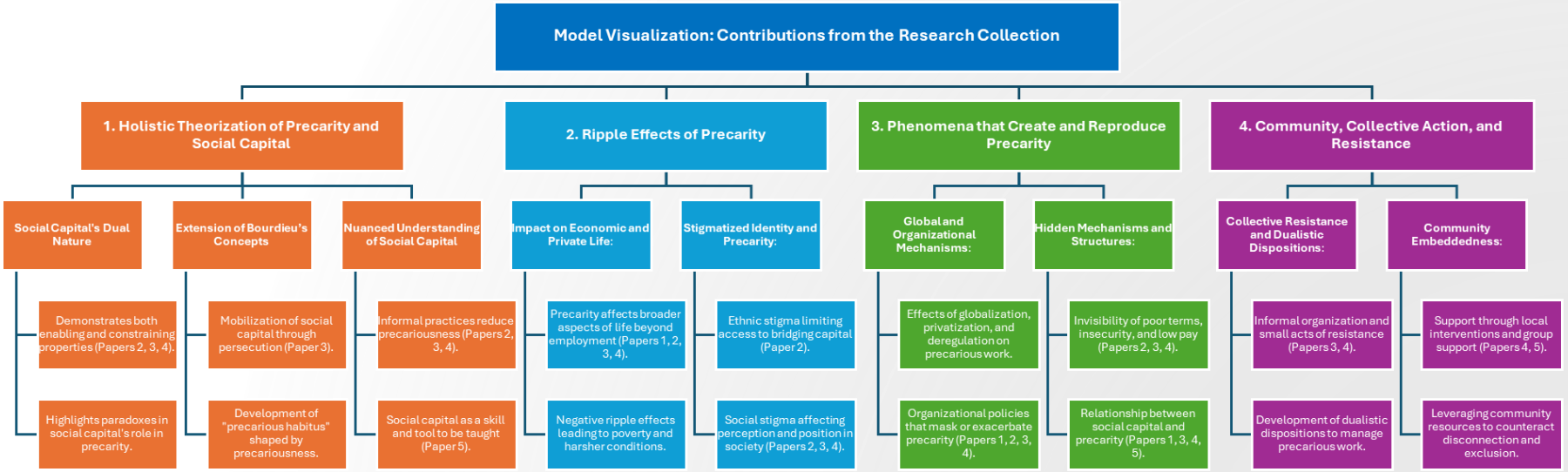
Based on these contributions, new insights emerge. This collection highlights the multidimensional and relational nature of precarious work and emphasize how precarity in one area of life spills over and impacts other areas that provides a more holistic view than previous studies.

Further, the papers demonstrate how precariousness is not fixed, but changeable and influenced by social capital and community support and show how informal practices and social connections of precarious workers reduce the experience of precarity as wholly negative, challenging dominant views.

The studies reveal hidden mechanisms that reproduce precarity, like organizational rhetoric masking inequality and stigma limiting opportunity. Considering precariousness as an interconnected system provides new insight, and showcase how precarious workers self-organize, resist, and leverage community embeddedness, despite exclusion from traditional institutions like unions. This collective agency perspective contrasts with depictions of precarious workers as passive victims.

Overall, these papers provide a richer theoretical base to analyse and address rising precarity. They achieve this by extending the knowledge of precarious work by emphasizing its social relational character, capacity for change through informal support and collective action, interconnected systemic causes, and ripple effects beyond the workplace. The nuanced, grounded perspective complements macro level accounts and highlights precarious workers' agency and resourcefulness.

Visual – Table of contributions



Methodological observations and treatment of published works

Philosophical stance

The use of the first-person narrative is used intermittently, as acknowledgement of my active role in co-constructing the meaning of precarious work with my research participants (Holloway, 1997). These papers are based on a qualitative methodology, relating to human experiences (Merriam 2015). The research is driven by feminist values, by which I refer to the goal to explore lived experiences of precarity and provide evidence that can be deployed to challenge the attendant inequality, such as the continued marginalisation of women (paper 1) and Roma (papers 2, 3 4 and 5).

Researchers bring their own philosophical assumptions to their work, whether consciously or not, and these assumptions influence how we devise research questions and methods. As Creswell (2012) asserts, individuals hold multiple perspectives on reality. This research has evolved to take an interpretivist epistemological stance typical of qualitative research, focusing on the subjective realities of individuals such that I gather knowledge by interpreting participants' subjective explanations and experiences, and allows for new insights by emphasizing participants' voices and their diverse realities. Subjectivity risks issues with trustworthiness so to minimise this risk, I use member checking of transcripts, with observation and focus groups to eliminate bias (Cohen et al, 2018).

Methods

Two methods of interview were used across the published works: semi-structured interviews and focus groups, as well as case study. Advantages of interviews are that they allow participants to speak about their own experiences and to follow up on anything that is of significance (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). At the same time, they are criticised for being biased (King & Horrocks, 2010). Focus groups allowed the participants to interact (King & Horrocks, 2010) which I felt suited this group of participants and was very useful in gaining broader insights (e.g paper 3) as interaction was important to get everyone talking with openness. While Adler and Salantera (2019) caution against potential problems with group interviews such as omitting individual

voice, groupthink and dominant voices I believe they suit Roma's habitus and way of 'being Roma' (Grill 2012). A case study method with individual interviews was adopted for papers 2 and 5 as participants were experts in their field.

The semi-structured approach allowed interviews to be conversational, while at the same time ensured that the data-collection had a loose order to it and any gaps anticipated and captured. The semi structured approach gave participants agency to talk about issues that matter most to them and allow a more penetrating analysis of the issues (May 2011). To reduce the chance of missing out a question or topic, I used a typed-up set of themes and prompt questions. Questions centred around participants' experience of work: accessing work, types of work, treatment by employers and ripple effect of work upon family and community. I conducted most interviews in everyday situations, such as in participants' homes, where I strived to follow the lead of the participant, exerting minimal impact on the flow of the interaction. This closeness or proximity to the research cohort was only possible after a long period of time had been invested building relationships with the community. Never an insider, as we do not share a Roma identity, but a honorary insider or ally and supporter of the community made the research develop more easily. As Roma have a history of researchers coming in with pre-set questions and pre-conceived ideas, I felt such an approach was justified (Matras 2014)

Limitations

While these five submissions have tried to maintain trustworthiness one aspect that could have been improved is that of (a greater range) participants checking the transcripts (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). In papers 2 and 4 this occurred, but in other issues of confidentiality (paper 1), and language and interpretation (papers 3 and 5) prevented this. Counter arguments are that all interview transcriptions followed the Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis process, and as Pitney and Partner (2009) suggest credibility of qualitative data derived also from peer-review and each paper underwent a double-blind peer-review process before acceptance and publication.

While most participants in papers 2-5 were settled in the UK and had lived in the Northwest for several years, that is not always the case with Roma migrants. For many

reasons, including the experience of persecution and harassment, Roma is likely to move area at quite short notice. This produces challenges when trying to build and access a research cohort and develop relationships over a sustained period.

Data analysis

When interviews were undertaken, they were transcribed verbatim and analysed using line-by-line coding, rather than by imposing any theory or structure a priori, allowing me to remain open to the possible emergence of themes not previously considered.

Similarities across codes were identified and checked for likenesses in meaning before collapsing codes into categories, then categories analysed to determine overarching themes that captured the essence of participants' lived experiences. In general, participants intertwined experience of persecution and discrimination with current experience of better but still insecure work and how these factors impacted their daily life. Every interview was recorded, and in the first stage of analysis I read the transcript and listened to the interviews to gain an understanding of the emotions expressed. I wanted to focus upon not only what was said, but how and why it was said in the context of my role as an active participant, in line with Holstein and Gubrium's (1995) active interview.

Influenced by Braun and Clarke (2006), analysis followed a staged process of interpretive thematic analysis that allowed for a systematic analysis and selection of key themes. While commonly used, Sparkes and Smith (2013) suggest it does have some weaknesses and can lead researchers to overgeneralise and over interpret the data. To avoid this, transcripts were read multiple times by different people to generate keys words and phrases. In papers 2, 3 and 5 data were thematically coded, and sub coded into themes, then reviewed and refined to ensure that it was part of a coherent pattern reflective of the whole data set. Once the broad themes were developed, I returned to the raw data to check that the actual experiences of the participants were captured, and double checked with the Roma support workers who had provided access to the community and acted as interpreters when necessary.

In the first stages of the research in papers 2,3 4 and 5 I wrote memos shortly after interviews, to see what themes and constructs were emerging. Memos include in-depth

thoughts about an event and therefore are more analytical than field notes (Strauss and Corbin, 2008). In the early stage of the analysis, my aim was for inductive themes to emerge, but as confidence in the literature and data grew, I realised that themes do not emerge but are in fact negotiated because of an iterative process between theory and data. As I got to know the Roma community better, I became more confident about probing themes and what they represented beyond the literal interpretation and, in so doing, a detailed open analysis led to the more specific development of theoretical ideas in three journal articles: papers 2, 3 and 4.

Conclusions, limitations, and future research

Despite the contradictions and ambiguities over what precarity entails, the concept has gained traction within HRM and the field of employee relations. The publications included in this submission have argued for a wider conceptual lens with which to observe the nature of precarity and to include not only its economic dimension, but the many and varied experiences of precarity that impact work and work life interface.

As noted previously, two research questions have dominated: can workers re-construct the (negative) influences that the experience of precariousness of work exert on their work and lives? If workers can re-construct their precarious experiences, what are the factors enabling them to achieve this? To answer the first question, I demonstrate how for most workers, precarity was not their whole story, nor was it uniquely individual since for many it was a collective one, made easier by shared social capital. Many participants were able, in part at least, to offset or re-construct the negative experiences of work precariousness within other parts of their lives such as community activity, shared commuting, travelling, cooking, game playing, music and storytelling and supporting each other's emotional health at work. Furthermore, the experience was relational, as expressed by participants in papers 2 and 3 who recognized entirely the precarious nature of their livelihoods yet maintained that while it was difficult, their circumstances were now easier than they had been in their home countries. To answer the second question, many of the participants relied on shared social capital and resources to manage their precarious experience, rather than engaging in any types of formal solidarity or activism. It was these strong informal connections shared among participants, coupled with a common belief in the value of social capital over economic capital that enabled them to achieve their more positive outlook. While these findings are in line with those of Petriglieri, Ashford & Wrzesniewski (2019), I expand on this view by demonstrating that this phase of enduring precariousness contains elements of resistance and informal activism as evidenced by participants in papers 3 and 4.Many studies have looked at how structures create precariousness (for instance, Bidwell, Briscoe, Fernandez-Mateo & Sterling, 2013), and others have looked at how precariousness is lived (Cinque, Nyberg, & Starkey, 2021; Fleming, 2017; Moisander, Groß

& Eräranta, 2018), yet arguably none have proposed a holistic theorisation of the interaction of structure and experience. The publications presented here have considered the nuanced challenges and opportunities of addressing precarity with its bedfellow, social capital. This research identifies that precarity emerges and is reproduced through complex, cumulative, intersecting, and long-term processes such as migration, persecution, poverty, inequality and underinvestment in communities.

Limitations

A limitation of this study is that it was conducted only in the northwest of Britain, with predominantly Roma participants, so its arguments are not necessarily generalizable to all people in precarious work. Other locations and other groups may offer different insights. Its findings, however, demonstrate the need for new ways to facilitate voicing their experience.

Another limitation is the relatively small number of interviews, each lasting for 30-70 minutes. Relatedly, even with an interpreter, language difficulties sometimes made it difficult to drill down and explore individuals' experience of precariousness in greater depth. However, the group interviews proved to be extremely useful in generating conversation, and reflect the way that Roma live and communicate naturally. Employing a more narrative approach (Boje 2001) might have introduced themes that participants would have related more to, but which did not emerge through a semi- structured design. Furthermore, conducting more interviews with each participant (Clarke 2006; Seidman 2006) could have produced data which were more precise. However, I believe this approach would not have been practical and would have overstretched this research. Despite these limitations, all the interviewees shared their experiences of precarious work and lives, and subsequent analysis reveals their different views on precarity, social capital and inequality.

Future research

Writing this supporting piece to the five publications has been an opportunity to develop a potential future research agenda. I have shown that we have to date accrued a sufficient body of evidence on the structural and historical conditions of precariousness, as well as on its consequences. What we need to study more and better is how it is lived and reproduced, and I believe that poststructuralism can help us doing so because it allows to link structuring regimes with the reality of precarity. If we take seriously the post structural idea that reality is created and recreated constantly, then we need to look at lived experiences of precarity as a constant endeavour. To change the regime structuring precariousness, we need to re-politicise the debate and look at how it is reproduced by its actors; yet this by no means implies that all actors have the same power and responsibility, but that actions can be ignited and transformed into capital for radical change in a much wider audience, with 'emancipatory' consequences. So, in true phenomenological spirit it is important to consider precarity in its broadest sense - context, causes, symptoms, experience, both individual and collective. As Valenzuela et al (2023) infer it is essential to pay forensic attention to precarious workers' own assessments of their everyday experience, and to how they manage their vulnerability in all areas of life.

There is scope to further test and develop the definition of precarious experience and the intersection of precarity with a work life interface. The concept of work-life articulation, coined by Crompton (2006) and developed by Smith and McBride (2021) in their research on multiple job holding, suggests a more dynamic way to understand how workers such as participants in papers 2 -5 manage the intersections between work and life. This might serve to both widen the perspectives of policymakers and practitioners to the nature of precarity and recalibrate labour market interventions to support workers.

To meet the UN's grand challenge of reducing precariousness more insights around the antecedents and consequences of precariousness and what ties them together. Relatedly, following Hurlbert et al's (2017) suggestion more research is necessary into the sorts of opportunities for building bridging capital in marginalised communities.

Ideally, two more observations merit further research. I remain intrigued by Yaron Matras' book *I met lucky people* to which I would add happy people. Personally, I am keen to explore the identification of moderating elements to inform the 'happy precariat' such as I witnessed quite often in the Roma community. While happiness in relation to marginalised groups is undertheorized (Kabir, 2016), an influential author on happiness Sara Ahmed (2010; 2020) draws our attention to happiness as structured through the lens of consumption, expressed through media and consumer outlets that promise positive self-fulfilment. For individuals in precarious work, happiness is often "promised", it is inherently delayed: this was the central thesis of Ahmed's argument. I am intrigued to explore how Roma, for instance, generate the happiness that I witnessed. And finally, methodologically, the deeper my research delved into Roma lives, the more successful the group interview over the individual interviews were in generating conversation and responses. As aforementioned, Roma are community and family orientated, what Grill (2012) calls 'being Roma'. Is this like other persecuted groups or unique to Roma is worthy of research.

As a concluding point, I reflect on the question of how scholars can have an actual impact on the world. Considering the long journey leading to this thesis, I believe there are a couple of things that might help. First, reflexivity be taken more seriously, by asking ourselves to what degree our theories have a performative effect, intended or accidental, and for whom. Second, I believe that the insights on precariousness I have advanced show that we should break with any lingering assumption that professional and personal lives are separate. Third, going back to the opening vignettes in the introduction, I think we need to take more seriously the lived experiences of precariousness, and use it to inform priorities and policy that shape people's lives.

Appendix 1 - The core papers: overview of dissemination and wider impact

Paper	Dissemination and wider impact
Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2005) Discriminating Ethics *Human Relations,* vol. 58, 6: pp. 799-824	Paper used to inform four pillars of equality work in Government Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs): prejudice, discrimination, monitoring and evaluation. Paper used for a successful ESF bid to work with young people at risk of disengagement from education and employment, known as The Equaliser Project.
Collins, H; Harrison, P; Palasinski, M (2020) Out of the shadows: a young Roma woman's journey from hiding to celebrating her identity in *The Qualitative Report*, 25 (12)	Secured funding from UK Government department Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, now called Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities. Funding used to develop Liverpool Roma Employability Network (LREN) and Roma Education Aspiration Project (REAP). REAP was very successful and received government funding for a second year. REAP has been shared internationally through an **ITN documentary** supported by the Chartered Association of Business Schools https://vimeo.com/475116421

	REAP has fed directly into the National Roma Integration Strategy (NRIS) and met the Roma integration indicators for Merseyside, feeding into the **EU Roma Strategic Framework 2020-2030**
Harrison, P; Collins, H; Bahor, A (2020) 'We Don't have the Same Opportunities as Others: Shining Bourdieu's Lens on UK Roma Migrants' Precarious (Workers) Habitus *Work, Employment and Society* 1-18	Vice Chancellor Excellence in EDI Award 2021 AACSB Innovations that Inspire award Presentation at UFHRD conference, University of Newcastle British Academy If I could do One Thing award. GCRF £14,000 *T*o transfer outcomes from REAP to three UN DAC countries: the Philippines, Syria and India (2020)
Collins, H; Barry, S; Dzuga, P (2021) 'Working While Feeling Awful is Normal': One Roma's Experience of Presenteeism *Work, Employment and Society* 1-10	British Academy's Making a Difference award GTRSB Support Group. Created inter-disciplinary group of professional and academic staff to support GTRSB into FE and HE

	Contributed to GTRSB policy through the APPG on GTRSB barriers to inclusion group
	ACERT Conference Organiser and Opening of Conference https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/storytelling-education-and-wellbeing-tickets-490434993267 GTRSB Staff Awareness Event 7 April 2022 https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/supporting-our-gypsy-traveller-roma-boater-and-showmen-students-into-he-tickets-277639696807. education system Paper nominated for SAGE Prize for Innovation and Excellence Papers 2, 3, 4 and 5 have culminated in two wider interventions that impact LJMU and the GTRSB community: LJMU became a signatory university to the GTRSB Pledge, November 2023 In collaboration with another university, NGOs and Roma groups from England, Wales and Scotland applying to reestablish the National Roma Network (NRN).

Appendix 2 Evidence of candidate's contributions

These publications were chosen from my overall profile because together they form a coherent portfolio of work with conjoining strands of research around precariousness and the role of social capital. As lead author in three papers, I have been intimately involved in all stages of the research journey: interview question design, interviewer, data analysis, lead on writing and sole finisher and editing writer following peer review requirements. All are co-authored publications resulting from collaborative projects confirming my preference for collegiate practice to build up communities of research around reducing the experience of precariousness.

Copies of statements from co-authors

Work, Employment and Society May 6th, 2021.

'Working While Feeling Awful Is Normal': One Roma's Experience of Presenteeism

Helen Collins, Susan Barry, Piotr Dzuga*

Contributions of Helen Collins

Helen Collins approached me to collaborate on research that would fuse both our individual areas of research interests. Helen was aware I had previously conducted qualitative research regarding the phenomena of presenteeism and that I had also engaged in presenteeism in prior employment. I was aware Helen was involved in research with Roma workers and her involvement in successful bids for two major projects REAP (Roma Educational Aspiration Project) and LREN (Liverpool Roma Employability Network).

Helen initiated this entire process and was instrumental in focusing our qualitative research through the front-line worker lens. She was excellent in her role as lead author and corresponding author and was the driving force behind the article.

Sue Barry

The Qualitative Report, 25 (12) (2020)

Out of the shadows: a young Roma woman's journey from hiding to celebrating her identity in

Collins, H; Harrison, P; Palasinski, M

Contributions of Helen Collins

As co researchers, the research was co designed and written and its contributions were a united effort. Helen generated the paper's contributions around the role of stigma in increasing precarity and the role of social capital in reducing it.

I, Dr Marek Palace, confirm that Helen Collins made significant contribution to the Roma paper

Work Employment and Society 1-18 (2020)

'We Don't have the Same Opportunities as Others: Shining Bourdieu's Lens on UK Roma Migrants' Precarious (Workers) Habitus Work,

Harrison, P; Collins, H; Bahor, A

Starting in 2017 our research with Liverpool's Roma community, particularly their engagement with precarious work, culminated in this paper published in 2020. The research was co designed and written and its contributions to advancing Bourdieu's

concepts and the sociology of work were a united effort. This is where we collected the main data set, jointly, for our research into Roma. Helen and I debated thoroughly, coming up with joint conceptual thinking.

Patricia Jolliffe (formerly Harrison)

Jolliffe, P; Collins, H; Gold, J (2023) Skilling Marginalised or Skills Eco-System, Precarious Workers and Higher Education - A Case Study of Roma in Liverpool, UK *International Journal of Training and Development* 1-23

Helen has worked collaboratively for some time on a crucial issue of precarious work and how this affects the lives of people in disadvantaged communities such as the Roma.

Her work has overcome significant hurdles in order to gain access to Roma in Liverpool. Such communities are usually very suspicious of external help and contact.

The work of the Liverpool team, co-led by Helen, has achieved important results in supporting the Roma community so that they can access opportunities for good work.

Professor Jeff Gold

To whom it may concern

I hereby confirm that Helen Collins and I made an equal contribution (50%) to the following journal article and conference papers:

Collins, H. and Wray-Bliss, E (2005) 'Discriminating ethics' *Human Relations* 58(6): 799-824

Collins, H. and Wray-Bliss, E. (2000) 'Equal opportunities policies: The authority of discrimination', *15th Annual Employment Research Unit Conference 'Work Futures'*, Cardiff Business School.

Collins, H. and Wray-Bliss, E. (2000) 'Women's consciousness, man's world: (un)learning patriarchy and LPT' *18th Annual International Labour Process Conference*, 2000, University of Strathclyde.

Wray-Bliss, E. and Collins, H. (2001) 'Discriminating Ethics' *The Second International Conference on Critical Management Studies*, UMIST.

Sincerely

Dr Edward Wray-Bliss

Email Edward.wraybliss@gmail.com

Appendix 3 – Papers

Reference and URL	Embedded PDF (Click to open)
Collins, H; Wray-Bliss, E (2005) Discriminating Ethics *Human Relations,* vol. 58, 6: pp. 799- 824 https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726705057175	1) Discriminating Ethics.pdf
Collins, H; Harrison, P; Palasinski, M (2020) Out of the shadows: a young Roma woman's journey from hiding to celebrating her identity in *The Qualitative Report*, 25 (12) https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2020.4730	Out of the Shadows_ A Young '
Shining Bourdieu's Lens on UK Roma Migrants' Precarious (Workers) Habitus *Work, Employment and Society* 1-18 https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017020979502	harrison-et-al-2020-we-don-t-have-the-s
Collins, H; Barry, S; Dzuga, P (2021) 'Working While Feeling Awful is Normal': One Roma's Experience of Presenteeism *Work, Employment and Society* 1-10 https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017021998950	collins-et-al-2021-working-while-feelinç
Jolliffe, P; Collins, H; Gold, J (2023) Skilling Marginalised or Skills Eco-System, Precarious Workers and Higher Education - A Case Study of Roma in Liverpool, UK *International Journal of Training and Development* 1-23 https://doi.org/10.1111/ijtd.12303	Int J Training Development - 2023

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