RESEARCH ARTICLE

Skilling marginalised or skills eco-system, precarious workers and higher education—A case study of Roma in Liverpool, UK

Patricia Jolliffe Senior Lecturer[1] [ID] |
Helen Collins Senior Lecturer[1] |
Jeff Gold Professor of Organisational Learning[2]

[1]Human Resource Management, Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK

[2]Leeds Business School, Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK

Correspondence
Dr Patricia Jolliffe, Senior Lecturer, Human Resource Management, Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK.
Email: P.A.Jolliffe@ljmu.ac.uk

Abstract

This qualitative case study explores the Human Resource Development (HRD) interventions utilised in respect of local eco-skills with one marginalised group, the Roma, in the City of Liverpool, UK, and responds to HRD research calls into the cause of cycles of inequality. The case study illustrates the challenges experienced by precarious workers in accessing education and training. Further, it shares the interventions taken to address inequalities that a Higher Education-nUK University and a local Non-Government Organisation took between 2016 and 2019. Roma is among the UK and Europe's most disadvantaged and marginalised groups. Working in partnership, utilising Community-Based Participatory Research, we developed three HRD interventions: stakeholder groups (adult and young Roma), motivational interviewing and employability/ education events. The findings unpack an under-studied experience and context: the need for more attention to developing skills at a local level for marginalised precarious workers. We found that

aspiration grew through focused community support and a partnership approach, and educational opportunities emerged, albeit at a relatively slow pace. This paper ends with a call for action for more HRD educators to work with those at the margins of society.

INTRODUCTION

"If you find the work one day, the other day is gone …". The desperation in the voice of Leander, a Roma participant in our study, was evident as she struggled to navigate the world of work in the United Kingdom (UK). In this study, we share our journey from recognising the impact of a lack of training, development and education, and low-paid, insecure work on poverty from one group's perspective, the migrant Roma of Liverpool. We live in a transformational age from a post-industrial society towards a form of concentrated capitalism with a polarisation between those who enjoy prosperity and those who do not, exacerbated further by COVID-19 (Allas et al., 2020), and in the UK, changes in government leadership (Ahmed, 2022). A polarisation is represented in the workplace through the concept of dualisation, the division between workers with stable jobs and those with insecure jobs (Chung et al., 2019). We know that organisations have choices: take a high-road (people first investment) or a low-road (low people investment) approach with the concomitant consequence of inequality between the top and bottom of the income distribution (Craypo & Wilkinson, 2019). Greater attention to skills development is argued by Torraco (2018), who witnessed a self-perpetuating cycle linking the problems of economic and educational inequality with reduced career opportunities. He urges an uptake of career pathways that enable individuals and employers to create skills eco-systems deployable to build strong local economies. A skills eco-system is a community of interacting living parts comprising producers, consumers and decomposers, and nonliving components that define the system's environment (Barr, 2019).

Like Li (2020), we are concerned with alleviating poverty and regard skills development for marginalised precarious workers as crucial. In the broadest sense, precariousness or precarity relates to a state defined by a lack of security and predictability, manifesting as material and psycho-socio deprivation when applied to the human condition (Alberti & Però, 2018). We distinguish between "precarity", as terms and conditions of insecurity, low-pay and low-skill work and "precariousness", conceptualised as the corresponding experiences. There is little differentiation between the notions of precariousness and precarity in the literature with Standing (2016a, 2016b), one of the gurus on the subject, using the terms interchangeably. Furthermore, the UK has broad political support for using precarious labour. In any event, there are concerns over the impact on the worker of the expansion of nonstandard employment, poverty cycles and lack of training and development (Alberti & Però, 2018; Cribb et al., 2022; Hassard & Morris, 2018; Moisander et al., 2018; Standing, 2016a, 2016b). Despite some arguing that nonstandard employment is the norm when taking a worldwide perspective (Breman & van der Linden, 2014), this research is based in the UK, a country ranked 28 in the Richest Countries in the World in 2021 (Ventura, 2021). We respond to various calls for Human Resource Development (HRD) research and practice into poverty, education,

training and practical support for marginalised precarious work. We adopt a Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) approach to our practice, chosen for its systems and partnership characteristics, and provide a case study about how pooling the resources of Higher Education (HE) and a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) created an impact at a local skills level (Barr, 2019). CBPR's commitment to co-learning and decision-making and its aims to benefit communities build bridges between different partners and gain a deeper understanding of communities by using culturally appropriate measurement tools aligned with our values (Viswanathan et al., 2004). We use "marginalised precarious workers": coterminous as not all precarious workers are marginalised. Our participants' label includes both precarious, defined by Kalleberg (2009, p. 2) as "employment that is uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker" and marginalised since they are at the lower or outer edge of the labour market (Bangham & Gustafsson, 2020; Matras, 2014).

The first gap we identify in HRD research is Roma, part of the Gypsy, Traveller, Roma, Showmen and Boater (GTRSB) communities. While helpful, the umbrella term GTRSB masks how communities differ in significant linguistic and cultural practices. Chosen because they are marginalised, Roma experience the worst employment outcomes of any ethnic group in the UK (House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, 2019); thus, poverty and insecurity are deeply embedded (MacDonald et al., 2020). The second gap is the local skills eco-system of Liverpool, the second most deprived city in the UK (Liverpool City Council, 2020). Moreover, few studies have explored the relationship between sustainable skills development for marginalised precarious workers (Thompson & Dahling, 2019), possibly contributing to inequality cycles (Bangham & Gustafsson, 2020). We concur with Torraco (2018) and Li (2020) that more HRD research is needed to help break cycles that have trapped people in low-income and low education. We identify with the analysis of Devins and Gold (2014) and Moore and Khan (2020), who call for more inclusive approaches to sustainable skills eco-systems (Barr, 2019), a concept that emerged from reflections on the high/low-road approach to people and skill development.

Of the practical research undertaken in a few cities in the UK, we found little action concerning Roma employability, including in Liverpool, despite its significance (Welsh Government, 2018). Our questions, focused on the Roma of Liverpool, are:

> What is the relationship between the components of a local skills eco-system and marginalised precarious workers?

> How can HRD academics and practitioners engage with marginalised precarious workers?

> What HRD interventions can be deployed with marginalised precarious workers?

After reviewing the literature, the paper is shaped as follows: we consider the approach to working with an NGO and local stakeholders with an interest in increasing Roma education and employability in the Liverpool local authority area and expose the actions to tackle this marginalised group's low educational and employability situation. This case study highlights the difficulties of finding quality work from the lowest starting point in the UK. It reveals a lacuna in HRD practitioners' practice and how a partnership approach can make a difference. While, as authors, we were heavily involved with the developing partnership, we do not share a Roma identity and thus were led by the expert Roma voice.

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE

Limited HRD research (Zarestky & Collins, 2017), a lack of government support (Bangham & Gustafsson, 2020), and a gap in HRD practitioner skills (Gaudet et al., 2017; Greer & Collins, 2017) has enabled HRD to focus on employees in permanent employment (Moore & Khan, 2020) rather than all workers. The sustainable skills eco-system emphasises developing skills at a local level and links organisational performance and responsibility to broader society, and aligns with Swanson (2001) three-legged stool image of the theoretical foundations of psychological, economic and systems theories that underpin HR. Furthermore, universities are part of a larger community eco-system (McNair et al., 2020), urged by the UN's sustainable development goals (SDGs) to increase accountability to local communities by engaging with their local economies to encourage prosperity. However, this is rarely the case (Clarke, 2020). According to Sissons (2021), it is not one factor but the combination of institutional, organisational, sectoral and local factors that continue to shape job quality outcomes and the potential for change, to which we add political will and desire as well as a commitment to equality in local markets. The exclusion of marginalised groups in an eco-skills system can result in significant numbers being omitted, which is unhealthy for sustainable development and can lead to inequality (Basu, 2020).

OECD countries face significant challenges of rising inequality and social deprivation that widen gaps in the social hierarchy with a threat of social decline (Engler & Weisstanner, 2021; Wickramasinghe et al., 2019). Regarding skills, government policymakers have two choices; to take a supply-side approach, which the majority tend to do or a demand-side approach. A supply-side approach involves the investment in education and training to skill workers for employment, for example, increased HE student numbers in the UK. It has also included attempts to reduce apparent constraints in labour markets, such as collective bargaining and tries to protect job security (Crouch, 2000). In contrast, a demand-side approach aims to understand what skills are needed at a local level by an awareness of skill strengths and shortcomings, thus aligning supply with demand and highlighting any deficit between them. Studies have reported that the supply-side approach, whilst more common, is not working (Green et al., 2017; Zarestky & Collins, 2017). There needs to be more attention given to the demand for skills by employers and recognition that skills are a derived demand based on the sales and provision of products and services at higher prices. Green et al. (2016) argued that a demand-side policy must consider product and market strategies and innovation to advance skill requirements. A demand-side approach is more effective in increasing the actual curricula of skills formation. This enables working people to acquire skills, not merely those demanded of employers but gives employees more power and decision-making about what matters to them. A possible consequence of the interaction of supply and demand for skills is what has been referred to as a low skills equilibrium or LSEq, first identified by Finegold and Soskice (1988). The concept of LSEq was used to explain how in the UK, the production of low-value and low-quality products and services required employees with little training as a consequence of weak economic performance and low productivity. More recently, Sissons (2021) applied the LSEq concept at the level of local labour markets to show different possibilities of the interaction of demand and supply of skills in different places. Thus, in some regions or local labour markets, there may be a high demand for skills and a high supply to produce a high skills equilibrium or where high demand is not matched by supply to create skills gaps or shortages. LSEq denotes a match of demand and supply characterised by low skills paid at low wages required for low-quality products and services sold at low value-added prices. A further

possibility is that demand for skills remains low, but supply is high, resulting in a mismatch between the skills that people have, including their qualifications, and the available work.

We will now explore organisations' high-road and low-road approaches to skill development. The high-road approach involves putting employees first, such as investing in them. In contrast, the low road involves "cost control" and competition, ignoring investment in staff, notably casual staff who might be regarded as easy to replace, not worth training, and expected, in some cases, to fund their skill development (Thompson & Dahling, 2019). The low-road approach has, according to Lambert and Herod (2016), contributed to a "race to the bottom", that is, the practice of cutting costs in labour practices (Harrison & Collins, 2019), thus, creating an expanding precarious working group (Bauman & Haugaard, 2008; Kofti, 2016). Cutting business costs in the labour market has been exploited through the use of numerical flexibility (Wickramasinghe et al., 2019) with strategies including zero-hour contracts that, in the UK, have witnessed a fivefold increase in 9 years (Office for National Statistics, 2018), outsourcing, and self-employed status. However, we suggest that focusing on the high road alone, or predominantly, may have inadvertently boosted the low road by maximising precarious workers' output without reimbursing them with training and investment. In this sense, a consensus between input and output within a skills eco-system has not been possible, rendering interaction in the system complex and unsustainable. Thus, mutuality and reciprocity have not occurred. According to Green et al. (2016, p. 441), the UK has experienced a significant reduction in training. It attributes this to an "increasingly flexible economy" and falling demand in the "low-skills" British economy. Other factors include mismatched resource allocation and the tendency of skills policy to reflect short-term employer concerns and political expediency, with harmful consequences. Skills eco-systems living components include stakeholders, such as HRD professionals, policymakers, customers and workers. In contrast, nonliving components might consist of Government and organisations' policy, practice and interventions (Government and HRD), recognising their mutual dependence (Green et al., 2017). "Input" into a skills eco-system might include training, development, education, and "output" might be job satisfaction, secure employment, strong local economies, community cohesion, that, according to Danaj et al. (2023), has been made more likely through the pandemic experience.

HRD practitioners face the choice of an inclusive approach to workers involving each one through appropriate opportunities or an exclusive approach that ranks workers in terms of capability and/or performance (Gallardo-Gallardo et al., 2013). Research on the perceptions of HR managers' development of inclusive philosophies suggests that these are primarily found in smaller organisations (Meyers et al., 2019). However, sometimes the choice to train is outside the HRD remit and lies with senior and line managers. Workers in precarious work might not be deemed worthy of the effort of investment in training (Social Research, 2021). This retreat into the vagueness of whose responsibility is not a cop-out but a plea to develop more responsive and inclusive skills policies for all workers.

CBPR's roots lie in Freire's (Heidemann & Almeida, 2011) pedagogy, which focuses on participatory research and aligns with our philosophy of partnership working at each project stage. Driven more by practical and sustainable aims than by altruism, like, Freire, we believe that expertise about what problems are and how they ought to be addressed lies within the community. CBPR places partners as equals, engaging them in decision-making, goal-setting and action (Tremblay et al., 2018). As the name suggests, *community-based* research draws on the community's voice and feeds into the community's priorities, driving and shaping decisions that influence everyday lives. Swanson (2008) reminds us of how HRD is a system with the

potential to harmonise, support and shape larger systems. However, against the inclusive/ exclusive dimension, precarious workers, such as those from the GTRSB community, do not usually find a place and therefore do not benefit from HRD activities primarily because the work is deemed temporary. So, the opportunity, for example, to take on extra responsibilities relevant to any career progression, is not available to precarious workers (Smith, 2010). Our community approach aligns with McGuire et al. (2020) that HRD, with its interdisciplinary roots (McLean, 1998), must demonstrate a caring approach and be guided by moral principles and values.

Roma

We recognise different communities within GTRSB: Gypsies, Roma, Travellers and Showmen and Boaters (Smith, 2022). Our research participants were Roma migrants, primarily from Romania, fitting the description of a migrant as the "quintessential incarnation of precarity" (Schierup & Jørgensen, 2016). The Toxteth area of Liverpool, our research partner's location, is home to Liverpool's oldest Roma community, who arrived in the city in the early 1990s, mainly in extended family groups and to seek work. Liverpool is a diverse city with high levels of multiple deprivations (Liverpool City Council, 2019). Like Putnam (2000) earlier, Li et al. (2008) focused on two types of social ties or capital: bonding and bridging to provide emotional resources, the former good for undergirding solidarity within your network and the latter for linking to external assets. Roma tends to have an abundance of bonding ties but less bridging that can provide opportunities to connect beyond a group, thus are embedded with Roma yet have little ties and access to opportunities beyond (Harrison, Collins, et al., 2020). Thus, networks can be sealed off from the outside world yet can also, and importantly, prevent dropping into what Castel (2000) has called the Zone of Disaffiliation, representing a double jeopardy of poor work and poor social capital.

Virtually all participants were in irregular, insecure work with high labour ratios. This may infer that they worked in small, less regulated environments; instead, most worked in FTSE100 companies. Participants' work was generally deemed to be independent (in contractual terms noted as self-employment) and organised through labour market intermediaries (Bonet et al., 2013), with some "abusive" and "exploitative" practices (Nye, 2019), such as poor working conditions, rather than directly with an employer (Petriglieri et al., 2018). Typically, the presence and size of sectors that employ low-skilled workers at low cost, such as agriculture, construction and tourism, are significant factors. Furthermore, many precarious workers reside in deprived areas, such as Liverpool (European Commission, 2019), where Roma is more likely to migrate (Alberti, 2014). Taken together, the factors above make it difficult for Roma to meet the three competencies to achieve sustainable decent work: know-how (skills), know-whom (social network) and know-why (value) (Defillippi & Arthur, 1994). According to the ILO (2022), decent work is about the aspirations of people in their working lives, which include work opportunities that are productive and provide a fair income, security at work and social protection for families, prospects for personal growth and social integration, and the chance to express concerns, organise and participate in decision-making that affects their lives underpinned by equality of opportunity (Wall et al., 2022). This definition that embodies participation and inclusion aligns with the principles of CBPR. Few studies have explored a demand-side local eco-system approach, so we need to consider the context within which our migrants operate.

While the origins of the Roma diaspora remain highly contested, according to anthropological, linguistic (Fraser, 1995) and genetic studies (Gresham et al., 2001; Melegh et al., 2017), Roma left the North Western part of the Indian subcontinent 15 centuries ago, crossed the Iranian, Armenian and Anatolian plateaus and reached Europe in the nine–tenth century. In Europe, Roma migrated within the continent in different waves, associated with the Romani dialects spoken by the different groups. There are four main migrant groups: Balkan and Vlax Roma living in the Balkan peninsula; Romungo Roma living in Central Europe and North/Western Roma living in Northern and Western Europe (Fraser, 1995; Gresham et al., 2001). Today Roma is the largest ethnic minority group in Europe. Since the accession of Central and Eastern European countries to the EU in 2004 and 2007, the number of Roma in the UK has grown (Baksi, 2018), as estimated by the Council of Europe c.225k Roma (European Commission, 2019). Roma migration has occurred against a backdrop of persecution and discrimination within home countries (Richardson & Codona, 2018). The need to migrate for work is significant, augmented by a strong desire to escape persecution. Across Europe, there are countless examples of extreme discrimination against Roma in employment, education and housing (Brown, 2019; Cromarty, 2017). Some argue that low employment rates among Roma appear to be due to low participation in education and discrimination in entry to employment participation (Crețan & Powell, 2018). Many schools are unprepared or staffed to cope with the large numbers of Roma pupils and often rely on other Roma pupils to translate. Parents are sometimes unaware of their children's educational opportunities and how education will impact their future earning potential (House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, 2019). Even if parents understand the impact of education, like, other migrants, they can be inclined to favour low pay today over higher income in the future (Li, 2020). The approach to education may be influenced by the participants in our study from Romania, where 9.6% finish secondary school (ERRC, 2011) whilst 8% achieve a strong pass in English and Maths General Certificate of Secondary Educations compared with 49.9% for all other pupils in the UK (Gov.UK, 2022). Stereotyping, stigmatising and discrimination in schools contribute to low attainment and aspiration levels (Matras, 2014). The Roma's precarious habitus and dependency on the temporary economy for work (Harrison, Collins, et al., 2020) encourage them to consider the group's immediate needs rather than the individual's future (Grill, 2012). Furthermore, segregation and poverty influence the lack of access to education for Roma children (Satra & Havirova, 2022). While segregation and poverty might be different, several studies have confirmed the link between racial segregation and poverty (Massey & Fischer, 2000; Orfield & Chungmei, 2005). Beyond education, many Roma communities are also segregated from mainstream housing, health and employment, which fuels poverty as the ongoing quest for decent work and accommodation absorbs so much time (Shildrick et al., 2012).

This literature review has illustrated the degree of insecure work and the influence of training and education within the context of one hard-to-reach and marginalised migrant group, the Roma. The overarching CBPR approach illuminates Roma's lived experience and shares practical HRD interventions.

METHODOLOGY

Our data collection efforts focus on the population of Roma living in Liverpool, Merseyside, UK. We chose the case study method (Yin, 2017) as there had been little attention to this underprivileged and hard-to-reach group in the UK. We followed ethical guidelines and

pursued the research after receiving ethical approval from Liverpool John Moores University (LJMU). Preinterview participants were given a participant information sheet and had the right to withdraw. Indeed, one of the participants chose to do this. A Roma Support Worker was present at every interview to assist with the translation and help with participant questions about the broader research. Concerning the event we held at LJMU, we conducted a risk assessment, notified other departments and engaged additional staff to assist on the night.

We engaged with the Roma Liverpool community via Mercy, a Roma Community Development Worker, at a local NGO in Liverpool, which is essential to overcome challenges in gaining access and establishing rapport (Rose, 1990). With Mercy's commitment and enthusiasm, she helped us to build trust with the community. Thus, there is a similarity in this study with that of Cools et al. (2018, p. 373), who researched Roma in Manchester, UK, recognising the need to involve them in a "politicised process of needs interpretation". The partnership between the University and the NGO became the vehicle for articulating our research. Observing the lacuna of aspiration that might enable Roma's skill to be valued was made possible through the partnership's conversations and diagnostic activity. This led us to acknowledge the role of the research as a significant intervention comprised of interventions such as motivational interviewing (MI), confidence building, mentoring and buddying that might unearth the talents beneath. Working with our community partner, we followed the six proposed stages of a case study recommended by Yin (2017): Plan (rationale identification via Liverpool Roma Employability Network [LREN] and Roma Education Aspiration Project [REAP]) interventions, Design (our unit of analysis is the Roma), Prepare (building and maintaining relationships with the community and our subject knowledge), Collect (researching and collecting data and transcripts based on their thematic representativeness), Analyse (processing the quotes) and Share (sharing the knowledge, e.g., by turning our findings into a paper for the Human Resource Development International).

During researching and building relationships, data gathering occurred through formal and informal conversations, recorded and transcribed. The ethos at the heart of MI, underpinned by CBPR, reflected that of the researchers and was instrumental in gaining access and leaving the participants feeling valued for their input. It helped the researchers build trust. Using MI's techniques, such as warmth, empathy and reflective listening, elicited information and understanding (MINT, 2017).

The formal conversations included 30 semistructured face-to-face interviews with Roma, mainly at the NGO's site (see Table 1). The interviews lasted between 20 and 60 min and were recorded and transcribed. Despite the language barrier, albeit at a varied level, an interpreter was present at all the interviews. Even with the drawbacks of recording interviews (Saunders et al., 2012), having an unbiased conversation record that could be reviewed (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015) was deemed valuable. Due to this group's generally weak English, verbatim responses tended to be shorter and to the point.

Informal conversations were captured through breakfast meetings (held between 2016 and 2019) with local stakeholders that led to LREN and REAP formation. Following a typical Organisation Development trajectory of diagnosis and intervention led us to the final evaluation stage (Ballaro et al., 2020). Continuous iteration and interrogation of our actions in REAP year one helped us improve in year two. Similarly, our commitment to equal participation in the ongoing creation of REAP ensured that problems were raised and resolved promptly.

The qualitative data from the 30 participants, the evaluation reports and informal conversations were analysed using a constant comparison method (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008)

TABLE 1 Participants.

Interview/participant type, number and pseudonym name	Participant job and gender
Group interview	
4. Dives	Trainee youth worker (male)
5. Dukey	Driver (male)
6. Gallius	Warehouse worker (male)
7. Patience	Childcarer (female)
8. Charity	Nurse (female)
9. Abraham	Big Issue seller (male)
10. Britann	Big Issue seller (female)
15. Timbo	Warehouse/distribution (male)
16. Queenie	Big Issue (female)
20. Lash	Labourer (male)
21. Motshan	Agriculture (male)
Individual interviews	
1. Mercy	Roma Support Worker (female)
2. Vasile	Big Issue (male)
3. Daniel	Refused Interview
11. Lala	Agriculture (female)
12. Andrzej	Warehouse (male)
13. Florence	Big Issue (female)
14. Leander	Office worker (female)
17. Naomie	Homemaker (female)
18. Selina	Homemaker (female)
19. Clemintina	Homemaker (female)
22. Silvanus	Casual labourer (male)
23. Manfri	Casual labour (male)
24. Vano	Warehouse (male)
25. Major	Packer (male)
26. Mirela	Agriculture (female)
27. Nadya	Cleaner (female)
28. Tsura	Agriculture (female)
29. Syeira	Waitress (female)
30. Gheorge	Packer (male)
Attendees at employability event	
32. Sharon	Liverpool Adult Learning Services (attendee one)
33. Sam	Local Training Provider (attendee two)

to seek intersections, divergences and connections between the critical emergent themes. We read through each qualitative piece of data, coded it for meaning and identified and ascribed each unit a code. In the next stage, we combined the codes concerning the same content into categories (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Our codes led us to include the contextual factors that affect the lived experience of the workers in our study. Through this iterative process, three themes emerged: Marginalised Precarious Worker Insight; Regulation/deregulation of precarious work, and Skills and Education.

We developed and utilised three interventions: two stakeholder groups, MI and employability/education event. The first intervention was the formation of two local stakeholder groups: LREN, formed of Roma, employers, academics and others in the city to focus on adult Roma employability and the second stakeholder group titled REAP. The latter group was developed approximately 1 year after LREN when the researchers realised that poor employment prospects did not arise at age 16 but were instead rooted in earlier experiences, such as irregular attendance at school for some. LREN's objective was to work with young Roma and their families to raise aspirations and challenge barriers that thwart their potential. The second intervention was MI (Rollnick & Miller, 1995), which was utilised for training 15 Roma champions. The Roma champions attended a 2-day training course led by a qualified Consultant Clinical Psychologist. Their role was to engage the community and help individual members make a change. The concept of MI emerged in substance misuse in the 1980s when Dr William Miller worked in a clinic for individuals with alcohol difficulties. In MI, the person who wants to make a change is the expert, and thus it is the role of the facilitator to use guided questioning and reflective listening to help the individual. In this case, we placed Roma and those who worked with them daily in the expert role. In evaluating the training, all the Roma champions explained how this was their first training experience and drew on common problems that fuelled the "sociological imagination" (Mills, 1959) of the wider group such that change became a common goal. Finally, our third intervention was an employability/education event that the University hosted.

FINDINGS

The findings are organised around three themes that emerged from the data analysis from the interviews and evaluation actions from the three interventions: Marginalised Precarious Worker Insight; Regulation/deregulation of precarious work; and Skills and Education. The formal and informal conversations informed the findings and HRD interventions utilised. Thus, they will include data from the interview transcripts translated verbatim and feedback from the three HRD interventions (stakeholder groups, MI and education/employability event). It is important to note that working with a "hard-to-reach" group with pressing economic stressors is challenging. The relatively modest, hard-won success was achieved using an "inclusive" approach and MI philosophy using core HRD competencies, that is, strong communication and community engagement.

Marginalised precarious worker insight

Our participants frequently worked as self-employed or through labour market intermediaries (Petriglieri et al., 2018). The work tended to be irregular and insecure:

"like, two to three hours, not every time or every day" (Leander)

"he don't tell him to come every day" (Silvanus)

"If you find the work one day, the other day is gone … don't have money but … 'Have three children'" (Queenie)

It was evident from the personal accounts of this migrant group, the Roma, that the workplace is a physically and emotionally harsh environment for them. Most participants tended to have "lots of little jobs" (Charity) and were unsure if and when they might get work. We found evidence of participants on zero-hour contracts and evidence of "abusive" and "exploitative" practice (Nye, 2019), with, for example, one labour market intermediary asking for a finder's fee. One reason cited for confinement to insecure contracts was a participant's weak English language skills "English no good" (Dives). However, there seemed to be no connection with an HR function, possibly owing to the nature of their employment relationship, that is, self-employed or through an agency. Notwithstanding the challenging work environment, the positive impact of flexible working for the participants was that they could find work, and there were fewer restrictions, for example, the "need for qualifications" (Silvanas). In some respects, this working model is standard for other groups and not only the Roma. However, some of the data suggested that it is even more challenging for this group because they seemed to find work via professional labour market intermediaries with evidence of exploitation (Triandafyllidou & Bartolini, 2020).

While centuries of marginalisation of Roma manifest in racism, stigmatisation, slavery and genocide (Matras, 2014) have been addressed in part by policy and law, they have been replaced by more subtle behaviours that create marginalisation such as stereotyping by teachers and employers with the result being different and usually worse treatment than peers. For example, one labour market intermediary who attended an LREN meeting whispered quietly to one of the researchers that they would be interested in employing migrants but not Roma. This may be because of misperceptions about Roma as lazy or their associations with criminality (Kóczé, 2018). The HRD Employability Event Intervention challenged this and other stereotypical views and provided unexpected results. An example of the way it challenged attitudes is illustrated by Sam (Local Training Provider) who was shocked to find that the Roma seemed to want to work:

did not know the group (really) wanted work

The event challenged expectations among a number of attendees, such as Sharon from Liverpool Adult Learning Services about Roma's enthusiasm to find work: "did not expect so many (Roma)". The LJMU professional services team who supported the event commented on the different atmosphere, with attendees demonstrably asking for jobs.

The event was something that almost none of the participants had ever experienced before. Feedback was overwhelmingly positive, with 100% agreeing that they found the event helpful and developed their knowledge about employment and employability. The qualitative feedback from the Roma participants supported this with comments such as the "Opportunity to network"; "Meeting new people"; "Know how to get a job"; "I like because I can apply to work"; to the practical benefit of "I have a CV!" and personal recognition in the quote "I have skills!" On the negative side, there were not enough actual jobs. Despite this, we were thrilled that one Roma woman secured a position and training directly following the Event (Lisseman, 2019). Levitica, a former Big Issue seller, secured employment from the project

and commented that she wanted to provide for and inspire her children and that her "dreams had come true". Furthermore, one of the young people from the REAP project who also attended the event at the University commenced the Human Resource Management Programme in 2019.

Regulation/deregulation of precarious work

As aforementioned, Liverpool is a deprived City in the UK with high unemployment and a high proportion of low-skilled work. It is common for Labour to be recruited via labour market intermediaries. However, we also found differences in some organisations' professionalism, for example, paying below minimum wage (Wall, 2018), and some poor practices among the labour market intermediaries used by the Roma. The Roma in this study generally used word-of-mouth recruitment methods, sourcing work through another Roma, for example, via those who had contacts with a labour market intermediary or, in rare cases, an organisation.

From a local recruitment perspective, we noticed that word-of-mouth recruitment methods and "being Roma" contributed to them not using traditional recruitment methods and leaving them to what we would describe as "invisible" routes. The group's issue is that they tended to find more of the same insecure work, ensuring little escape from what Shildrick et al. (2012) describe as an endless "low-pay, no-pay" cycle of job insecurity. What is required and part of our initiative was to help Roma acquire bridging capital through networking with others beyond the kinship group to enable them to "get ahead". Again, our CBPR approach enabled participants to see the part they played in the push–pull of driving and restraining forces that promoted or hindered their work experience.

The local social reproduction system mirrors the broader deregulation of waged work and market reorganisation where a mixture of government services, labour market intermediaries, third sector and private employers feature. Generally, the participants were not in organisations that supported their training and development needs, so language skills and services were difficult to access. We noticed that the service provision is disjointed between the Government and the third sector (not from employers). For example, the English for Speakers of Other Languages provision is available, but generally during regular office hours when the group is working. The training was also difficult to access with government and training provider schemes available to the unemployed; since our participants all worked, even if the pay was £15 per day, they were not eligible for the training schemes. Furthermore, employers often demanded English language skills, something our participants rarely possessed.

Florence shared her experience working for the Big Issue in the UK, a publication that vendors like the Roma sell on the streets. Like many of the Roma participants, she works on a self-employed basis. The seller purchases the magazines for £1.50 and sells them for £3, keeping the money they make. Florence explained the challenge of selling the magazine for little pay, an experience supported by Fran, an investigative journalist (Way, 2021), who achieved six sales over 6 h and walked 15,000 steps. Florence had moved from Romania to Madrid to Birmingham, where she was also a Big Issue seller and then to Liverpool. Florence shared about her husband's job in Liverpool, explaining that he works for an agency and that "no one can work there, just Roma" "as the job is dangerous".

Taking into account the lack of a joined-up approach, the poverty experienced by Roma and movement for work, we believe these are contributory factors to why many of the participants did not speak English, despite living and working in the UK for several years and highlights

again where a CBPR approach, anchored in the community, can flag up issues before they become entrenched barriers. Most participants had not completed their education and thus could not meet the college courses entry requirements of level one or two qualifications.

Skills and education

The migrants in this study had modest aspirations. Every adult participant was asked, "what would your best job be?" Every participant's response was humble, citing unskilled but regular work such as a cleaner or warehouse worker. The critical goal is regular work and "something permanent" (Silvanas).

"one job then another job then back to first job" (Dukey)
"I can't do what I like, I have to adapt" (Dives)

The young Roma demonstrated modest aspirations for their career goals and educational attainment in line with their families. Tight familial bonds were common amongst the participants, with young people living with their parents until marriage, "they don't need to move" (Mercy). The research with REAP included families as both young and mature Roma learned together. This was a different experience for the researchers whereby teenagers and their family members, such as a parent, in the UK would traditionally prefer to learn in separate groups more akin to collectivism over individualism. The modest aspirations could stem from the Romani approach to life that considers the immediate rather than the future (Grill, 2012), from an instrumental endeavour to meet the family's financial needs, or from centuries of persecution that have created a stigmatised identity that limits aspiration.

The REAP intervention's goal was to broaden Roma horizons concerning Skills and Education. REAP, thus, utilised native Romani speakers who led weekly workshops supported by guest speakers and several volunteers from the Roma and non-Roma communities. Guest speakers included a Roma lawyer, a Roma law student and a Roma community health professional. These guests demonstrated first-hand the importance of education and the possibilities for young people to aspire and achieve career goals. LREN stakeholders also attended the workshop, such as police officers and youth workers who encouraged parents to have high expectations for their children. Parents shared their experiences and why education is vital for young Roma.

In the final analysis of REAP, we found that the participants' horizons expanded, and by the end of the project, 50% of the young people stated their intention to apply to FE or HE, whereas, at the beginning of the project, 10% identified this desire. We cannot report precise data at the time of writing as the NGO did not collect this. Nevertheless, we have anecdotal evidence of impact as some of the cohorts have enrolled in HE courses and the authors' institutions are now working towards the GTRSB into HE pledge (Smith, 2022). We intend that the fifteen local Roma Support Workers skilled in MI will help make this a reality.

DISCUSSION

This section will reconsider our research questions considering our findings based on three HRD interventions. Concerning our first question, what is the relationship between a local skills eco-system's components and marginalised precarious workers? This paper shows how

access can be provided for marginalised precarious workers to broader skills eco-systems, although this is not an easy task to achieve. This case study illustrates how challenging it is for individuals such as Roma at the fringes of a society (one that espouses a social democratic relationship between capital and labour) to develop the necessary skills, mainly due to the deregulation of waged work, persecution, discrimination, casualisation of labour, and the increased use of precarious (such as zero-hour contracts) paid work. At the same time, there is evidence of Roma's resistance and challenge to unfair labour practices (Collins et al., 2021) and reframing of Roma's identity and experience from within the community, manifest in Roma influence on decision-making and policy (Law & Kovats, 2018). These characteristics of the UK labour market, increasingly common, act as a roadblock to acquiring sustainable decent work. Our study witnessed the Roma community's challenge to gain permanent employment, with evidence of some paid below the National Living Wage (House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, 2019). Our work with the Liverpool Roma Community continues. Thus, although this paper is about the interventions during 2016–2019, we recognise the impact of the pandemic. Paradoxically, during the pandemic, many Roma workers were considered "essential" in care, agriculture, food production, driving and delivery (Harrison & Collins, 2020). The pandemic can be cast as a "rupture" (Isaac & Elrick, 2021) that allows the way migrant workers, many of whom have been rebranded from low skilled to essential workers, are perceived as deserving of a less marginalised status. Such recognition, we hope, might alter perceptions of marginality, allowing access to permanent employment with core worker benefits (Atkinson, 1984). We may go further and argue that as the residues of the pandemic, compounded by turbulences of events in the early part of the 2020s from war, fuel prices and influences from reformed structures such as Brexit continue to influence, possibly for several years, marginalised precarious workers such as Roma may be valued by society and subsequently reinvestment in their skills might benefit both workers and employers.

Whether adjustments regarding the status of marginalised workers such as the Roma occur or not, our second question is significant, how can HRD academics and practitioners engage with marginalised precarious workers? It becomes vital for HRD to consider its priorities going forward, such as suggestions that HRD's efforts align more closely with organisational strategy by being explicit about how the organisation meets the needs of those "it is intended to serve" (Li, 2020; Torraco & Lundgren, 2019). HRD should also take a broader view to embrace challenges such as poverty (Zarestky & Collins, 2017) and consider how an organisation sits within its skills eco-systems, providing a link between organisation performance and societal responsibility (Devins & Gold, 2014). Thus, mediating between those in the system enhances interactions between them, and what better approach than CBPR, with its concerns for the community stakeholders, to deliver on this? As Kramar (2014) has argued, a sustainable approach to HRD activities requires concern for multiple organisational outcomes. Further, if marginalised groups are considered as a legitimate source of talent within the labour market, access and engagement can occur through not only labour market intermediaries (Bonet et al., 2013) such as recruitment agencies but also third-sector and charity agencies that focus on supporting groups, such as the Roma. As we have demonstrated in this paper, HRD academics took the first move to approach the community, and with their permission, support and engagement were enabled to form two stakeholder groups that brought together the Roma community with employers, academics, and others in Liverpool. In the first instance, the collaboration was developed to understand the Roma community, its stigmatisation and more about the characteristics of and barriers to their employment. Crucially, marginalised communities must be seen as valued workers in terms of their potential to contribute and

look beyond the stereotype, and as such, HRD needs to again provide the link by developing their skills to show the impact on organisation performance. Further, this effort needs to be sustained over the long term. Nevertheless, we believe that we must face reality; after all, these are real people facing some of the most challenging working lives (Shildrick et al., 2012) and thus we seek to support the call "to address the systemic inequality experienced by GRT in the UK education system" (Brassington, 2022, p. 11) and wider inequalities (Traveller Movement, 2022). Only through a holistic, inclusive approach with the community themselves coming together with local stakeholders can success be imagined, such as witnessed in the relationship between the GRT community and Kings College London where engagement of local GRT students has been successful. Moreover, research from other marginalised communities demonstrates that once a group is established, it can become self-supporting and influence similar behaviour in other groups (Crețan & Powell, 2018).

How HRD responds to the challenge of engagement has implications for our third question: what HRD interventions can be deployed with marginalised precarious workers? As we have shown, migrant groups such as the Roma often suffer from the impact of low-paid work in the UK, even if the pay is higher than in Romania. Further, the work is often at unsocial times, for example, night shifts, with no security and few benefits, such as training and development. Even if their work can be seen as "essential" in the COVID pandemic, working to a nonstandard contract can result in feeling compelled to continue working (Business Matters, 2020), risking the "moral hazard" of contagious presenteeism (Pichler & Ziebarth, 2020, p. 9). To counter the continuation of "in-work poverty", HRD researchers and practitioners need to focus on how work can be enhanced in terms of knowledge and skills so that HRD activities can be directed towards ensuring the construction of "good" jobs. During the COVID pandemic, there has been continued disruption to the meaning of work from implementing the various technologies of artificial intelligence, embedded analytics, robotics and machine learning, referred to by Schwab (2017) as the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Such technologies have the potential to displace human skills as well as advance them. HRD can help ensure the latter rather than the former by becoming more involved in developing technologies. Harrison, Nichol et al. (2020) argue that HRD research and practice needs to move towards a hybrid profession to develop sufficient expertise to collaborate with others to ensure that human values and ethics are more carefully considered in technology projects.

Crucially, HRD researchers and practitioners, by adopting an inclusive view of talent management, can help raise the aspirations of marginalised groups, such as the Roma. HRD interventions such as REAP can change attitudes and expectations of employment prospects. Targeted local intervention for employability can produce positive outcomes by connecting workers, educators, and employers at a local level. Moreover, it challenges local workers' stereotypes whom some deem "don't want work or training" or do not have skills. Further, during COVID, attention given to "essential" work highlights the various injustices of the treatment of precarious and marginalised communities.

IMPLICATION FOR HRD THEORY

This case study has implications for HRD research and practice. HRD theory needs to give more prominence to developing skills eco-systems over the long term. The issues highlighted in this paper point 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, who

find work, often has to accept low-skilled and low-paid work because it is the norm of their local labour markets (Green et al., 2017). HRD theorising must critique such norms by facilitating a collaborative approach involving multiple stakeholders to develop skills eco-systems through a commitment to community and participatory research. Consider organisation decision-making for products and services that require higher skills and local and regional infrastructures that create funding pathways for skill development opportunities. In doing so, HRD academics and practitioners can commit to using participatory practice methods, such as CBPR, to work with marginalised groups (Wallerstein, 2020). A similar conceptual framework Morrison (2020) recognised for HRD academic scholars is Community-Engaged Scholarship (CES). CES principles, such as meeting community-identified needs, whilst cultivating reciprocity and inclusivity, chime with our call to empower marginalised groups and create a social change agenda within HRD.

IMPLICATIONS FOR HRD PRACTICE

We assert that the partnership between a university and an NGO, both located close to the Roma community, was coterminous in enabling successful project outcomes for LREN and REAP, in what we call an integral skills model, like, Defillippi and Arthur's (1994) conceptual framework to achieve sustainable decent work. The relationship between the University, Roma community and local stakeholders can help dent the poverty cycle (MacDonald et al., 2020), draw local employers and, more crucially, Roma's attention to the potential of improved employability and education and the impact on their own community's livelihood and wellbeing. Another option is to support marginalised organisations' voices, such as the Roma Support Network or local NGOs' work in the community. Furthermore, it contributed to the precarious migrant workers becoming part of the sustainable skills (community-based) eco-system. We would call for other universities, mainly Business Schools, to use their position to connect and work with local communities and local businesses to create programmes for the marginalised. Indeed, those Business Schools signatories to the UN's Principles for Responsible Management Education (PRME) are committed to working towards the 17 SDGs that include reducing inequalities, partnership working, no poverty and decent work. Further, HRD practitioners can open their eyes to their organisation's practice and use their professional position to adopt an inclusive approach to development, representing and building local eco-skills systems. We also call for universities and HRD practitioners to engage with local change initiatives. For example, Liverpool Council has launched a Fair Work Charter that organisations can use to demonstrate their commitment (Liverpool City Council, 2021) and align explicitly with SDG 8 Decent Work and Economic Growth.

We term this connection between the two prominent local organisations with continuous input from the Roma (the intended local beneficiaries) and input from several more local organisations an *Integrated Skills Model*. Interventions such as MI, mentoring and nurturing Roma champions and training awareness events, while focusing on a few, can benefit many, forming the seedbed for decent work to become a reality. Therefore, it seems that partnership working, localised and bottoms-up, is crucial to success. It is not to say that structural and institutional barriers, experienced as discrimination and exclusion from some jobs and benefits, do not play a role in maintaining the status quo that ensures that Roma, as a highly disadvantaged group, get the minimum opportunity, yet it may contribute to Roma being more fit to challenge and confront a system that persists in keeping them in the margins.

CONCLUSION

In response to the question "what progress has been made regarding inclusion" in the context of those in low-paid, insecure work, we suggest not so much. The common road approach to the workforce is alive and kicking with a growing number of workers in low-paid, insecure work—the disruption created by Brexit and COVID-19 possibly further entrenching disparities (Booth, 2020). Indeed COVID-19 has become a magnifying glass showing the essential nature of the skills and work undertaken and the deep inequity that characterises British society, particularly regarding the treatment of workers on atypical contracts. We want these workers to be recognised and deemed "key workers" with the benefits of secure, fair work.

We do appreciate that there has been some progress in this area. For example, an increase in apprenticeships since 2014 has benefitted some workers, and the UK Government are aware of the issue to some degree (Williamson, 2020); however, those in this study have not profited, for example, because they do not meet government entrance criteria. Furthermore, the findings confirm how temporary employees are less likely to receive employer-funded training (Moore & Khan, 2020). Thus, we remain saddened that the limited HRD research (Petriglieri et al., 2018) combined with a lack of involvement (Wolf, 2011) from government policy appears to be HRD is for the privileged few, often in permanent employment. However, this case study demonstrates how universities can make a difference by engaging with the local community's needs, as Clarke (2020) recommended. But by creating a collaboration between Roma and other city stakeholders, we have taken baby steps towards a foundation for the possibility of sustainable decent work, which is more likely when the focus is on know-how, know-whom and know-why, preventing some from entering Castel (2000) Zone of Disaffiliation.

We would agree with Moore and Khan (2020) and Devins and Gold (2014) for more inclusive approaches and for HRD professionals to develop the intelligence of the skill eco-systems within which an organisation sits, such as incorporating the language of training and opportunity in the recruitment processes for temporary workers.

Regarding the State and its input, the UK's elitist education systems make social mobility challenging for some groups. We cited the lack of employer involvement in the low-skilled cohorts, yet Wolf (2011, p. 101) highlighted how the system in the UK keeps employers' outside, in the cold' regarding vocational education and training. Moreover, with increasing numbers of people spending large parts of their working lives in precarious jobs, employers must respond to the needs, aspirations and demands of established precarious workers (such as the Roma). One option is for the UK to follow Japan's policy to influence employers to "directly hire workers" and bypass intermediaries (Nye, 2019), and another suggestion is to introduce a Universal Basic Income as being trialled in Wales with vulnerable young people (Stone, 2022).

ORCID
Patricia Jolliffe 🄳 http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1786-9047

REFERENCES
Ahmed, N. (2022). Britain is sleepwalking into societal collapse. *Byline Times*. Available from https://bylinetimes.com/2022/10/14/britain-is-sleepwalking-into-societal-collapse/

Alberti, G. (2014). Mobility strategies, 'mobility differentials' and 'transnational exit': The experiences of precarious migrants in London's hospitality jobs. *Work, Employment and Society*, *28*(6), 865–881. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017014528403

Alberti, G., & Però, D. (2018). Migrating industrial relations: Migrant workers' initiative within and outside trade unions. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *56*(4), 693–715. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12308

Allas, T., Canal, M., & Hunt, V. (2020). *COVID-19 in the United Kingdom: Assessing jobs at risk and the impact on people and places*. Available from https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/public-sector/our-insights/covid-19-in-the-united-kingdom-assessing-jobs-at-risk-and-the-impact-on-people-and-places

Atkinson, J. (1984). Manpower strategies for flexible organisations. *Personnel management*, *16*(8), 28–31.

Bachtler, J., & Begg, I. (2018). Beyond Brexit: Reshaping policies for regional development in Europe. *Papers in Regional Science*, *97*(1), 151–170.

Baksi, C. (2018). *Roma people are not getting justice. The Guradian*. Available from https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/mar/20/denisa-gannon-roma-people-not-getting-justice-solicitor

Ballaro, J., Mazzi, M., & Holland, K. (2020). Organization development through effective communication, implementation, and change process. *Organization Development Journal*, *38*(1), 45–63.

Bangham, G., & Gustafsson, M. (2020). *The time of your life—Time use in London and the UK over the past 40 years*. Resolution Foundation. https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-time-of-your-life/

Barr, J. (2019). *Vocational excellence and future-proof labour markets: Keynote interventions from the European Commission and the OECD*. Paper presented at the European Week of Regions & Cities 2019, Brussels.

Basu, S. (2020). *Improving inclusiveness of marginalised communities in skill development programs*. Available from https://www.nationalskillsnetwork.in/improving-inclusiveness-of-marginalised-communities-in-skill-development-programs/

Bauman, Z., & Haugaard, M. (2008). Liquid modernity and power: A dialogue with Zygmunt Bauman. *Journal of Power*, *1*(2), 111–130. https://doi.org/10.1080/17540290802227536. p. 120 notes re efffect of neoliberalism and flexibility.

Bonet, R., Cappelli, P., & Hamori, M. (2013). Labor market intermediaries and the new paradigm for human resources. *Academy of Management Annals*, *7*(1), 341–392. Recruitment and Selection.

Booth, R. (2020). Rishi Sunak faces legal action from gig economy workers. *The Guardian*. Available from https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/mar/22/rishi-sunak-under-pressure-to-bail-out-self-employed

Brassington, L. (2022). *Gypsy, Roma and travellers: The ethnic minorities most excluded from UK education*. Available from https://www.hepi.ac.uk/2022/07/07/gypsies-roma-and-travellers-the-ethnic-minorities-most-excluded-from-uk-education/

Breman, J., & van der Linden, M. (2014). Informalizing the economy: The return of the social question at a global level. *Development and Change*, *45*(5), 920–940. https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12115

Brown, P. (2019). Gypsy, Roma and traveller communities endure worsening racism and inequality: This must be a turning point. *The Conversation*. Available from https://theconversation.com/gypsy-roma-and-traveller-communities-endure-worsening-racism-and-inequality-this-must-be-a-turning-point-114890

Business Matters. (2020). *UKs self-employed workers demand support from the Chancellor*. https://www.bmmagazine.co.uk/news/uks-self-employed-workers-demand-support-from-the-chancellor/

Castel, R. (2000). The roads to disaffiliation: Insecure work and vulnerable relationships. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *24*, 519–535.

Chung, D., Sandholtz, K., & Waisberg, I. (2019). The double-edged sword of jurisdictional entrenchment: Explaining HR professionals' failed strategic repositioning. *Organization Science*, *30*(6), 1349–1367. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2019.1282

Clarke, C. (2020). Universities need to look outwards: Their local economic and social impact really matters. *The Conversation*, Available from https://theconversation.com/universities-need-to-look-outwards-their-local-economic-and-social-impact-really-matters-132927

Collins, H., Barry, S., & Dzuga, P. (2021). 'Working while feeling awful is normal': One Roma's experience of presenteeism. *Work, Employment and Society*, *36*(2), 362–371. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017021998950

Cools, P., Leggio, D. V., Matras, Y., & Oosterlynck, S. (2018). 'Parity of participation' and the politics of needs interpretation: Engagement with Roma migrants in Manchester. *Journal of Social Policy*, *47*(2), 359–376.

Craypo, C., & Wilkinson, F. (2019). The low road to competitive failure: Immigrant labour and emigrant jobs in the US. In J. Michie (Ed.), *The handbook of globalisation* (3rd ed., pp. 304–322). Elga Publishing.

Crețan, R., & Powell, R. (2018). The power of group stigmatization: Wealthy roma, urban space and strategies of defence in post-socialist Romania. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *42*, 423–441. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12626

Cribb, J., Waters, T., Wernham, T., & Xu, X. (2022). *Living standards, poverty and inequality in the UK: 2021*. Institute for Fiscal Studies.

Cromarty, H. (2017). *Gypsies and travellers. House of Commons Library briefing paper 08083*. https://www.basw.co.uk/system/files/resources/basw_35012-5_0.pdf

Crouch, C. (2000). The snakes and ladders of 21st-century trade unionism. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, *16*(1), 70–83.

Danaj, S., Kayran, E. N., & Geyer, L. (2023). The motility of posted workers during the COVID-19 pandemic: Policies, trends and worker experiences in Austria. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *43*(3/4), 323–338. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-06-2022-0169

Defillippi, R. J., & Arthur, M. B. (1994). The boundaryless career: A competency-based perspective. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *15*(4), 307–324.

Devins, D., & Gold, J. (2014). Re-conceptualising talent management and development within the context of the low paid. *Human Resource Development International*, *17*(5), 514–528. https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2014.954191

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R., & Jackson, P. (2015). *Management & business research* (5th ed.). Sage.

Engler, S., & Weisstanner, D. (2021). The threat of social decline: Income inequality and radical right support. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *28*(2), 153–173. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1733636

Eriksson, P., & Kovalainen, A. (2008). *Qualitative methods in business research*. Sage.

ERRC. (2011). *Life sentence*. http://www.errc.org/uploads/upload_en/file/life-sentence-20-june-2011.pdf

European Commission. (2019). *Roma integration in the United Kingdom*. https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-country/roma-integration-united-kingdom_en

Finegold, D., & Soskice, D. (1988). The failure of training in Britain: Analysis and prescription. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, *4*(3), 21–53. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/4.3.21

Fraser, A. (1995). *The Gypsies*. Blackwell.

Gallardo-Gallardo, E., Dries, N., & González-Cruz, T. F. (2013). What is the meaning of 'talent' in the world of work? *Human Resource Management Review*, *23*, 290–300.

Gaudet, C. H., Brown, H. Q., & Lunsford, D. L. (2017). HRD curriculum meets global human capital challenge. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *19*(2), 124–137. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422317695211

Gov.UK. (2022). *GCSE English and maths results*. https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/education-skills-and-training/11-to-16-years-old/a-to-c-in-english-and-maths-gcse-attainment-for-children-aged-14-to-16-key-stage-4/latest

Green, F., Felstead, A., Gallie, D., Inanc, H., & Jewson, N. (2016). The declining volume of workers' training in Britain. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *54*(2), 422–448. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12130

Green, A., Hogarth, T., Thom, G., MacLeod, K., Warhurst, C., Willis, R., & Mackay, S. (2017). *Local skills case study*. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/603951/Local_skills_case_study.pdf

Greer, T. W., & Collins, J. C. (2017). Leveraging research to advance undergraduate HRD education: An introduction. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *19*(2), 115–123. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422317695200

Gresham, D., Morar, B., Wise, C., Angelicheva, D., Kalaydjieva, L., Underhill, P., & Popov, V. (2001). *Origins and divergence of the Roma (Gypsies)* (Vol. 69). ECU Publications. https://doi.org/10.1086/324681

Grill, J. (2012). 'Going up to England': Exploring mobilities among Roma from Eastern Slovakia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(8), 1269–1287. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.689187

Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage.

Harrison, P., & Collins, H. (2019). Warnings of a 'race to the bottom' on workers' pay and conditions should concern us all, *The Conversation*.

Harrison, P., & Collins, H. (2020). Coronavirus shows key workers need better pay and protection - here's what has to change. *The Conversation*. Available from https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-shows-key-workers-need-better-pay-and-protection-heres-what-has-to-change-137037

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*, *36*(2), 217–234. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017020979502

Harrison, P., Nichol, L., & Gold, J. (2020). Redefining HRD Roles and Practice in the Machine Learning Revolution. In M. Loon, J. Stewart & S. Nachmias, (Eds.), *The future of HRD* (1). Palgrave Macmillan.

Hassard, J., & Morris, J. (2018). Contrived competition and manufactured uncertainty: Understanding managerial job insecurity narratives in large corporations. *Work, Employment and Society*, *32*(3), 564–580. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017017751806

Heidemann, I. T. S. B., & Almeida, M. C. P. (2011). Friere's dialogic concept enables family health program teams to incorporate health promotion: Health promotion in FHP in Brazil. *Public Health Nursing*, *28*(2), 159–167. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1525-1446.2010.00898.x

House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee. (2019). *Tackling inequalities faced by Gypsy, Roma and traveller communities.* https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmwomeq/360/360.pdf

ILO. (2022). *Decent work.* https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work/lang–en/index.htm

Isaac, M., & Elrick, J. (2021). How COVID-19 may alleviate the multiple marginalization of racialized migrant workers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *44*(5), 851–863. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1842900

Kalleberg, A. L. (2009). Precarious work, insecure workers: Employment relations in transition. *American Sociological Review*, *74*(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240907400101

Kóczé, A. (2018). Race, migration and neoliberalism: Distorted notions of Romani migration in European public discourses. *Social Identities*, *24*(4), 459–473. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335827

Kofti, D. (2016). Moral economy of flexible production: Fabricating precarity between the conveyor belt and the household. *Anthropological Theory*, *16*(4), 433–453.

Kramar, R. (2014). Beyond strategic human resource management: Is sustainable human resource management the next approach? *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *25*(8), 1069–1089. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2013.816863

Lambert, R., & Herod, A. (2016). *Neoliberal capitalism and precarious work.* Edwards Elgar Publishing Limited.

Law, I., & Kovats, M. (2018). *Rethinking Roma.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Li, J. (2020). Join the fight against poverty: Utilizing HRD practices to support pathways to sustainable employment and decent work. *Human Resource Development International*, *23*(1), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2020.1701222

Li, Y., Savage, M., & Warde, A. (2008). Social mobility and social capital in contemporary Britain. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *59*(3), 391–411. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2008.00200.x

Lisseman, C. (2019). My dreams are becoming reality. *Big Issue North*.

Liverpool City Council. (2019). *The index of multiple deprivation 2019 a Liverpool analysis.* https://liverpool.gov.uk/media/1359213/imd-2019-liverpool-analysis-main-report.pdf

Liverpool City Council. (2020). *The index of multiple deprivation 2019: A Liverpool analysis.* Retrieved from https://liverpool.gov.uk/council/key-statistics-and-data/indices-of-deprivation/

Liverpool City Council. (2021). *Fair employment charter.* https://www.liverpoolcityregion-ca.gov.uk/fair/

MacDonald, R., Shildrick, T., & Furlong, A. (2020). 'Cycles of disadvantage' revisited: Young people, families and poverty across generations. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *23*(1), 12–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1704405

Massey, D. S., & Fischer, M. J. (2000). How segregation concentrates poverty. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *23*(4), 670–691. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870050033676

Matras, Y. (2014). *I met lucky people: The story of the Romani Gypsies.* Penguin.

McGuire, D., Germain, M.-L., & Reynolds, K. (2020). Reshaping HRD in light of the COVID-19 pandemic: An ethics of care approach. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *23*(1), 26–40. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422320973426

McLean, G. N. (1998). HRD: A three-legged stool, an octopus, or a centipede. *Human Resource Development International*, *1*(4), 375–377. https://doi.org/10.1080/13678869800000048

McNair, T. B., Ford, E. N., & Smith, J. G. (2020). Building the racial equity eco-system for sustainable change. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, *52*(2), 63–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2020.1732789

Melegh, B. I., Banfai, Z., Hadzsiev, K., Miseta, A., & Melegh, B. (2017). Refining the south Asian origin of the Romani people. *BMC Genetics*, *18*, 82. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12863-017-0547-x

Meyers, M. C., van Woerkom, M., Paauwe, J., & Dries, N. (2019). HR managers' talent philosophies: Prevalence and relationships with perceived talent management practices. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *31*(4), 562–588. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2019.1579747

Mills, C. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. Oxford University Press.

MINT. (2017). *Motivational Interviewing*. http://www.motivationalinterviewing.org/

Moisander, J., Groß, C., & Eräranta, K. (2018). Mechanisms of biopower and neoliberal governmentality in precarious work: Mobilizing the dependent self-employed as independent business owners. *Human Relations*, *71*(3), 375–398. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726717718918

Moore, K., & Khan, M. H. (2020). Signalling organizational commitment to employability through job advertisements: The communication of HRD practices to young inexperienced job seekers. *Human Resource Development International*, *23*(1), 25–45.

Morrison, E. A. (2020). Exploring community-engaged scholarship: Insights and questions for HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *22*(1), 41–56. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422319886301

Nye, C. (2019). Japan's desperate need for migrant workers a warning for the UK. *The Conversation*. Available from https://theconversation.com/japans-desperate-need-for-migrant-workers-a-warning-for-the-uk-109529

Office for National Statistics. (2018). *Contracts that do not guarantee a minimum number of hours*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/articles/contractsthatdonotguaranteeaminimumnumberofhours/april2018

Orfield, G., & Chungmei, L. (2005). *Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality*. Havard University.

Petriglieri, G., Ashford, S. J., & Wrzesniewski, A. (2018). Agony and ecstasy in the gig economy: Cultivating holding environments for precarious and personalised work identities. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *64*(1), 0001839218759646. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839218759646

Pichler, S., & Ziebarth, N. (2020). *The pros and cons of sick pay schemes: Testing for contagious presenteeism and noncontagious absenteeism behavior*. Working Paper 22530. https://www.nber.org/papers/w22530

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.

Richardson, J., & Codona, J. (2018). Blame and fear: Roma in the UK in a changing Europe. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, *26*(1), 95–112. https://doi.org/10.1332/175982717X15127350591914

Rollnick, S., & Miller, W. R. (1995). What is motivational interviewing? *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy*, *23*, 325–334.

Rose, D. (1990). *Living the ethnographic life*. Sage.

Satra, E., & Havirova, Z. (2022). The education of children from marginalised roma environment during the COVID-19 pandemic in Slovakia. In *proceedings, Online Conference, 16th International Technology, Education and Development Conference, March 7-8, 2022*. https://doi.org/10.21125/inted.2022.0306

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research methods for business students* (6th ed.). Pearson.

Schierup, C. U., & Jørgensen, M. B. (2016). An introduction to the special issue. politics of precarity: Migrant conditions, struggles and experiences. *Critical Sociology*, *42*(7/8), 947–958.

Schwab, K. (2017). *The fourth industrial revolution*. World Economic Forum.

Shildrick, T., MacDonald, R., Webster, C., & Gaithwaite, K. (2012). Poverty and insecurity Life in low-pay, no-pay Britain *London*. Policy Press.

Sissons, P. (2021). The local low skills equilibrium: Moving from concept to policy utility. *Urban Studies*, *58*(8), 1543–1560. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098020915859

Smith, S. (2022). *GTRSB into higher education pledge*. Available from https://www.bucks.ac.uk/about-us/what-we-stand/gtrsb-higher-education-pledge

Smith, V. (2010). Review article: Enhancing employability: Human, cultural, and social capital in an era of turbulent unpredictability. *Human Relations*, *63*(2), 279–300. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726709353639

Social Research. (2021). *Young people's experiences of precarious and flexible work—A report by progressive partnership for the Scottish Government—Evidence review*. ///C:/Users/mgtpharr/Downloads/

young-peoples-experiences-precarious-flexible-work-report-progressive-partnership-scottish-government-evidence-review.pdf.

Standing, G. (2016a). *The precariat*. Bloomsbury Editions.

Standing, G. (2016b). The precariat, class and progressive politics: A response. *Global Labour Journal*, *7*(2), 189–200. https://doi.org/10.15173/glj.v7i2.2940

Stone, J. (2022). Wales trials paying universal basic income of £19,200 a year. *Independent*. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/universal-basic-income-wales-pilot-b2031819.html

Swanson, R. A. (2001). Human resource development and its underlying theory. *Human Resource Development International*, *4*(3), 299–312. https://doi.org/10.1080/13678860110059311

Swanson, R. A. (2008). Economic foundation of human resource development: Advancing the theory and practice of the discipline. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *10*(6), 763–769. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422308324425

Thompson, M. N., & Dahling, J. J. (2019). Employment and poverty: Why work matters in understanding poverty. *American Psychologist*, *74*(6), 673–684. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000468

Torraco, R. (2018). Economic inequality, educational inequity, and reduced career opportunity: A self-pepetuating cycle. *New Horizons in Adult Education & Human Resource Development*, *30*(1), 19–29.

Torraco, R. J., & Lundgren, H. (2019). What HRD is doing—What HRD should be doing: The case for transforming HRD. *Human Resource Development Review*, *19*(1), 39–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/1534484319877058

Traveller Movement. (2022). *Roads to success for Gypsy Roma and traveller youth*. https://wp-main.travellermovement.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Road-to-Success-Report-1.2.pdf

Tremblay, M.-C., Martin, D. H., McComber, A. M., McGregor, A., & Macaulay, A. C. (2018). Understanding community-based participatory research through a social movement framework: A case study of the Kahnawake schools diabetes prevention project. *BMC Public Health*, *18*(1), 487. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-018-5412-y

Triandafyllidou, A., & Bartolini, L. (2020). Irregular migration and irregular work: A chicken and egg dilemma. In S. Spencer, & A. Triandafyllidou (Eds.), *Migrants with irregular status in Europe: Evolving conceptual and policy challenges* (pp. 139–163). Springer International Publishing.

Ventura, L. (2021). *Richest countries in the world 2021*. Available from https://www.gfmag.com/global-data/economic-data/richest-countries-in-the-world

Viswanathan, M., Ammerman, A., Eng, E., Garlehner, G., Lohr, K. N., Griffith, D., Rhodes, S., Samuel-Hodge, C., Maty, S., Lux, L., Webb, L., Sutton, S. F., Swinson, T., Jackman, A., & Whitener, L. (2004). Community-based participatory research: Assessing the evidence. *Evidence Report/Technology Assessment (Summary)*, *99*, 1–8.

Wall, T. (2018, 5 August). Cleaners to strike in first action by UK's low-paid 'army'. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/aug/05/london-cleaners-strike-over-living-wage-and-sick-pay

Wall, T., Hindley, A., Ho, T., Ngo, N., & Luong, M. (2022). *Policy levers for empowering decent work (GCRF Policy Briefing)*. The British Academy. https://chesterrep.openrepository.com/handle/10034/626670

Wallerstein, N. (2020). Commentary on community-based participatory research and community engaged research in health for journal of participatory research methods. *Journal of Participatory Research Methods*, *1*(1), 13274.

Way, F. (2021). *I became a Big Issue seller for the day in Manchester*. Available from https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/i-became-big-issue-seller-21476191

Welsh Government. (2018). *Enabling Gypsies, Roma and travellers*. https://gov.wales/sites/default/files/publications/2019-02/enabling-gypsies-roma-and-travellers_0.pdf

Wickramasinghe, V., Wickramasinghe, G. L. D., De Silva, C., Chandrasekara, R., & Jayabandu, S. (2019). Practice of workforce flexibility—Internal, external, numerical and functional flexibility. *Performance Improvement Quarterly*, *31*(4), 355–379. https://doi.org/10.1002/piq.21270

Williamson, G. (2020). *Education secretary FE speech with social market foundation* [Press release]. Available from https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/education-secretary-fe-speech-with-social-market-foundation

Wolf, A. (2011). *Review of vocational education—The wolf report*. Department for Education. https://assets. publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/180504/DFE-00031-2011.pdf

Yin, R. (2017). *Case study research and applications design and methods*. Sage.

Zarestky, J., & Collins, J. C. (2017). Supporting the United Nations' 2030 sustainable development goals: A call for international HRD action. *Human Resource Development International*, *20*(5), 371–381.

How to cite this article: 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