14

COPING WITH WORK

Redefining relations between work life and society

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The future of work

Work is changing. The tenuous balance between capital and labour seems to be swaying in favour of capital, creating a more precarious labour market. While globalisation processes provide new business opportunities and therefore also new opportunities for employment, they also contribute to destabilising traditional ways of organising labour, for example through:

- the shift and relocation of industrial workplaces between nations and continents;
- the changes to industry that have been termed the next industrial revolution, "Industry 4.0", marked by the introduction of robots and artificial intelligence technologies in production processes;
- the generation of new forms of work that transcend the boundaries of a traditional employer–employee relationship, such as the rise of the unpaid internship, the "zero-hour contract" and the independent contractor.

One effect is that while ideological trends, such as the UN Sustainability Goals and the Convention for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, call for creating a more inclusive labour market and workplaces, the reality is that in many ways the labour market is becoming more exclusive, not less.

In this chapter, we start by tracing the history of the concept of work and the development of what we call the "normal model" of work: a model that specifies a certain relationship between work life and society, as well as standardising the parameters of what constitutes a "job". We proceed to examine some global challenges to this model, ranging from new modes of production, changes in the character of "manual work", and how the technological changes have cultural, geographical and racial dimensions to how they may undermine social protection and blur the boundaries between work and leisure.

The "normal model" of work also has educational dimensions. The knowledge society has increased the demand for formal skills. Parallel to the development of the knowledge society, there has been a sharp increase in higher education, accompanied by a pervasive belief in raising the level of professional skills in the population. While contributing to the development of the "normal model", it has also contributed to a divide between those who fit the "normal model" of work and those who do not. This divide is now widening further. We look in detail at some increasing imbalances within the "normal model" of work. For one, our societies and selection effects in the labour market seems to produce ever more "unhealthy workers" and "unhealthy youth", who are selected out and relegated to welfare systems (in some parts of the world) or poverty (in others). At the same time, other groups, for instance people with disorders such as an intellectual disability, may never gain entry to the labour market at all. In all three cases, one of the drivers is the development of the knowledge society and the resulting paucity of "low threshold, low skills" and "manual labour" jobs.

The new ideologies of social inclusion call for measures that counteract these exclusionary processes, not by reversing them, but rather by enhancing the "normal

model" of work with options that promote accessibility. We look in some detail at what such inclusion may mean in practice: what challenges such enhancements may provide organisations, but also the potential benefits they can have for those who rise to the challenge. Making workplaces more inclusive and accessible may involve making changes to job content, to work processes or to the physical work environment. It may also involve adjusting social practices, a form of change that may depend on the organisation being willing and able to reconsider hitherto taken-for-granted routines, or the willingness of the members of the organisation to examine aspects of their social practices that ordinarily are just enacted. Thus, organisations wishing to become more inclusive organisations by not expelling "unhealthy workers" and becoming accessible to people presently excluded may need to develop internal arenas for discussion and negotiation, establish new collaborations with external actors and, to a larger extent, become knowledge producing, learning organisations.

We ask whether such processes of extending the "normal model" of work will suffice; whether such an enhanced "normal model" is sustainable and able to withstand the present challenges and potentially disruptive processes, or whether we are part of a larger upheaval, a systemic change that implies that we need to redefine work on a more fundamental level?

Development of the "normal model" of work

Industrial development in Europe and the US grew out of a society where production was mainly related to different crafts and farming. One of the primary work forms in this society was that of a master educating an apprentice in the process of production. Work and learning went hand in hand, and work happened mainly on site. Work had to comply with seasons, with the weather and with local conditions. This pre-industrial society was based on large families, farming and craft, and subsequently was integrated into the social structure. The Industrial Revolution started around 1790, and from then on there have been different stages in its development. Its consequences were beyond that of organising work. It had implications for social structure as well. The early industrialisation created industrial towns. Work had to move to the machine, and the machine was running according to the clock (not the season or weather), so it required a disciplined workforce that lived close to the machine. This new work situation created new issues in defining work. It implied, as the French sociologist Émile Durkheim observed in his 1893 doctoral dissertation *The Division of Labour in Society* (French: *De la division du travail social*), a new type of structuration: We got a new functional differentiation in society, and a new class divide with an increasing labour class. Production happened away from use, and work was only a small piece of the production process. Although one can discuss how to define these stages, roughly speaking, many commentators point at how industry developed into mass production from around 1870. This mass production made consumer society possible but also failed at a certain point, when the economy

became more demand driven. In mass production, the divide between a middle class of engineers and a labour class doing unskilled work increased. Industrial towns became larger, more sectorised, and workloads could now be defined more actuarially. In this second stage of the Industrial Revolution, the social tensions increased, as did urbanisation and political radicalisation. Mass production had this double face; it created enormous output and made increased consumptions possible, but also increased tension in society. As pointed out earlier in this book, many commentators around World War II foresaw that this tension would destroy society. However, industrial development entered a new stage.

In this period, the "normal model" of work life was developed. It has some different national forms, to some extent defined by the level of political tension in the mid-war period, but gradually most European countries adopted this normal model. This "normal model" is a partnership between the state and the social partners. The idea is to build a social system related to work, wherein the state takes some responsibility for the young and the elderly and the sick, paid for by taxes on those who work. We can call it the *welfare model*, and it was partly inspired by the British 1942 report *The Beveridge Report: Social Insurance and Allied Services*. The logic of this model that we call the "normal model" is that there is full employment; that is, society is structured around work. The state provides support and education to fit work–life and production. After people finish their education, they work and pay taxes that are redistributed to the social services that make the population healthier and work more efficient, as well as education and pensions. The Scandinavian version of this model is perhaps more extensive than is found in other European countries, and there is national variation, but the principles of the "normal model" is the same in Western countries.

Some argue that from the period after World War II, between 1950 and the 1970s, we moved into a post-capitalist society, with increased production of services, more customised products, increased competition and internationalisation. In the Western world, industrial workplaces have been exported to Asia and other low-cost countries or have been replaced by technology. This third stage of industrial revolution is therefore also called the *computer age*: From the mid-1900s, computer technology started to have an impact. The city of Detroit, in the US, can serve as an illustration of the development from the second to the third industrial revolution. In 1950, it had 1.8 million inhabitants; today it has around 650,000 inhabitants. The mass production of cars, using a large number of unskilled workers, is now history. Today, production facilities are filled with robots, being served by a smaller and relatively skilled workforce. What is more, the new knowledge economy has also changed human geography. A new urbanisation has escalated. It is not the old industrial towns that expand, but more diverse, multicultural, tolerant and dynamic urban areas. This demographic change indicates new tensions between rural and urban areas (Florida 2002); the "Creative Class" has become dominant. At the same time, globalisation over the last 20 years has had an impact on wage distribution. The distribution between capital and labour has gone in favour of capital (Brynjolfsson & McAfee 2014).

The discussion is now whether we are about to enter the fourth phase of industrialisation, driven by new technology, robots and artificial intelligence. In a report on the impact of "Industry 4.0", the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (2015) launched the concept "Work 4.0". The report discusses how the "normal model" can be adjusted to the new work regime. The big question asked is whether the changes we are seeing are more than ordinary cyclical changes; is the "work" of work is changing for good? There are many challenges to the "normal model" as it has developed along with the industrialisation and bureaucratisation of society – with the idea that paid work with a fixed contract is the norm. As discussed in Chapter 2, the "normal model" has developed into a sophisticated set of laws and institutions that regulate much of individuals' relations to society and the state. However, it can be asked how resilient this model is.

Box 14.1 Global challenges to the "normal model" of work

The International Labour Conference (ILO) writes:

> New modes of production have facilitated the development of deeper and more widespread global supply chains, which are now a common means of organising investment and production in the global economy. This has generated opportunities for economic and social development and created employment, providing many workers with a toehold in the formal labour market and a pathway out of poverty in many countries. It has also increased productivity gains for the firms engaged in global supply chains. However, there is also evidence that global supply chains can affect different aspects of the quality of jobs, such as wages or the nature of work contracts.
>
> *(ILO 2016, p. 6)*

The *New York Times* (Tingley 2017a, February 23) writes that General Motors (GM) now operates 30,000 robots in their plants, 8000 of which are linked to the internet via cloud computing. And, further:

> The emerging face of the American working class is a Hispanic woman who has never set foot on a factory floor. That's not the kind of work much of the working class does anymore. Instead of making things, they are more often paid to serve people: to care for someone else's children or someone else's parents; to clean another family's home.
>
> *(Appelbaum 2017, February 23)*

The question is not only what technology does with work but also how the changes have cultural, geographical and racial dimensions to them. Manual

work, in the age of computers and machines, seems to increasingly become service work. Furthermore, the education divide (Putnam 2016) may add to a new divide between low-paid, unskilled service workers and a higher skilled creative class. A German Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs report argues:

> While factory work usually has to take place at a certain time and place, many services and administrative activities can, using digital tools, potentially be performed from any location at any time. This opens up NEW SCOPE for a more self-directed way of working, and makes it easier to balance work, family and leisure more flexibly in line with individual needs. However, it is also leading to a breakdown in the boundaries on work, in terms of when and where it takes place. In a survey commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs into quality of work and economic success, 30% of white-collar workers said that they work from home at least occasionally (manual workers: 2%). 12% of white-collar workers deal with work matters in their leisure time several times a week (manual workers: 4%).
>
> *(Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2015, p. 64)*

Similarly, a federal report from the US argues:

> Engagement. Humans will likely be needed to actively engage with AI technologies throughout the process of completing a task. Many industry professionals refer to a large swath of AI technologies as "Augmented Intelligence," stressing the technology's role as assisting and expanding the productivity of individuals rather than replacing human work.
>
> *(US Government 2016)*

This picture might look different in different parts of the world. Globally, it adds to the issue of gender and of global economic growth and unemployment in general. The ILO writes:

> The world is faced with the formidable challenge of creating 600 million new jobs by 2030, the majority in developing countries, in order to return to pre-crisis employment levels, provide employment for the 40 million young women and men entering the labour market each year and increase the participation of women in line with internationally agreed targets.
>
> *(ILO 2016, p. 5)*

Furthermore, they write:

> As routine jobs disappear, new jobs are emerging in the knowledge economy, the green economy and the care economy, in both developing and

industrialised countries. ILO estimates show that the transformation to a greener economy could generate between 15 and 60 million additional jobs globally over the coming decades. While Internet enabled mobile and independent types of work facilitate the matching of workers and employers and offer flexibility, they also bring challenges in ensuring conditions of decent work. Without formal contracts, such arrangements can lead to excessive working hours and little social protection.

(ILO 2016, p. 5)

New forms of work relations seem to be emerging. One is "crowd work". The ILO maintains that

crowd work, which affords opportunities for Internet-based workers globally, raises challenges in relation to labour regulation and protection. New modes of production have facilitated the development of deeper and more widespread global supply chains, which are now a common means of organising investment and production in the global economy. This has generated opportunities for economic and social development and created employment, providing many workers with a toehold in the formal labour market and a pathway out of poverty in many countries.

(ILO 2016, p. 6)

In a report on crowd work, it is stated:

The proportion who had ever carried out paid work via online platforms work was 9% in the UK and the Netherlands, 10% in Sweden, 12% in Germany and 19% in Austria. However, for many of these respondents, crowd working seems to have been an occasional experiment. The proportion reporting doing such work at least once a week was between 5% and 9% of respondents, with 6%–13% doing so once a month. Crowd work is generally a small supplement to total income.

(Huws, Spencer & Joyce 2016 p. ii)

All these changes raise serious issues about how to cope with work life in the future. As the report to the German Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs asks:

How can the "humanisation of work" be achieved in the 21st century? What will the factory, the office, the production model of the future look like, and what are the implications for workers? How can socially responsible technology design ensure workers stay healthy, reduce mental stress and make work safe? How can the same level of occupational safety and health be guaranteed in the case of mobile working? Are the basic concepts of labour law (such as "employee" or "establishment") still applicable in the digital world of work?

(Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2015, p. 67)

> Thus, the changes in work have social, organisational and legal and structural aspects. This is well illustrated by the Norwegian/Nordic case of development of work.

There are, in our opinion, two main challenges to the "normal model" of work: It is dependent on full employment and on the inclusion of the adult population in the workforce. However, increasingly, groups are excluded from employment, resulting in unemployment and a variety of health and social problems. At the same time the new, digital economy has created a new structure of work: more network driven, more dynamic and more based on temporary contracts or tenuous contracts. How can the model adjust to this challenge without compromising its basic values of organised work? We will first consider some increasing imbalances within the "normal model" before moving on to discuss how it may be adjusted to become more inclusive, and what this may mean in practice for businesses and organisations.

The new redundancies: The unhealthy worker and unhealthy youth effects

The *healthy* worker effect (HWE) seems first to have been described by Dr W. Ogle in an appendix to the Register General's report on mortality in England and Wales in 1885. He found that "the more vigorous occupations had relatively lower mortality rate compared with the death-rates in occupations of an easier character or the unemployed". Ogle identifies two kinds of selection bias: one present at the time of hire, the other present in the period of employment. The first selectively attracts or rejects new workers depending on the physical demands of the job and defined health criteria. The second forces people to leave their job if their health becomes too impaired to perform it. Ogle's description is more comprehensive than the commonly used definition by Last, who defines the HWE as

> A phenomenon observed initially in studies of occupational diseases: workers usually exhibit lower overall death rates than the general population, because the severely ill and chronically disabled are ordinarily excluded from employment.
>
> *(Last 1995)*

Thus, the HWE has long been considered as a source of selection bias (Fox & Collier 1976; Li & Sung 1999). It reflects that (1) an individual must be relatively healthy in order to be considered employable, (2) mortality and morbidity rates within the work force are usually lower than in the general population and (3) the health status of workers may be even better in "vigorous occupations" compared with those "of an easier character" (Li & Sung 1999). One important consequence of the HWE is that occupational hazards may be underestimated or even overlooked.

All occupations are more or less exposed to the selection out of unhealthy individuals. The proportion of unhealthy persons who must leave a workplace due to health issues, however, varies according to the physical and mental demands of any given occupation. Employees with reduced work ability may leave the workforce and become disability pensioned, while others may be channelled into occupations with lower demands. The term *unhealthy worker effect* (UWE) is used to denote the opposite of HWE, namely, the selection out and channelling of unhealthy persons into occupations with lower demands (Gamperiene 2008):

> A phenomenon in which workers in jobs with low–entry demands or require-ments exhibit high morbidity rates partly because of selection of unhealthy persons into employment.

In this way, "unhealthy workers" recruited into lower demand jobs may 'bring with them' occupational exposure from previous jobs (Gamperiene 2008). Thus, these occupations may show higher morbidity rates than expected. They may also gain a bad reputation that is not necessarily deserved. One important consequence of the UWE is that occupational hazards may be overestimated.

Jobs with lower entrance demands are often "low status, low pay" jobs. The cleaning profession, for example, exhibits several characteristics of such a lower demand job. Specifically, cleaning represents an easy entryway to the workforce, with minimal educational and language requirements, flexible hours and the pos-sibility of part–time employment.

Box 14.2 Sissel

Sissel, a Norwegian woman, started working at her father's small fish-process-ing firm at the age of 16. Her main work task is manual fish filleting, a task that does not require formal skills, only on-the-job training. Being depend-ent on her monthly earnings, she never finished secondary education. Her job was physically demanding but represented stable and safe employment. She married and has two children. When she was 36, all local fish-related industry, including her father's firm, shut down after vital parts of the fishery infrastructure were relocated within the region. That also meant that she, with her current skill set, was left without any local alternative employers. Her best employment option was a position as a cleaner in a nearby primary school, a job that did not require formal education.

After working as a cleaner for 5 years, Sissel developed a chronic inflam-mation in her shoulder and back. Her treatment took most of a year, during which she was on sick leave. Before returning to work, her employer, together with the health service, re-organised her duties to ease the physical strain on her shoulder and back and provided her with more ergonomic cleaning tools. However, after a few months back at work, even with working reduced hours, she suffered a serious relapse. At the age of 42, her doctor told her

that she could no longer perform a physically demanding job. It seemed, he said, that her options were either to find employment that was less physically demanding, get a formal education or apply for a disability pension. Over the course of the next year, together with specialists from the Labour and Welfare Administration office, Sissel investigated the possibility of jobs that were less physically demanding. However, they all required different forms of formal education. She joined a restart programme for secondary education for adults, but failed. At 43, she applied for, and was granted, a permanent disability pension from the Norwegian government.

Firms in the cleaning business, to which people with less education or health issues have been able to turn, are making efforts to better their reputation. Through adopting modern work models, diversifying their range of services and becoming increasingly professionalised, they attempt to minimise the high turnover and health problems that have been associated with cleaning. Increasingly, cleaning jobs are full-time and day-time jobs, which means that the working hours are less flexible. Cleaning firms strive to employ younger individuals with more resources, more (vocational) education and better language skills. From the perspective of the firms, higher job-entry demands lead to a better reputation, in turn attracting more educated workers, considered a desirable outcome for the firms. In other words, these developments, which on one side elevate the status of cleaning for a living, also reduce employment options for workers with fewer skills. Both for the people in question and for society as a whole, these developments can be considered problematic, because they contribute to a less inclusive labour market.

Technology is changing our jobs faster than ever. Skill requirements in working life are increasing, because harnessing technology has the effect of rationalising and eliminating unskilled jobs. Such changes affect all sectors and occupations, but at this stage, "low threshold, low skills" and "manual labour" jobs are especially exposed to such elimination. Therefore, demand for employees with fewer skills and less formal education slumps. This trend is illustrated by the increasing theoretical education requirements for employment, even in "unskilled" occupations. Workplaces that traditionally have been open to workers with fewer resources, either mental or physical, may disappear. For some, such workplaces may represent the primary or, in some cases, the only opportunity to join the workforce.

Lack of education is a significant predictor for later exclusion from the workforce (Alvarez-Jimenez et al. 2012). In 2014, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) published a report revealing that 28% of students in Norwegian upper-secondary education did not complete in the standard time or did not complete at all. This is a higher proportion than the average in Europe, which for the same year was 13% (OECD 2014). There is a correlation between mental disorders and school absenteeism.

Box 14.3 Anne

Anne is Sissel's daughter. At the age of 13, she developed social anxiety. She resisted going to school, saying it was hard to breathe there. She received counselling from a community psychological service but also developed a habit of self-medication using alcohol and, eventually, drugs like amphetamine and ecstasy. She had few friends. The ones she had also use drugs. School was difficult; although she was a clever pupil, it was increasingly hard for her to perform school tasks in a classroom. At 17, she was formally diagnosed with Social Anxiety Disorder. Due to treatment, she had long periods of absence.

At the age of 18, the anxiety was so pronounced that she stopped attending school at all. At this point, she had a part-time job at a local petrol station, performing tasks such as cleaning and restocking goods. It provided her with pocket money, but this did not amount to anything she could live on, and her family had limited means to support her. As she was a drop-out from secondary school, there were no full-time jobs available for her locally. At this point, her anxiety was so severe that it effectively precluded her from using public transport and thus from applying for jobs further away.

In a collaboration between Anne's doctor, the Labour and Welfare Administration office, the local social service and a local private firm that specialises in such testing, Anne went through a year of work capability assessment, after which her functional, vocational and medical status was reviewed. Taken along with the fact that there were no local employment options for unskilled workers like her, the outcome was that she was granted a disability pension at the age of 19.

In the Nordic as well as other high–income countries, an upsetting trend can be observed: An increasing number of young people seem unable to work or attend education. Compared to just 10 years ago, there are twice as many young Norwegian disability pensioners today. Finding some young people in such a disability scheme is natural, given that the statistics also include persons with congenital illnesses or impairments of a severity that makes work participation unlikely, no matter the level of accommodation. The challenge does not lie here. In about 60% of cases where people under the age of 30 are disability pensioned, it is related to being diagnosed with various mental and behavioural disorders.

Difficulties in entering the labour market can be related to health problems obtained in working life or to health problems before entrance to working life. Generally speaking, these two mechanisms apply to two different groups: the first to adults with work experience, the second to young persons who have never worked due to reduced health or social challenges. Clearly, the average age in the first group will be significantly higher, and the second group's health issues cannot in the same way be ascribed to work. Nevertheless, they have a common challenge, namely

limited possibilities to get job in a labour market with a dwindling amount of jobs for "unskilled" workers. These groups do not have the same opportunity to "catch the train" called "innovation and globalisation of the labour market", as do those groups with better health and education status. These exclusionary mechanisms create structural as well as social problems in a "normal model" designed for (nearly) full employment, where society is structured around work. As larger groups are cut off from work, not only will they lead lives blemished with poor economy, health issues and shorter life expectancy but they will also contribute to increasing imbalances in the systems, a poorer "social economy". As the working of these mechanisms should not be seen as being caused solely by factors related to the individuals themselves, neither should the responsibility for compensating for them. Alternative solutions, where society accept social costs for those who no longer are necessary in the current scheme of organisation of labour, should be considered. This is not a matter of reversing the development of the knowledge society but rather of building in a wider variety of options as a way to resolve the current contradiction between the call for *inclusion*, which aims to include and retain people in the labour market; and the growing trend of raising the *requirements for entering* the labour market, even in forms of work that traditionally have been "low threshold, low skills" jobs. Thus, the *unhealthy youth effect* (UYE) can help explain why "school losers" become a select group of young people who begin their adulthood with the brutal reality of being redundant before they ever enter the workforce. It is easy to think that the most important instrument is likely to get more young people to complete high school and higher education and move on to professional life. However, what should those who do not want or cannot take a master's degree or doctorate do? Another way to put the question is: How can we attain a labour market that is more inclusive, more tolerant of diversity?

Building a wider variety of options into the knowledge society, creating a more inclusive work life, may require turning a critical eye to the parameters of what constitutes a "job", which at present are fairly standardised. The goal may to create more variation in how a job may be and still be considered a job. For one, a person's existing work tasks may be modified in order to help employees who experience a reduction in work ability remain in the workforce. More radically, one may create "niche jobs", that is, jobs designed to match a particular skill level; or execute "job carving": extracting parts of existing jobs to make up sets of tasks that match a particular skill level (Borghouts-van de Pas & Freese 2017; Sainsbury, Coleman-Fountain & Trezzini 2017). This requires that managers need to be well-informed regarding employees', or potential employees', health status, work capacity and limitations. In turn, this means that achieving inclusion may require building a level of mutual trust between manager and employee.

The call for inclusion: Building down disabling barriers in organisations

Article 27 in the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities reaffirms the right of persons with disabilities to work on an equal basis with others,

including "the opportunity to gain a living by work freely chosen or accepted in a labour market and work environment that is open, inclusive and accessible to persons with disabilities" (UN 2006). At present, most forms of disability correlate with significant labour market disadvantage. Globally, persons with disabilities

> experience significantly lower employment rates and much higher rates of unemployment than persons without disabilities. This is due to many factors, including lack of access to education and vocational rehabilitation and training, lack of access to financial resources, disincentives created by disability benefits, the inaccessibility of the workplace, and employers' perceptions of disability and disabled people.
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> *(WHO 2011, p. 250)*

This employment gap has proved to be persistent, despite decades of policy initiatives and interventions. Interventions have largely focused on the "supply side", that is, aiming to enhance the employability of the individuals themselves, for example by increasing their "motivation, abilities and job search behaviour" (Borghouts-van de Pas & Freese 2017, p. 2). Some policy initiatives have focused on the "demand side", such as anti-discrimination legislation, quota systems and financial incentives and support to employers. However, the persistence of the employment gap suggests it is time to intensify efforts on the "demand side". After reviewing European public policies regarding persons with disabilities, a team of researchers concluded that:

> While it is important that practices aimed at increasing the employability of people are maintained and improved, the DISCIT project has shown that only by refocusing our attention on employers and the demand for labour can we expect to make the necessary progress towards closing the employment gap and achieving equality in the labour market for persons with disabilities.
>
> *(Sainsbury, Coleman-Fountain & Trezzini 2017, p. 112)*

Obviously, employers have a gatekeeper function. Recent reviews of research suggest that employers with previous experience of hiring individuals with disabilities are more positive about such hiring; that personal knowledge, for example, through knowing or being related to persons with disabilities, seems to help; and that larger companies are more disposed to hire persons with disabilities. One review of research identifies a positive trend whereby

> employers are increasingly recognising that the costs associated with hiring individuals with disabilities (e.g., insurance and accommodations) are reasonable and negotiable. Many accommodations incur no or minimal costs. Employers indicated a willingness to accommodate workers with disabilities to gain more benefits than having to repeatedly hire and train new workers due to high turnover rates by workers without disabilities.
>
> *(Ju, Roberts & Zhang 2013, p. 121)*

Other research reviews report how employers describe benefits of having employees with disabilities, such as increases in profitability, workforce diversity, retaining quality employees and avoiding costs associated with hiring and training new employees (Vornholt, Uitdewilligen & Nijhuis 2013).

Traditionally, interventions have largely aimed at helping individuals with disabilities to access existing types of jobs. Regarding persons with physical or sensory disabilities, this may first and foremost be a matter of (a) enhancing their skills to the point that the job requires, (b) overcoming any reservations that the potential employer might have and (c) making sure the workplace and work processes in themselves are accessible. How that is achieved will largely depend on the type of impairment; for instance, when it comes to a wheelchair user, the first consideration might be physical access. In the case of employees with severe visual or hearing impairments, securing access to information and communication processes in the organisation might loom larger.

However, such accommodations do not suffice for the growing group of people who are unable to meet the current, and rising, educational and skill requirements of existing jobs. Among these we find the "unhealthy workers" but also persons with disabilities. The latter group includes persons with "physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments" (UN 2006, article 1). The United Nations states that

> disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinders their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others,
>
> *(UN 2006, e)*

This modifies the more traditional view that ascribes any hindrances to participation to the impairment alone. The convention shifts the focus from solely looking at individuals to looking at their interaction with barriers that arise from features of the physical and social contexts they attempt to manoeuvre. In addition to the traditional focus on enhancing the skills of potential employees, this offers a rich second dimension along which to work: changing those features of the work environment that represent barriers for these particular individuals, that is, building down barriers. One fundamental barrier is the largely taken-for-granted parameters and perceptions of what constitutes a "job" in the "normal model" of work. Thus, recent suggestions for changing the "demand side" stress the importance of creating new types of jobs in ordinary workplaces, for example, as mentioned, through "niche job" creation or "job carving".

Box 14.4 Trygve

Trygve, a young man with Down Syndrome and an intellectual disability, has worked in a grocery store for many years. He likes his job, he says. He has a limited set of tasks: he empties the bottle deposit machine, restocks beer and soda to shelves, makes coffee and compacts cardboard. In the last year, he has also started restocking paper products.

> The store manager, who mentors Trygve, describes how he needs more support and follow-up than other employees. On those rare occasions where he starts a new task, she describes that he needs very simple, specific instructions and close follow-up. He needs to be "walked through" many repetitions of performing the task before he gradually can start doing it on his own. Also, she has learned that he cannot be rushed. He needs to work at his own speed and, if left alone, works patiently and hard.
>
> People with intellectual disability are a group with a huge variability in levels of impairment, resources and capacity. But a core characteristic that appears in a varying degree within the group is significant limitations in "reasoning, problem solving, planning, abstract thinking, judgement, academic learning, and learning from experience" (APA 2013, p. 33). Thus, Trygve's need for simple instructions, many repetitions and a limited set of simple, repetitive tasks reflects his intellectual impairment. Because he needs assistance when events occur that require improvisation and judgement, on his shifts, another employee is always asked to keep an eye out for him. When not learning a new task, he works alone.

Creating "niche jobs" and "job carving" is not a matter of making up tasks but of "reshuffling" existing ones: Work tasks, or parts of tasks, may be "repackaged" into jobs that match the specific skills of a particular employee. One may also design types of jobs that roughly match the strengths and limitations associated with a particular type of condition. An example of the latter is when Specialisterne (2017), which operates in numerous locations around the world, can "harness the special characteristics and talents of people with autism and use them as a competitive advantage" as "business consultants on tasks such as software testing, programming and data entry for the public and private sectors". Another example is the Norwegian Helt Med! ("All in!") project, where public and private-sector businesses receive help from an non-governmental organisation (NGO) to design jobs with task sets and levels of support that are considered suitable for people with an intellectual disability.

Another "tried-and-trusted" staple of support-to-work methods is establishing a system for extra support and follow-up by assigning internal mentors and collaborating with external "job coaches". Inclusive employers describe such support systems as essential:

> Coaching during integration is of the utmost importance and is stressed by every inclusive employer in our study. The employee needs at least one internal mentor to attend to possible start-up problems. External job coaching is also essential.
>
> *(Borghouts-van de Pas & Freese 2017, p. 19)*

Depending on the employee, such extra support and follow-up may be provided just in the initial phases, but it may also be required more long term, or, in the case

of many employees with an intellectual disability or mental illness, permanently. Such systems may also provide support to the employer, and in some cases, to colleagues. Not least, they can play an important role in the hiring process:

> Employers described the benefits of being able to interact with employment support specialists ['job coaches'] during the hiring process including having a place to turn to when they have disability related questions, uncertainty about legislative requirements, and challenges related to accommodation.
>
> *(Gewurtz, Langan & Shand 2016, p. 142)*

After reviewing research into creating jobs for people with intellectual disabilities in ordinary workplaces, Lövgren, Markström and Sauer (2017, p. 26) reported that some critical factors seem to be "analysis of conditions to facilitate good matches" (between job requirements and skills), as well as "systematic, individualised design of support". Seino, Takezawa, Nomoto and Boeltzig-Brown (2017, p. 352) identify two additional factors: "constructing a support system (both inside and outside the workplace, and building trust so it is easy to ask for advice)" and "accumulating knowledge for support".

Box 14.5 Frank

A man with an intellectual disability, Frank works in the central kitchen of a large nursing home. His job is a result of "job carving": Parts of existing jobs were extracted to make up a set of tasks matching his skill level. He has a fixed set of tasks with some common qualities: They are practical, do not require much in the way of abstract thinking or judgement and are repetitive in that they need doing every day in about the same way.

The nursing home's many wards each have a small peripheral kitchen. One of Frank's tasks is to fill orders from the wards for different food products, both dry goods and fresh. Every evening, the staff on each ward fills out an order form specifying what they need the next day. Each morning, Frank fills their order from the storage rooms, piling the goods neatly on steel carts, each marked with the ward number.

When Frank's job was created, the external job coach assisted the nursing home in identifying how their ordinary routines needed to be modified in order to enable Frank to do his tasks. One modification was that storage areas for food needed to be arranged in a more logical and orderly manner, with a defined, clearly marked place for each product. This modification, which enabled Frank to fill the orders, also turned out to be helpful for the rest of the kitchen staff, as well as for the people delivering the goods. Another modification was that when filling out the order sheets, ward staff needed to use numbers. They could not simply "x" a box; if the order was for a single item, they needed to write "1". Also, the order forms needed to

be written in uppercase letters, and when ordering items not printed on the form, staff needed to use all uppercase letters rather than mixing uppercase and lowercase. That co-workers should adhere to these simple modifications in their routines was decided by the kitchen manager and nursing home management, discussed with all ward managers, who in turn discussed it with their staff on the wards. The modification did not meet with any resistance, especially when explained in the context of Frank's employment and needs. In all, the staff were very positive to his inclusion. In the kitchen he was well liked. The work culture was informal, with continual displays of humour and good-natured joking, and Frank not only fitted into this culture but also added to it, and the kitchen staff embraced him. They also defended his needs, as when order forms from some wards were chronically filled out with "x"s where there should have been "1"s and mixed uppercase and lowercase letters, so Frank was unable to read them. After several polite reminders, where apologetic ward staff lamented about how hard these things were to remember, one of the kitchen assistants took it on himself to remedy this. From then, each time an order sheet was improperly filled out, he called the staff on that ward, insisting they come down and fill it out properly; otherwise they would not be receiving any goods that day. In a very short time, all order sheets were filled perfectly.

Another employee with an intellectual disability in the same nursing home was not so lucky. One of his tasks was to clear the table in some wards after resident had had lunch, and to fill the dishwasher. However, the ward staff found it hard to leave the tables without clearing them, and therefore on a daily basis this employee found himself unable to do his job, which is important to him, and he became upset and frustrated. And in this matter, there are no similarly simple, effective ways to remedy the staff's forgetfulness; the forgetful ones can continue to transgress without any tangible consequences.

It is time to bring together the elements of the discussion of inclusion. Regarding the case of Trygve (Box 14.4), what does "accumulating knowledge for support" mean here? As will be the case with many employees with an intellectual disability, the manager needs to adapt her way of providing instructions and follow-up to his cognitive capacity for processing information; if he is to understand, she needs to learn to speak in ways that enable him to understand. She needs to adapt her language, and it is primarily through his responses she will know when the adaptations are sufficient. She also needs to learn to let him work at his own speed and not attempt to rush him. This illustrates that in many cases, it is not only employees who need to learn skills in order to be included; managers may also need to learn skills in order to include. Trygve's case is an example of an inclusion process that primarily involves collaboration between an employee and management, not requiring any further involvement internally or externally. It illustrates the "prototypical" case in which an employee with issues and a manager (or human resources [HR] department) agree

on a set of accommodations. In many cases this will suffice. Yet, when it comes to Trygve, his co-workers need to learn to respect his tasks, that is, not to do them. They also need to learn not to ask him to do other tasks, tasks they may see as trivial but that he has not been trained to do. Another aspect worth considering is that on one hand, the present accommodations enable him to work there, and he expresses satisfaction. On the other hand, he is rather isolated in the work environment and seems to be doing the same tasks year after year. A weakness with such "simple inclusion" schemes is that managers may not have the knowledge and skills necessary to mobilise and develop the full range of these employees' resources and potential. This is part of what collaborating with external job coaches (or other specialist services, depending on the specific issues) may offer. If Trygve were to be more fully included in work processes and collaborate more with co-workers, they might also need to learn more about how to communicate in ways that level the field: that enable him to understand, respond and be understood. A job coach may help them learn this. As they learn, they are accumulating knowledge, and by acting on this knowledge, they are chipping away at a disabling barrier, promoting participation. Without such help, they may not get very far. As Lövgren, Markström and Sauer (2017) note, colleagues simply being willing to support may be insufficient; for the support to be adequate, they need certain skills. Becerra, Montanero and Lucero (2016) found that spontaneous verbal help to workers with an intellectual disability from co-workers without training in providing such help was only marginally more effective than no help at all.

In the case of Frank (Box 14.5), the story illustrates, in a simple way, how building down barriers may require negotiating and legitimising new organisational practices. In order for him to do his tasks, co-workers need to modify their daily routines. Even if the changes are small, they may need to be co-ordinated and backed up by management, who must also explain why the changes are necessary; they need to be able to inform co-workers about Frank's intellectual impairment. This illustrates one of Borghouts-van de Pas and Freese's (2017, p. 19) points: "With regard to integration in the team, it is essential to give honest information about the skills, abilities and knowledge of the candidate". Frank's story also illustrates the value of create alliances in the work force, a sense that the inclusion is a group effort, which may be easier when employees work alongside co-workers and their tasks interweave. Lastly, it illustrates how ingrained "ingrained habits" are; even with the best of will, it may not be easy for co-workers to adjust their routines. It may take concerted and concentrated organisational effort, framed in the context of equality, social justice and human rights, and it may not happen even then if co-workers do not have the added motivation of avoiding unwanted, but good-natured, consequences, as the kitchen assistant helpfully provided in Frank's case.

If we go back to the case of Anne (Box 14.3), she struggles with mental illness and a labour market that has no jobs she is qualified for. Some of the research findings that Delman, Kovich, Burke and Martone (2017) highlight in their report on "demand side" strategies to employ people with serious mental illness is that the most frequent accommodations are flexible scheduling, "enhanced" training and supervision and modified job duties, and that direct costs associated with such

accommodations are often nominal. After a review of research on factors that impact job tenure for people with mental illness, Williams et al. (2016, p. 80) note that the main supportive factors seem to be related to (1) the workers' experience of doing the job (e.g. experiencing that tasks are rewarding, accommodations available, feeling competent in tasks), (2) having natural supports in the workplace (e.g. experiencing supervisors and co-workers as supportive, work culture as accepting) and (3) that the workers themselves had strategies for integrating work, recovery and wellness (e.g. for managing symptoms at work, dealing with stressors and viewing work as shifting the focus away from illness) and external support (e.g. family, friends, peer support, vocational and/or mental health staff) to help them deal with work-related challenges. Therefore, it is not farfetched that Anne can work, if local businesses are willing to engage in some "job carving" and simple accommodations and make sure that the workplace culture is sufficiently supportive. The latter may require some "accumulating knowledge" for support; for example, educating co-workers on mental illness, creating realistic expectations, correcting misconceptions and later trying out and evaluating types of accommodations in an "epistemological alliance" with the employee and perhaps also co-workers.

Regarding the case of Sissel (Box 14.2), many of the same considerations apply. This does not mean that she can be compared to people with an intellectual disability or mental illness but that she may benefit from some degree of the same principles of inclusion of which these other groups need large degrees. A worker with chronic health issues might certainly benefit from an employer having extensive experience with "job carving", learning alongside employees what types and levels of accommodation work best and facilitating work processes where employees work together but each at their own optimal speed.

Matching job requirements with potential employees' skills, not the other way around, as the "normal model" is prone to do, shifts job parameters to effectively make whole new groups of people employable. In themselves, these principles are not new; 'job carving' has been a staple in support-to-work methods for decades. The innovation would be to use them on a much larger scale, as a standard form of human relations management with people with chronic health issues or disabilities (Borghouts-van de Pas & Freese 2017). As such, they may be equally applicable to existing employees who have experienced a reduction in work capacity, for example, older workers as an alternative to early retirement. In their systematic review of how to promote work participation in older workers, Steenstra et al. (2017, p. 98) found that the most effective interventions were "multi-component"; all included work modifications related to hours, ergonomics or duties, and then utilised various combinations of other components such as "job focused vocational rehabilitation: worker education/training", "a return to work plan" and "case management and communication between workplace and healthcare provider".

These examples of barriers and accommodations show how disabling barriers, in many cases, spring from social practices that are so entrenched that the knowledge they build can be understood as "doxa": knowledge so taken for granted that

it is largely accepted as "a self-evident and natural order which goes without saying and therefore goes unquestioned" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 166). His point was that such "naturalisation" not only makes it hard to imagine alternative ways of ordering social practices, but that it also disposes actors to see these ways of ordering as the only possible, or sensible, ways.

This suggests that in building down disabling barriers in workplaces, there may be a qualitative difference between accommodations that aim to change the built environment, which seldom require co-workers to change their routines, and those that aim to change social practices that contribute to socially constituted barriers. The latter may require examining and discussing practices that usually are not discussed because they build on knowledge that normally "goes without saying and therefore goes unquestioned". This points to the need to establish arenas where such examinations and discussions can take place and to facilitate the process in ways that enable constructive exploration in an atmosphere of mutual respect. This may be essential, not least because changing social practices always will have an element of negotiation, where the outcome hinges on the extent to which the involved actors are willing, or even able, to change their practices.

The discussion illustrates how creating more inclusive organisations gives rise to new managerial and organisational challenges, creating the need to change new collaborative structures in ways that stretch the "normal model". It also illustrates the essential role *knowledge* will have in inclusive organisations. This strongly suggests that organisations wishing to become more inclusive organisations must become more reflective organisations; in fact, they must become *learning* organisations.

Box 14.6 Scandic hotels are creating jobs for people with intellectual disabilities

The Scandic hotel chain runs 230 hotels in seven countries, with 15,000 employees and a total of 44,000 rooms. In February 2017, Scandic, in collaboration with the Helt Med! ["All in!"] project, advertised eight positions for persons with an intellectual disability at two hotels in Bergen, Norway, as a small-scale pilot venture. The requirements were that applicants have intellectual disability, a permanent disability pension and an enthusiasm for working in a hotel. They would be assigned simplified task sets related to kitchen, restaurant and conference activities, as well as janitor services. They would each be assigned an internal mentor. Along with their mentor, they would receive monthly support and follow-up from an external job coach. Those who passed a four-week practice period would be hired on normal work contracts, with one important exception: With the blessing of the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), they would be paid 20% of the wage rate as determined in ordinary collective bargaining agreement processes. The condition for this blessing was that these employees did not supplant other, "ordinary" employees; they were only to be assigned tasks that otherwise would not have

been done, so their contributions enabled the hotels to add an extra touch to their services. According to the agreement with Helt Med! the hotels do not receive any external financial compensation for creating these jobs; the only contribution from the Labour and Welfare Administration is that of paying for the support and follow-up from an external job coach.

   This particular arrangement highlights some fundamental dilemmas in such job creation, at least within the current "normal model" of work:

1.   If the employees' work capacity does not enable them to do an "ordinary job", employers are left with the choice of either paying these employees less, making them vulnerable to criticism for contributing to "social dumping"; or paying these employees an ordinary wage for work that produces less economic value. The last option may require a level of idealism that many employers may not be willing, or able, to fulfil. From this dilemma springs Scandic's requirement that applicants must have a permanent disability pension. In countries with a less developed welfare system, paying employees with reduced work capacity a reduced wage might require that their families or other external parties contribute to their daily subsistence, if they are not to be relegated to poverty even if employed to their full capacity.

2.   When it comes to the matter of the employees only being assigned tasks that otherwise would not be done, a dilemma is that over time, when these tasks have been done for a while, they actually *are* being done and may enter the realm of what is expected from the hotels as a part of the normal service. At that point, one may expect a larger discussion about whether reserving these tasks for a specific type of employee who is being paid less actually does constitute social dumping, as well as a closer scrutiny of the grounds for upholding such reservation. Sorting jobs by medical diagnosis may prove not only a difficult exercise but also a slippery slope.

3.   A third dilemma is concerned with who pays for the external support and follow-up. In Scandic's venture, part of the arrangement is that the Labour and Welfare Administration pays for this. But this is a strictly temporary and local arrangement for this specific venture. This administration has other, more expensive ways of creating jobs for people with disabilities in ordinary private and public-sector businesses, but, because they are so expensive, the number of jobs that can be created is pitifully limited. This illustrates how administration systems in themselves may function for some groups as barriers to participation in society, simply by being bureaucratic systems that do not adapt easily to changes in their environment, to new ideologies or to new opportunities.

So far, Scandic's venture is proving a success. Thirty applicants were interviewed and screened by the Helt Med! team. Eight were recommended for a four-week practice period at "their" hotel. After this period, six were hired. Six months on,

all parties are happy with the arrangement, which also has generated much positive attention and media publicity in Norway. Plans are now in motion to upscale to a national level and create similar jobs in other Scandic hotels.

Redefining work?

This chapter illustrates the challenges of expanding the "normal model" of work in order to accommodate those who today are excluded from ordinary work. The idea is that work is the norm, and that full employment will benefit society. These challenges coincide with other changes indicating that the "normal model" is under threat. Many of the chapters in this book indicate that we are entering a new industrial era. It may be that we need to redefine the concept of work. Guy Standing's 2010 book *Work after Globalization: Building Occupational Citizenship* engages in such a debate. He questions the distinction between work and labour, building part of his argument on Hannah Arendt's terms *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*, and her distinction between labour, work and activity.

In terms of the concept of work, it may turn out we have been living in a historical parenthesis, a period where "work" largely has been taken to be synonymous with "paid employment". The cab driver, though self-employed, obviously also works, as does the business owner or executive, albeit being an employer. For decades, feminist scholars have been pointing out that reducing work to "paid employment" is to make invisible forms of labour in other arenas, which, albeit "unpaid", not fitting the parameters of a "job" and lacking an 'employer', nonetheless should count as work. But even taking private-sphere "unpaid labour" and public-sphere "paid employment" into account, this still leaves substantial amounts of productive activity unaccounted for, such as various forms of voluntary work (Taylor 2004), as well as the "private and informal work" that maintaining a personal "employability" increasingly may require (Smith 2010).

Thus, a labour market that aspires to optimise equality and inclusion as well as business opportunity may need to be a differentiated labour market, in the sense of offering a variety of work conditions in order to accommodate the fact that workers differ, have different needs and wishes and thrive under different conditions. Such differentiation may transpire between different segments of a labour market, meaning that a variety of different work conditions with differing support levels are dispersed in the labour market. It may also transpire within a business or organisation, meaning that a variety of different work conditions with differing support levels are present inside a single organisation. In the latter case, this may also contribute to more lifespan-friendly work environments. This way, a labour market with greater differentiation in types of jobs and work conditions might also contribute to a more pluralistic, liberal and democratic society. This already represents a noticeable step away from the "normal model". However, coping with the future of work may require redefining work in even more radical ways, ways that bring work closer to the new reality and create less divides in society. What is the solution?

> **Box 14.7 The Kodak moment of work**
>
> ***The disruptiveness of economic change:***
>
> The normal model of work might collapse.
>
> ***The knowledge one failed to use:***
>
> The reason for its collapse might be that we burden the model with new inten-tions at the same time as the underlying support for this model is crumbling.
>
> ***Ability to adjust to future changes:***
>
> There are some hard choices ahead. It is difficult to see how the model can be more effective and efficient and at the same time more inclusive. One can retain the normal model, but then some of the ambitions in today's work life may have to be abandoned.
>
> ***The opportunity in the changes:***
>
> If the normal model in which everybody is at work with a paid, fixed, long-term contract is not to be sustainable in the future, we need to redefine work. We should consider rethinking the assumptions in the model. Work is more than labour. The definitions of work and the boundaries of work and non-work can be redefined. Work can be defined as contributing to social value.

This book does not purport to predict the future. A better strategy in the face of disruptive change may be to formulate explicit and robust understandings of what specific values we will attempt to steer by, come what may. If we were to pick one promising development that could hold the key to defusing some of the built-up tension in the present conundrum of work and welfare and ease the way forward, we would look to the idea of implementing Universal Basic Income (UBI): This offers all citizens a non-conditional flat-rate payment, with income earned above that taxed progressively, replacing the current welfare system. Forms of UBI are being piloted in Finland, Italy and Canada; are being considered in Scotland; and have been successfully piloted in economies of the global south, such as India and Namibia (Lacey 2017). Reed and Lansley (2016, p. 8) claim that a such a solution would "offer much greater financial independence and freedom of choice for indi-viduals between work and leisure, education and caring while recognising the huge value of unpaid and voluntary work". It is radical. Yet, one of the dangers of the moment is not being radical.

> While a UBI may still seem utopian to many opponents, sometimes the long-term risks of radical changes are lower than the risks associated with a contin-uation of the existing system. Holding on to obsolete concepts for too long provokes not only social and political pressures as a consequence of increasing

polarisation, but it basically endangers the understanding and acceptance of the concept of solidarity, especially among the younger generation. Like the social market economy, the UBI reconciles economic efficiency and social security. It is radical, but also just. It is liberal and contemporary. That is why it offers the best social-political prerequisite for "prosperity for all" in the 21st century.

(Straubhaar 2017, p. 74)

Broadly speaking, our discussion points at three strategies:

- Strategy 0: Continue as before. This means "more of the same", basically resigning to the forces at large.
- Strategy 1: Work for change at an actor level. Increase social awareness "heart by heart", "mind by mind", think globally, work locally. The danger is that the total impact that may be achieved will be insufficient, particularly in regard to depth.
- Strategy 2: Look at present system configurations. Do they correspond to what we want? Consider system changes based on collective values and collective solutions. This may include some hard choices about the "normal model". But whether the answer is to continue broadening it or narrow it down: any model of work, to be sustainable, should enable any person with capacity to create value, i.e. everyone, to earn their daily bread.