



Challenging the rate for the job:

Lessons from the living wage campaign

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Making bad jobs better

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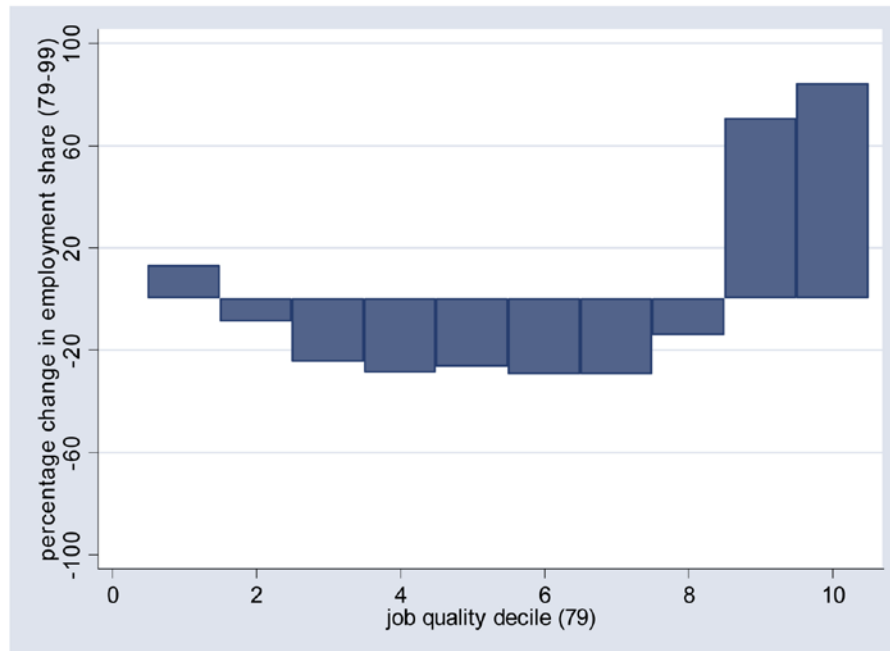


Introduction

- What's happened to London's labour market?
- The question of citizenship
- New forms of organisation
- London Citizens' living wage campaign

Growth at the top and the bottom

Figure
Percentage Change in Employment Share by Job Quality Decile in Greater London, 1979-1999

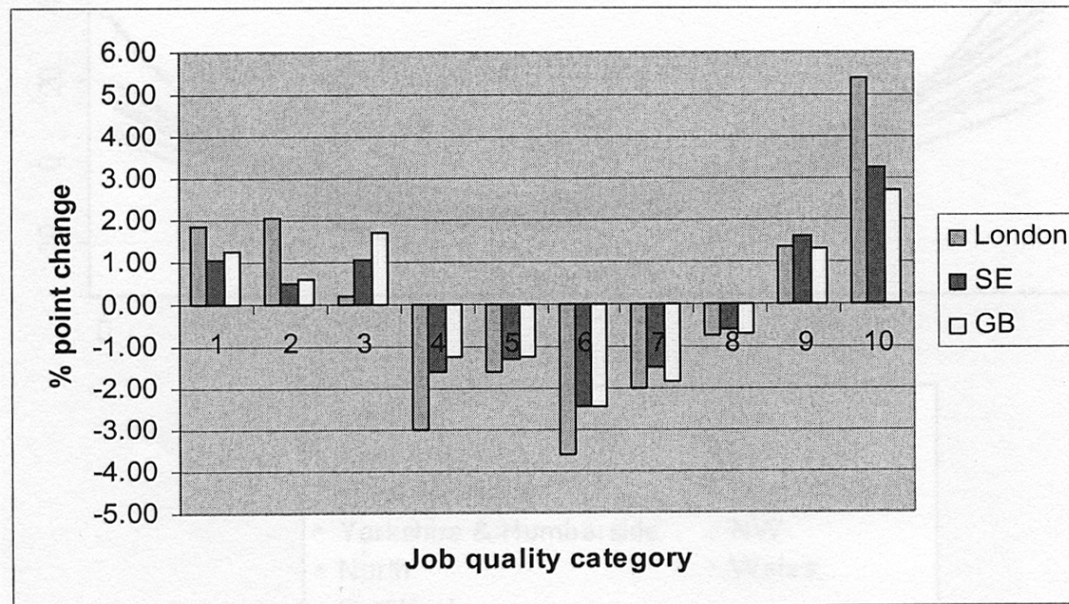


Source: Employment data are taken from the LFS using time consistent 3-digit SOC90 codes. Employment changes are taken between 1979 and 1999. Quality deciles are based on 3-digit SOC90 median wages in 1979 taken from the NES.

Source: Goos and Manning, 2003

...and something about London

Figure 1. Percentage point change in employment shares of the job quality categories: London, SE and GB 1991-2001



Source: Kaplanis, 2007



Growth with decline in wages and power

- In real wages:
 - 1993 and 2000: real wages all Londoners UP by 50p/hr DOWN for catering assistants by 48p; care assistants by 43p and cleaners by 12p.
 - Outside London: catering assistants UP by 13p and care assistants by 17p an hour.
 - 2001 and 2005: all Londoners UP 71p/hr DOWN for chefs and cooks by 17p; cleaners by 44p.
- London-UK differential:
 - Widened for all Londoners but shrank for catering, care and cleaners.

Source: LFS data, Kaplanis analysis in *Global Cities at Work*



The paradigm of subcontracted employment

- Holding down wages/conditions
- Protecting the 'real employer' from workers – a question of power
- The challenge of organising

- And in London, devalued jobs are now migrant jobs

Migrant division of labour

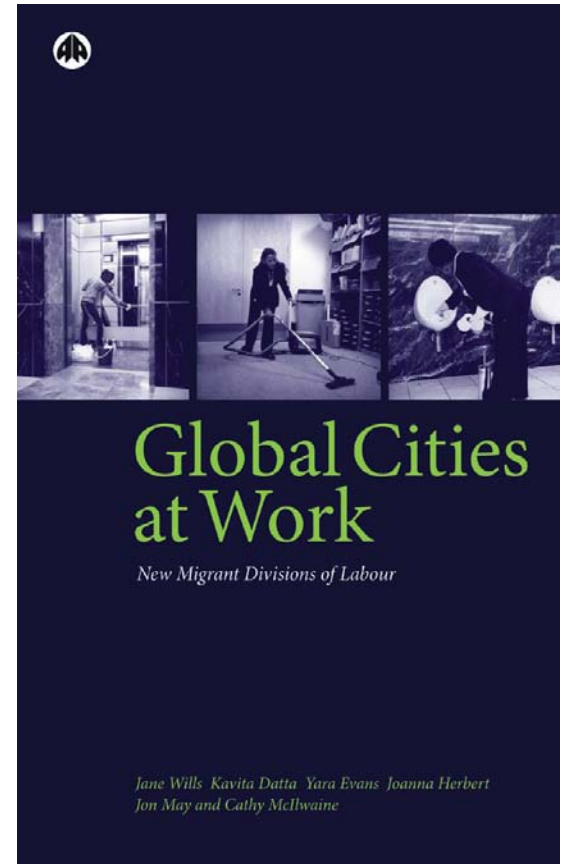
Care, cleaning, hotels,
(construction, food
processing)

Min wage, hols, benefits

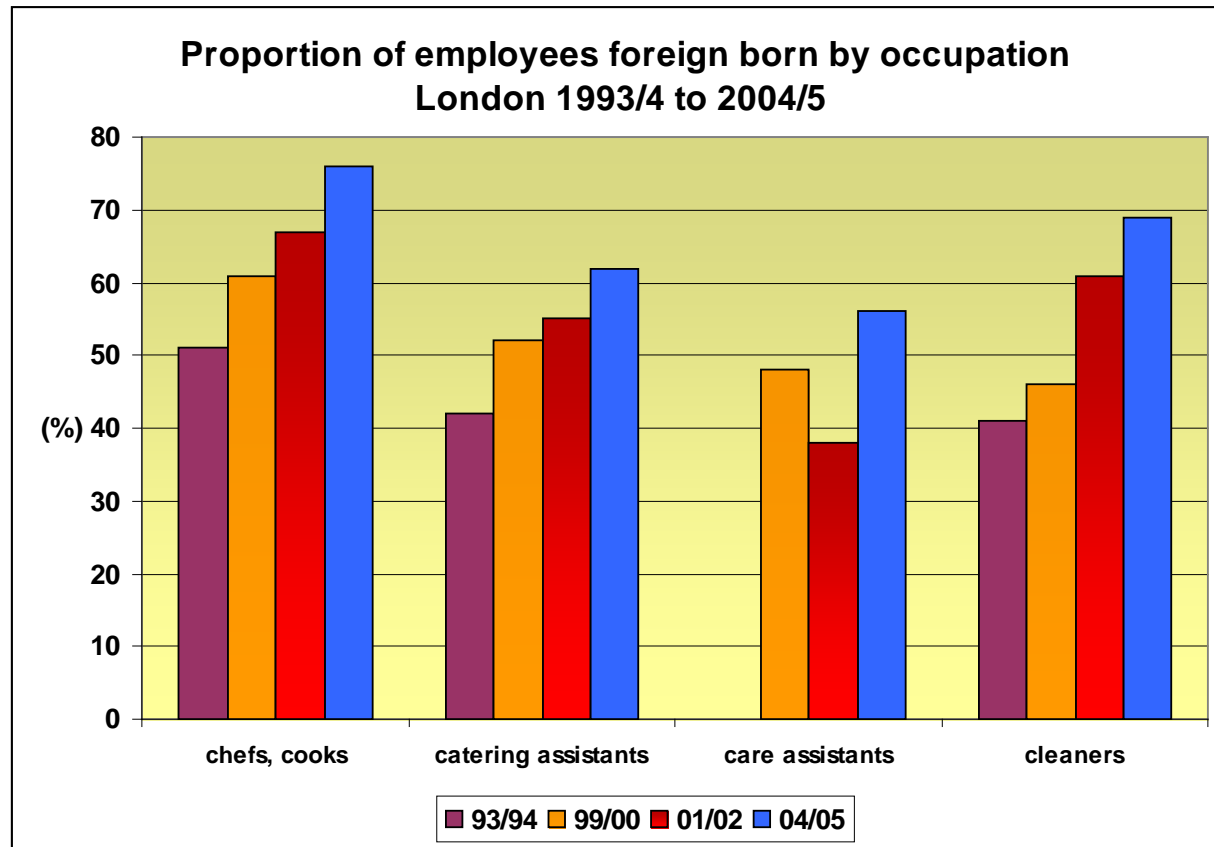
High turnover – 50%
<1year

Great national/ethnic
diversity

Low unionisation



Dependence on foreign-born labour supply



Analysis of the Labour Force Survey

... and a super-diverse labour supply



Source: Author's survey.

The world in a workplace

105 staff in cleaning
29 countries of origin
European by birth (39);
EU-naturalisation
(33); ILR (refugees,
dependents, others)
(35)

5 companies since
1990s

Min levels of pay and
unionisation





The question of citizenship?

- Low levels of unionisation (industrial citizenship) so where are the spaces for claim-making?
- Civil society?
 - Faith (50% active : high of 81% amongst Ghanaians to low amongst Europeans)
- Importing a model of organising across the community
 - IAF – London Citizens



Community organising and the labour market

- The market - the state – and civil society
- Organised people and organised money for power
- Common goods, common ground ... sharing place, sharing values
- Faith, labour, educational, community
- Living wage (2001); Strangers into Citizens (2005); Housing; CitySafe

The living wage

- What it costs to live
NOT what the market will bear - £7.85 versus £5.80 (£5.93 from October 2010)
- A non-statutory ethical wage – a new moral economy
- Rewarding the best with LW employer awards/accreditation

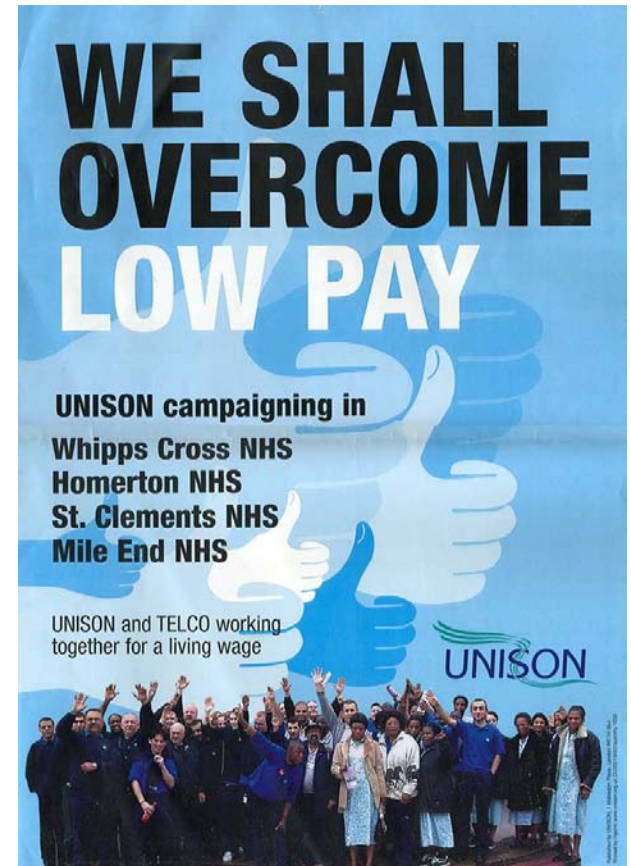


Progress to date

- 100 workplaces
- Thousands of workers
- Millions of pounds
- In Health, HE, City/Canary Wharf, DFCS, Westfield
- Ongoing in retail, Local Government, hospitality



UNISON and UNITE got involved



A new scale of organisation?

- The urban labour market
- Across-workplaces
- Across allies: in and beyond the coalition – church, media, politicians, students



Calling politicians to account for employment

Livingstone and the LW unit from 2005



and Johnson's continued support from 2008

Engaging at multiple scales

- Workplace
- Sectoral labour market
- Urban
- National – the General Election (2010) and Ed Miliband's election campaign



Changing the rate for the job

- Potential in linking economic and political power – voters and workers
- Finding common ground across difference
- Echoes of the early labour movement – living wage in 1870 – a broad coalition for change
- Setting a new moral minimum for wages in London

