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Good afternoon, I'm Emilia Roig, founder and director of the Center for Intersectional Justice. And I'm going to be giving a talk today on intersectional discrimination in the labor market from a structural and institutional perspective. You can find more information about me at www.intersectionaljustice.org.

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The learning objectives for this reading, for this talk today are to learn about intersectionality. What is intersectionality in practice? Because I know it's after another lecture about the theory of intersectionality. And now it's about practice. That is, how is an intersectional perspective cast on social problems or on inequality? Secondly, we want to learn about structural discrimination. That is, what is structural discrimination/intersectional discrimination? That is, how do patterns of discrimination operate in certain sectors, such as the labor market? And ultimately, we want to learn about the gender pay gap, which is English for wage gap between men and women, but also among women. And that's what intersectional discrimination is about, and then also related to that is labor market segregation. That is, how is the labor market segregated on the basis of different identity lines and what effect does it have on social inequalities?

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So now let's get started: It's called "gender equity for some women at the expense of others." That is, we have in France, Germany, Spain, in many European countries policies, political measures for more "gender equality", that is gender equality or equality between men and women. And we want to see how an intersectional perspective can analyze these very inequalities in a more holistic way.

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On the one hand, we have gender equality policy, and on the other hand, the development of the care sector. Gender equality policy aims to reduce wage gaps between men and women, to reduce gender segregation in the labor market and to improve the so-called work-life balance. In other words, these are the goals of gender equality policy. On the other hand, we have the development of the care sector, which is directly related to this - that is, in order to have fewer career interruptions for women, then we also need to develop services for child-rearing, for cleaning, etc. at the same time. And that is the development of the care sector. What does this development of the care sector involve then? On the one hand, creating jobs and activating the unemployed, especially women, and then improving the work-life balance and gender equity, that is, how can priority be given to women - so this is so in the discourse that it is also formulated in a gender-neutral way - but mostly these policies are targeted at women, and then ultimately promoting the labor force potential of women, that is, highly qualified women and low-skilled or unskilled women at the same time.

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And we see that there is a tension between these two sectors, between these two policies - on the one hand gender equality policy, on the other hand development of the care sector. And that tension creates intersectional discrimination for migrant women or so-called women of color, but mostly women in the labor market who are positioned below the social hierarchy. We see how: On the one hand, because the gender segregation in the labor

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market is developed by the development of the care sector. That is, we see that pay gaps between men and women are mostly explained, not within sectors, but between different sectors that are simply dominated or prioritized male or prioritized female - for example, pay gaps between men and women within the fire department are smaller than pay gaps between the fire department and, say, nursing or nurse sector. And this is explained because there are two sectors that are also comparable in terms of qualifications and also how strenuous the work is, and exactly, they are comparable, and what we see is that sectors that are primarily occupied by men also enjoy a higher social standing, higher pay and also higher social status. We see, for example, that many sectors that were historically more male and then slowly developed more female, such as the teaching professions, also had a higher social status than today. This means, it's called feminization, the feminization of sectors also means a reduction in wages, a reduction in status and a general reduction in working conditions.

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Well, the second tension is stratification - the stratification of the labor market and of the labor force in general along gender, class and so-called "race," but that's more like ethnic origin, but also migration status. And this stratification happens because the international division of labor is developed and decided along these lines. And then ultimately heteronormative division of labor - that is, there are certain professions or certain qualifications that are seen as typically female or typically male and therefore have an influence on the filling of jobs and also the development of certain sectors. And this heteronormative division of labor contributes to increased gender inequality in the labor market. That means that this is not only that there are differences between male and female, but there is also a hierarchy. And this hierarchy also largely determines how high or low a work status will be, or how high or low the pay will be, and so on.

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And what we see is that we have such a formal equality, framework conditions, so to speak, that we mostly know, also in Germany or in other European countries, which is simply based on the fact that there are inequalities between two categories and it is just a matter of reducing these inequalities between these categories. That is, it is a so-called one-dimensional analysis. Now that means, in the case of gender injustice or gender inequalities, that we analyze and also act along the line or dimension of gender. And there is an inter-categorical perspective. That is, we look between men on the one hand, and women on the other. That's a formal equality framework.

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On the other hand, there is also the possibility of developing and adopting an intersectional framework instead. So that's really, we analyze equality along multiple lines, and that's a cross-sectoral comparison. That is, we analyze inequalities and wage gaps between different sectors, for example, between firefighters, between nursing, between construction, between elder care, etc., and not just within one sector, one labor sector. Then, secondly, a multidimensional analysis: that is, inequalities are not only analyzed along gender lines, but also along migration status, age, ethnic origin, education level, etc., which means that we have several categories, several dimensions, which are included in the analysis and also in the solutions and in the political measures. Then finally intra-categorical perspective: that is,

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we look at inequalities not only between different groups, i.e. between men and women, but also within the category of women, within the category of men. And therefore it also allows us to make visible different lines within a category. That is, we can see that women with precarious migration status are positioned further down the hierarchy, that they earn less than women with citizenship, e.g. with German or French citizenship. We also see that ethnicity also plays an important role, age, education level, etc. That is, this intersectional equality perspective allows us to throw complexity into the analysis of social inequality in the labor market.

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Right now, though, we're at the formal equality perspective, which means we're still staying within the category of women or between the two categories. And what it means is that we then mostly move to the individual level instead of the structural level. I'll explain briefly: individual level of discrimination means a person A discriminates against a person B or against a group of people. And that means it's mostly individual actions rather than social structures that lead to inequalities and discrimination. And these structures are very diverse. For example, there are laws, but also policies, also plans, so policy plans, like for example we need to develop the care sector if we want to reduce the wage gap between men and women. The structures are like that and that is how they also have an impact on these social inequalities.

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And we must then move accordingly from the individual level to the structural level if we are to apply an intersectional perspective in a meaningful and effective way.

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And now as an example again for care, for the care sector we want to look at how different policies contradict each other and also create tensions that lead to the maintenance of social inequalities and especially the marginalization of certain groups, in this case migrant women, women of color, women with a low level of education, and so on. So we have four policies now, labor market policy, family policy, gender equality policy, and migration policy. Let's look at how all of these areas intersect and contradict each other because they are just developed in parallel to each other, rather than throwing a multidimensional perspective on this problem.

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Let's start then with labor market policy. As I said earlier, labor market policy, the goals are to activate the unemployed or the low-skilled. For example: labor market policy aims to activate people who have been unemployed for a long time, or the low-skilled - that is, that they now enter the labor market. Mostly, this is also very, so a gender analysis also allows us to see that many of the low-skilled and unemployed are also women.

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And then also a second goal of labor market policy is to release highly qualified women. What does that mean? It means that women, that is, highly qualified women who drop out of the labor market, especially in the years between, let's say, 25 years and 40, because of child-rearing and pregnancies and career interruptions, it's about activating these very women and allowing them to have fewer dropouts in their careers.

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Then, on the other hand, we have family policy. That is, family policy aims, among other things, to transfer reproductive work from privileged women in the formal labor market to marginalized women employed in the semiformal and informal care sector. That is, the motto applies: "Better reconciliation of family and work through household services". And that means, for example, that the reproductive work is all the work that serves to reproduce the labor force. It's very broad the labor, it goes from child rearing, so pregnancy to child rearing to household work, that is, how can we make a nice home and also make sure that we have enough to eat, that the food is prepared, that we have fresh clothes for work the next day, etc.? That is, this reproductive work is mostly also invisible, unvalued work, because it is seen as natural work that continues automatically. And that's true on the one hand that it's automatically continued because it has to be done. But it's not true that it's natural, that is, that these tasks fall primarily on women because of the heteronormative division of labor - according to which women are more natural or better suited for such tasks and therefore it is then automatically perpetuated from generation to generation and also through implicit policies this division of labor.

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And we see that this reproductive work is then transferred from women to women, that is, from women who are relatively privileged in the labor market and can also be hired in the formal labor market, to women who need to be activated, in the labor market, who tend to be low-skilled or unskilled, and so on. And this work is constructed in such a way that it, it's being thought and - I would definitely disagree there as well - that this kind of work requires fewer qualifications, which are also qualifications that are very valuable in the labor market, but which are also constructed as naturally and intrinsically female.

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That is, we have these two, so equality policy and family policy, which have similar goals. Then gender equality policy, which is about reducing the wage gap between men and women. That means less dropouts for women, career dropouts for women, mitigating gender segregation in the labor market - that means it's about equally balancing male-dominated sectors and female-dominated sectors, that there are more men in female-dominated sectors and more women in male-dominated sectors to be educated, like for example there are programs like more men in daycare or more women in STEM subjects. And such programs serve to reduce gender segregation in the labor market. And then ultimately the abolition of the heteronormative division of labor and that's also a similar dynamic. That means that this division, which is based on the binary gender order, that is, there are some professions that are more for men, some professions that are more for women, to break up this heteronormative division of labor.

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And then we have migration policies that are aimed at restricting the immigration of low-skilled people, especially women, also within family reunification policies, under restrictive access to the labor market and precarious immigration status for low-skilled people. Even there, gender analysis shows us that it's primarily women. And ultimately, that also serves, implicitly and also indirectly to increase informal employment in the care sector. Why? Because the demand for nursing staff keeps increasing, because we are in a country or live in

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a continent where the population is aging, and that's why there is more and more demand for nursing staff. That means the demand exists. That is a fact. And on the other hand, there is the, so the supply of labor in the care sector, it's decreasing. That means there is a mismatch, such a disproportion between demand and supply. And migration is also a part, so many of these professions are also filled by migrant women, but mostly not formally. That means it happens in a so-called semi-gray economy, where women are also partially undocumented and also precariously employed, with irregular status.

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And what we see is that these four sectors intersect and create marginalization and inequality for migrant women. That is, on the one hand we have labor market policy, which tries, as well as the or rather the family policy, which tries to "outsource" women on the labor market or this reproductive work. That is, to transfer this reproductive work to other women. On the other hand, we have equality policy, which attempts to reduce gender segregation in the labor market. And these are then goals that completely contradict each other. And it's the same with labor market policy and migration policy. On the one hand, we have a higher demand for nursing staff, and on the other hand, migration policy prevents access to the labor market for low-skilled people. And therefore the fact that all these sectors act in parallel and that is also the case, there are political tensions that are also in contrast with economic needs, which shows that on the one hand there is a discourse against migration and yes, such an integration crisis, so to speak, and on the other hand there are needs for more workers on the economic level. And this tension creates a gray area in the labor market, where mostly migrant women and women with low incomes, women with low education end up.

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And how could then an intersectional gender inequality look like that, so how does the intersectional gender inequality or how could an intersectional analysis look like? And there are such different points that are then crystallized out of this intersection. On the one hand, the invisibilization of racialized women in gender-neutral and color-blind policies. I'll explain briefly: So racialized women is a term to describe women, that is, people, here now in this case women, who have gone through a racialization process. That is, by their language, ethnic origin, migration status, nationality, they are seen as "different" and are also embedded in this process of racialization. It is true for Muslim women, for example, even when it comes to religion, because they are racialized based on religion. It's the same with migrant women who come from the global South, but also from the Balkans, from Eastern Europe. And then gender-neutral policies, for example, a gender-neutral policy is to say we want more compatibility of family and work and that's why there are different measures that are implemented without mentioning the gender male or female in each case.

That is, they're gender-neutral, although they primarily have an effect on women, so they have a negative effect on women and then, of course, a positive effect on men. And it's the same with color-blind policies. That is, color-blind policies become, or another example of gender-neutral policies are also migration policies or labor market policies where gender is not mentioned, as if, exactly, as if the effects and the implications for both genders were exactly the same. And with colorblind it means the same with ethnicity, migration status,

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etc. And we see, for example, that with gender, so gender equality policies, it's also the same, so there's no mention of migration status and so on.

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And the result is that indirectly these policies affect especially certain groups that are also not mentioned in the law or in policies. Secondly, the hierarchization within the category woman along class and "race", in quotes - that's another debate about the word "race", do we want to use that or not in the German context, I'm arguing for that, just to make the processes of structural racism visible as well. This does not mean that we believe in biological races, not at all, because races are social, historical and political constructs that have no biological basis. Nevertheless, they produce very specific effects for people who are considered racialized.

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And then thirdly, the compatibility between career and family. That means: which emancipation first? It is important to see here that while on the one hand the emancipation of women, i.e. majority women on the labor market, is enabled and also encouraged by compatibility of career and family, fewer career dropouts and also gender-unconventional career paths, then it will not be the case for other women either. This means that other women, as long as they are assigned this reproductive work, remain in the female sphere of care and do not enjoy this privilege or are not allowed to realize their potential outside of this sphere. And that, as a fourth point, has to do with the fact that the heteronormative division of labor is not questioned by such policies. Why? Because reproductive work, that is, at the moment considered typically female activity, remains in female hands. That means that this reproductive work is transferred from women to other women, but men remain completely outside the process. And a proper division or a, if this heteronormative division of labor should then be questioned and interrupted, then more men should enter, also in the process. It is also increasingly the case, for example, with policies such as the distribution of parental leave as equal as possible, so with respect to time, for example, half and half. Or policies within companies and institutions that aim to critically scrutinize equally male work processes or patriarchal work processes such as, for example, no possibility of remote work or home office, for example. And then as a last one: growth of a precarious labor sector stratified by gender, class, and "race." That means that the development of the care sector, as it is being done right now, reinforces this very stratification.

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And I would also like to take this opportunity to thank you for your attention and I am happy to answer any questions by e-mail. Thank you very much!