



The Race to Earn Labour Market Penalties among British Muslim Women

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About this presentation

- Focuses on the interplay between gender, race, migration, religion and various labour market outcomes
- Attempts to provide a nuanced understanding of the intersectionality of identities in relation to labour market activates
- Draws on two studies
 - Quantitative analysis of a large data set from the LFS
 - Qualitative interviews from a mixed-method study focusing on migrants in the English long term care sector
- Briefly discusses the role of public and employment policies in addressing labour market inequalities

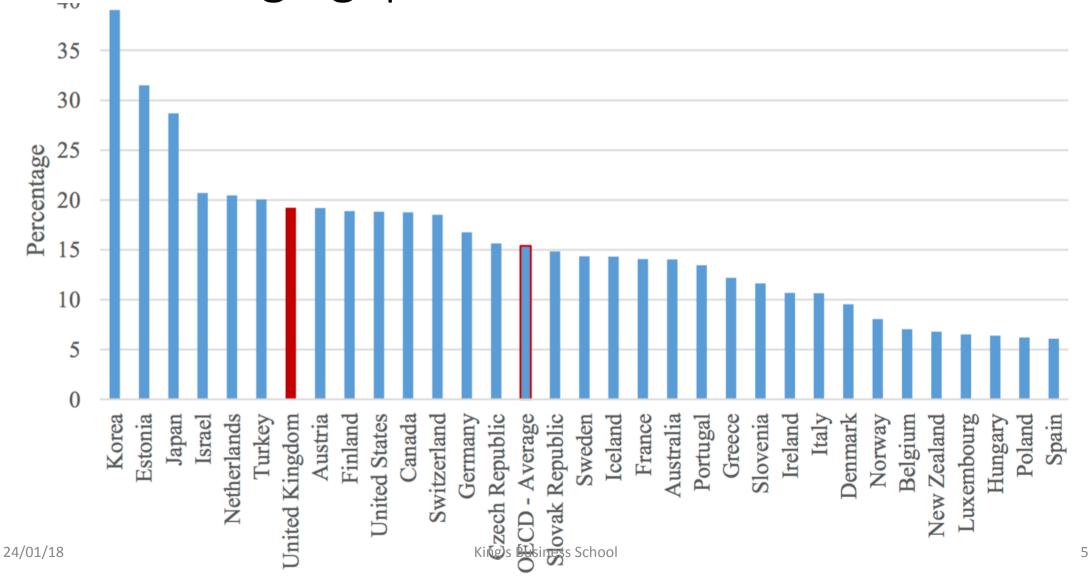
Labour market outcomes

- Access to the labour market
- Meritocratic matching
 - Over-qualifications, deskilling and qualifications' mismatch
- Wage differentials
- Quality of work
 - Contracts; harassment in the workplace; exclusion; authority
- Career progression
 - Access to training; promotions; glass ceilings/ glass escalators
- Job quitting/firing/redundancy
 - Especially those linked to discrimination

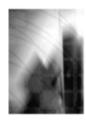
Existing evidence on labour market inequalities

- Previous studies highlight a significant (negative) effect of certain characteristics in relation to various labour market outcomes including hiring
 - Being a woman
 - % of women (25-65) in 'work' increased from 62% in 1994 to 69% in 2014; % of men is 82% in the UK also evidence of vertical gender segregation
 - The gender wage gap in 2014 was 19%
 - Having some form of social markers (skin tone, clothing, language etc.)
 - Ethnicity (e.g. Modood; Maxwell, Dale) Eastern European (Fox et al. 2012)
 - Being a migrant
 - Depends on migratory trajectories etc.
 - Having a 'foreign' name (Andriessen et al. 2012; Blommaert et al. 2014)
 - 29% of Muslim women (16-64) are in employment compared to around 50% of the whole population (2011 Census)

Gender wage gap in OECD countries- 2010



Empirical evidence



Article

Can religious affiliation explain the disadvantage of Muslim women in the British labour market?

Work, employment and society

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Muslim women and intersectionality

- Based on 2011 census: Muslims account for 4.8% of the population in England and Wales
 - Larger than all other non-Christian faith groups put together
 - 47% of them are born abroad; 8% of White ethnicity; 33% are <= 15 years; 46% resides in the 10% most deprived areas; 73% identify their national identity as British
- Heterogeneous group
 - Gender (common); race; culture; religion; social markers and migration (social and human capital) - Unneutral multiple identities
 - Rich research subjects !!



Conceptual framework of analysis

- Draws on the 'intercategorical complexity' approach (McCall, 2005)
- As well as the intersectionality literature more generally (Choo and Ferree, 2010)
- Acknowledges the role of human capital while recognising how this operates through non neutral multiple identities
- Assumes Muslim women do not entre the labour market solely as 'women' but with multiple 'challenges'
- The analysis attempted to 'categories' and explore multiple dimensions of discrimination and multiple labour market outcomes

Data and Methods

- Labour Force Survey
 - 2002-2013
- Key information on religion, ethnicity, qualifications, employment
- Comparative analysis between Christian and Muslim women (19-65)
- An initial sample of 245,391 women
 - Of which, 8,444 self-identified as Muslims
- Three labour market outcomes:
 - Economic activity (3 categories: in employment; unemployed but seeking work; economically inactive);
 - Salriat class;
 - Earnings (gross hourly rate)

Analysis

- Migration, gender, religion and race are treated as 'anchor' points
- Multivariate analysis
 - Logit model: obtaining salariat jobs
 - Mixed-effect models: hourly pay
 - Multinomial regression: economic activities
- Core independent variables: ethno-religious background and generation
- Controlled variables: age, age2, marital status, number of children under the age of 10, qualifications, part-time versus full-time employment, occupational attainment (two-digit scale), work- ing in the public sector versus the private sector, length of employment experience with current employer, region of residence and year of survey to control for periodical effects
- + Interaction terms

Findings (1)

- White-British Christian women had the highest proportion in employment (68%), the lowest rate of unemployment (2.5%) and the lowest rate of economic inactivity
- In general, second generation Muslim women did better than the first generation in terms of economic activity, but this pattern is reversed in relation to unemployment
- The main difference between Muslim and Christian White-British women is in the category of inactive labour participation (53% vs. 29%)

Findings: Economic activities

- All groups of Muslim women were more likely to be unemployed or economically inactive than being in employment
- White-British Muslim and White-British Christian women had the same probability of experiencing unemployment
- Reduced penalty for second generation Indian-Muslim, Pakistani-Muslim and Bangladeshi-Muslim women
- Qualifications seemed to operate in the same way across all groups in relation to economic inactivity and unemployment; except for 1st generation Pakistani-Muslim women (higher qualifications were associated with higher risk of unemployment)

Logistic regression (odds-ratios) for obtaining a salariat class among women aged ars, UK LFS 2002–2013 (N=219,342), with reference group 'all other classes'.

	Model I	Model 2	Model 3
	0.004	0.004	0.004
	1.17**	1.17**	1.17**
red	1.00**	1.00**	1.00**
atus, base=Married			
	0.89**	0.89**	0.89**
ed/divorced	0.91**	0.91**	0.91**
nt children under 10	0.85**	0.85**	0.85**
ase=Inner London			
London	0.97	0.97	0.97
UK	0.76**	0.76**	0.76**
ion, base=No qualification			
d high tertiary education	32.65**	32.65**	31.93**
d high secondary education	4.40**	4.40**	4.33**
neration, base=Christian White-British	ı		
eration Indian-Muslims	0.43**		
neration Indian-Muslims	0.60**		
eration Pakistani-Muslims	0.19**		
neration Pakistani-Muslims	0.50**		
eration Bangladeshi-Muslims	0.15**		
neration Bangladeshi-Muslims	0.51**		
British Muslims	0.68**		
White-Others	0.22**		
1uslims	0.25**		
on, base=British natives			
eration Muslim women		0.22**	0.04**
neration Muslim women		0.51**	0.05**
=2002-2004			
007	1.08**	1.08**	1.08**
010	1.02	1.03	1.03
013	0.96**	0.96**	0.96**
n effect			
eration × tertiary education			6.78**
neration × tertiary education			12.20*
eration × secondary education			5.55**
neration × secondary education			9.32*
d Ratio Tests	χ ² =57,612.59, p<0.001	χ²=57,490.25, p<0.001	
	0.23	0.23	0.23

Salariat jobs

- While controlling for other factors, all groups of Muslim women were significantly less likely to obtain jobs within the salariat class
- Second-generation seemed to face reduced penalties
- White-British Muslim women faced the lowest penalties
- White-Other Muslim and Black-Muslim women were similar to first generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi women
- Education appeared to be more important for Muslim women, especially 2nd generationthan for White-British Christian women.

Findings: Pay

- Five groups earned significantly less than White-British Christian women
 - 1st and 2nd generations Bangladeshi-Muslim; 1st gen Pakistani-Muslim, Black-Muslim and Muslim-Other women
- First generation Indian-Muslim women with tertiary education had a higher pay return for their qualifications
- Black-Muslim women with secondary and tertiary education had a lower pay return on their qualifications
 - Combined effect of blackness and religious affiliation
- second generation Muslim women (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi) performed significantly better than their first generation counterparts

Key messages

- Labour market experience of Muslim women varies enormously by ethnicity, the type of labour market outcome under study and by generation
- The main labour market penalty facing Muslim women is finding jobs that are relevant to their qualifications
- Labour market performance is highly sensitive to their complex intersectionality of gender, race/ethnicity and religion
- Religious identity might have greater influence than other identities operating extrinsically through unfair practices by employers and intrinsically through women's choices and cultural preferences
- Intergenerational difference resilience, adaptation and they way individuals express their religion identity
- Some interesting findings related to White-British Muslims: penalties in attaining salariat jobs

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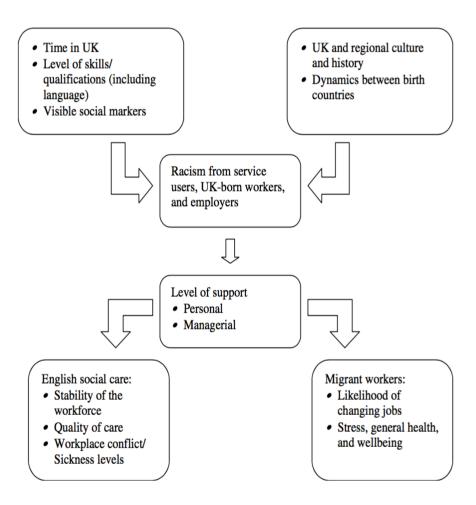
Experiences of racism and discrimination among migrant care workers in England: Findings from a mixed-methods research project

Qualitative Insigh

Findings

- Visible and social markers as explanations of bullying or mistreatment
 - Migrant workers identifying their ethnicity as 'black African' gave more accounts than others that highlighted 'colour' as a factor
 - Migrant workers reporting their ethnicity as 'Asian' or 'white Other' gave more accounts focusing on their being from overseas
 - Racism was often seen to underlie bullying or mistreatment, which did not explicitly involve racist comments relating to visible social markers
 - Evidence of incidences of direct racism
- Working with people from different cultures
 - Cultural expectations; misunderstanding body language or cultural clues
 - Interaction with personalities and relationships
- Time effect particularly when bullying received from clients questions if migrant workers became accustomed to certain behaviour

Key messages



- Visible social markers such as dress code, skin colour and English proficiency are used to classify workers
- A complex interplay between cultural, attitudes, language ability, and local or regional elements
- multiple forms of discrimination
- At an individual level, migrant workers' experiences of racism were influenced by intermediate factors
- Experiences of racism could be an outcome of drivers for migrant recruitment into the English care sectorto meet shortages



Many perspectives

Discrimination and Inequalities

- Dynamic and interactive
- Stratification/segregation of work
 - Gender division of labour → the value of women's work
- Social and institutional organisation of work
- Structure of the market and workplace context
 - Local economies
- Social closure
 - Discrimination as a mediating process between organisational/labour market structural attributes and group inequalities

conomical perspective

- Neoclassical school of thoughts
 - Individualism, rationality, competition, the role of agency regarding certain groups as more productive (Becker, 1971)
- Statistical discrimination
 - Employers make a decision based on previous knowledge (or lack of knowledge) about various groups of workers – assuming rationality and no conscious discrimination (Phelps, 1972)
- Dual market model segmented labour market theory
 - Different groups are channeled towards different sectors; with those with certain characteristics systematically channeled into lower paying jobs (Beer & Barringer, 1970; Castles, 2012 – migration;)
- Institutional racism
 - Once different groups are channeled into different types of jobs, the normal operation of the institution will lead to differences in productivity, promotional opportunities, and pay.

Sociological perspective

- Considerable focus on gender inequalities and to a lesser extent on race/ ethnicity
- Some recent work on migration
 - Concepts of human capital (devaluation, deskilling, length of stay) and notions of otherness (recognition and representation)
- Almost no conceptualisation of the role of religion
- Occupation segregation links to dual market model
- Preference theory a feminist approach
 - The position of women in the labour market is almost entirely dependent on the rational choices they make
- Functionalist 'human capital theory' links somewhat to neoclassical theory

Otherness and ascribed assumptions- never static





Some consequences of labour market inequalities

- The relationship between labour market differentials and persistent social and economic disparities
- Individuals' wellbeing, mental and general health
- Social inclusion
- Social mobility
- The vicious cycle of low return to similar human capital investments
 - Withdrawal from the labour market?
 - Deterring from further investments in human capital

Inequalities and organisational policies

- Loss of opportunity
 - Even when acting to increase utility
- Impacts on various employment outcomes
 - Job quitting; productivity; quality of work; job satisfaction etc.
- Transparency and accessibility of policies
 - Support for parents; access to multi-faith space etc.
- Promoting equality issues
 - Visibility and involvement
- The role of civic partnerships and trade unions

The role of public policy

- Women and child care responsibilities
 - Childcare provision
 - Policies around flexible working, maternity and paternity leave etc.
- Equality and Human Rights
 - The Equality Act 2010
 - Transparency of gender wage gaps in large organisations
 - The public sector equality duty (April, 2011)
 - Human rights frameworks: UK Human Rights Act 1998; European convention on Human Rights
 - The Race Relations Act (1976)
 - Race equality duty came into force in 2001
- Public (state supported) initiatives
 - Women's business Council; Women on Boards

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Thank you for listening

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