

# Flexibility: Dangerously ineffective

*Often presented as the cure-all for youth employment, flexibility has not halted the erosion of jobs. But it has had a negative impact on working conditions. A look at the facts.*

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Luc Demaret  
Editor  
*Labour Education*  
ILO

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A minimum wage? But that's a rigidity! Protection against dismissal? A rigidity! Social contributions? Rigidities! Collective bargaining? A rigidity ... Look no further, some "specialists" say, for the causes of the unemployment that is raging right around the world. Those jobless figures, according to the International Labour Office (ILO),<sup>1</sup> include some 88 million young people aged between 15 and 24 – almost half of the world's known unemployed. Fans of the "rigidity" theory see just one solution: flex-i-bi-li-ty. Away with the minimum wage! Permanent contracts, out, out, out! Down with payroll costs! Long live the freedom to fire! Flexible labour market, here we come!

The snag: despite the religious application of this recipe for 20 years now in most of the industrialized countries (but doubtless with greater orthodoxy in the English-speaking ones), the jobless figures show no signs of coming down. The number of workers seeking employment reached 185.9 million in 2003 (6.2 per cent of the total active population). That is the highest figure ever recorded by the ILO.<sup>2</sup> Worse still, whereas the global youth unemployment rate (age 15-24) was 11.7 per cent in 1993, today it has reached 14.4 per cent, an increase of 3 per cent in 10 years. That is an extra 20 million young unemployed – twice the population of Greece, the host of the 2004 Olympics!

But if flexibilization seems to have had little positive impact on the unemployment

figures, its most perverse effects have been on the jobs that are still available. As the United Nations recently noted in its *World Youth Report*, "For growing numbers of young people, employment is precarious and may not provide an income sufficient to cover basic necessities. In industrialized countries, the demand for a flexible workforce and the increased use of part-time and temporary employment contracts have led to a heightened sense of insecurity and risk. In developing countries, a rising number of young people work in the informal economy, where they earn low wages and are often subjected to poor or even exploitative working conditions."<sup>3</sup> Of the 550 million workers who are unable to keep themselves and their families above the poverty threshold of one dollar a day, 130 million are young people trying to scrape by with jobs in the informal economy.

According to an ILO report for the International Labour Conference in June 2002,<sup>4</sup> excluding agriculture, between half and three-quarters of workers in developing countries were involved in informal labour: 72 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa, 65 per cent in Asia, 51 per cent in Latin America and 48 per cent in North Africa. The industrialized world is affected too, the report said. In the 15 countries which then made up the European Union, 30 per cent of workers were not in a conventional employment relationship. In the United States, one worker in four was in the

same situation, and less than 20 per cent of part-time workers were covered by health insurance or retirement schemes financed by the employer.

Underlying all this is the promotion of flexible working, according to Christine Nathan, the workers' spokesperson in the discussion on the informal economy during the 90th Session of the International Labour Conference. In practice, this flexibility has often meant low pay, insecure jobs and no social security. But another factor is the short-sightedness or obsessiveness of international bodies. "At the international level, we also have to deplore the role played by international financial institutions which have actually promoted the 'informal economy'", Nathan emphasized in an interview with *Labour Education*.<sup>5</sup> This had been due to "ill-devised programmes of liberalization and deregulation which did not take account of local conditions or capacities and were often based on ideological orthodoxy and the blind faith that the 'markets' will fix it all". End result: "The dismantlement of public services has dropped millions of people into the informal economy. Most people have been left with no other choice than to try and survive informally because proper jobs have been destroyed."

Nor has flexibility prevented a further widening of the equality gap. On the contrary, the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization notes in its report, published in February 2004, that income inequality has grown. In the United States, the share of gross income taken by the top 1 per cent of the population reached 17 per cent in 2002 – a level unequalled since the 1920s.<sup>6</sup>

## Young servants

Informalization and inequality may be behind the recent boom in domestic service jobs. According to the ILO and UNICEF, tens of millions of young people, in fact often children, have to toil long and hard in order to supplement the incomes of families that can no longer make ends

meet. At the age of 17, Flor, a young domestic in El Salvador, works 13 hours a day according to Human Rights Watch in a report published in January 2004<sup>7</sup> which included Flor's own account of her treatment: "I begin at 4:30 a.m. It's heavy work: washing, ironing, taking care of the child. I get up at 2 a.m. to go to work. Sometimes I eat, but sometimes I am too busy. There is no rest for me during the day. I have one day of rest each month. I earn 225 colones (¢) each month (about US\$26). They deduct if I make errors. One time the lady lost a chain that they said was worth ¢425 (US\$48.50). I had to pay for it. I preferred to pay rather than lose my job." Try telling Flor what Chilean economist Juan Luis Correa told the IPS news agency: "Making the labour market more flexible has only positive effects and no negative effects, as it permits employers and workers to make a free choice based on their own needs."<sup>8</sup> Knowing that 85 per cent of the new "jobs" created in Latin America between 1990 and 1994 were in the informal economy, and therefore precarious and devoid of social protection, we may be surprised by the economist's statement that labour flexibility "permits the setting up of new enterprises, and thus of new employers who come on to the market, take on workers and transform the relationship between the number of employers and the number of workers, to the advantage of the latter. The more employers there are, the greater will be the bargaining power of the workers, who are free, and this can only be to their benefit". The analysis made last year by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) may be closer to the realities on the ground: "deregulation has led to a proliferation of jobs that are low-quality, unstable and badly paid and which offer poor working conditions and little or no social protection or benefits".

## Exploited in the zones

In reality, one of the few sectors providing formal employment for young people in Latin America, as in other developing regions, is the export processing zones (EPZs). The idea behind the zones is relatively simple. A country attracts the investors in, offers them infrastructure and other advantages and allows them to import materials for the assembly or manufacture of goods which will then be exported duty-free. To pull in the investors, the host countries for these economic enclaves pile on the incentives: no taxation of profits, exoneration from social contributions and even guarantees of social peace. Flexibility is the order of the day, and the workforce is young and mainly female.

Undeniably, these duty-free zones have made it possible to create millions of jobs. In the Philippines, the number of people working in the zones rose from 229,000 in 1994 to 716,000 in 2001, while the jobs total in the Costa Rican zones soared from 7,000 in 1990 to 34,000 ten years later. In the zones of the Dominican Republic, there were no more than 25,000 jobs during the 1980s, but this figure reached 200,000 by the year 2000. In Sri Lanka, 350,000 jobs have been created by the zones, mainly in the garment export industry.

A recent ILO report<sup>9</sup> shows that the number of EPZs rose from 79 in 1975 to 3,000 in 2002 and the number of countries with one or more zones went up from 25 in 1975 to 116 in 2002. Today, at least 13 million workers are directly involved in the EPZs, to whom must be added the 30 million Chinese workers employed in their country's 2,000 special economic zones.

But what is the quality of these jobs? In its annual report on violations of trade union rights, published in June 2004,<sup>10</sup> the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) sums the situation up as follows: "Export processing zones and the multinational enterprises that operate in them continued to blatantly flout trade union rights, particularly in the garment factories of Asia and Central America. Many of the workers in those factories are

young women, who have to endure appalling conditions because of the absence of trade unions to protect their interests."

When he was hired in May 2003 as a textile worker in the Haitian EPZ at Ouanaminthe, on the border with the Dominican Republic, Joseph Salnave was 24 years old. "The day would begin at 6.45 a.m. and end at 7.00 p.m., over 12 hours with just one 45-minute break to eat lunch, have a wash and go to the toilet", the young man recalls. In his factory, which makes Wrangler and Levi's jeans for the American market, there is constant pressure from the supervisors. The norm of 900 hems sewn per day has to be met. Otherwise, you have to put in more hours the next day. The pay? It starts at 432 gourdes a week (about US\$10). And not much more after a year – promises of pay rises are rarely kept. Legally, the workers were supposed to be on a 48-hour week, but most of them were actually putting in 55 for the same pay. "Management often misused its power", Salnave says. "For instance, several dismissed workers refused to hand in their identity papers until they received their compensation. The supervisors' got the documents back by threatening the workers with their guns." When he left the firm, under pressure, Joseph received only half of the 432 gourdes owing to him for his last week.

Grupo M, the Dominican Republic's leading employer, is one of the firms operating in the EPZ at Ouanaminthe. The company is the main jeans supplier in the Caribbean. To build the two production units that employ 900 Haitian workers (cheaper labour than in the neighbouring Dominican Republic), Grupo M received a US\$20 million loan from the World Bank via its private sector lending arm, the International Finance Corporation (IFC). Following an initial complaint lodged by the ICFTU, the IFC made its loan dependent on certain conditions, including respect for freedom of association in all of the group's plants. Apparently, this did nothing to curb the firm's anti-union instincts. In March 2004, less than 48 hours after learning that a union had been formed, the plant fired the first 33 members. The strike

that ensued was put down by armed men called in by the management. In June 2004, a further strike broke out. More than 300 workers were dismissed. An isolated case? Probably not. In an EPZ at Noida, in India, workers were dismissed for asking that the labour legislation be applied, the ICFTU reports.<sup>11</sup> And in Santacruz, near Mumbai, “90 per cent of the workers are women who are generally young and too frightened to form unions. Working conditions are bad and overtime is compulsory”.

On 17 August 2004, in the office of the Mauritius Labour Minister, Showkutally Soodhun, things became rather heated during his discussion with Joseph Lee, the Managing Director of Rossana Textiles. This firm employs 800 workers in the EPZs of Goodlands and Rose-Belle. The Minister was trying to understand why a firm with a turnover of 450 million rupees (12 million euros) wants to dismiss 173 workers and then recruit 200 new ones abroad next year. “You are begging for lazy workers”, Joseph Lee reportedly said, although he now denies this.

In Viet Nam’s Lihn Trung zone, three-quarters of the workers are aged between 18 and 30, and most of them are single. According to the IPS news agency, the shoe factories in the zone pay wages of between 300,000 and 600,000 Vietnamese dong (US\$19-38) a month. And Oxfam reports that Bangladesh has a law prohibiting the formation of trade unions in the EPZs, thus directly infringing upon the freedom of association enshrined in ILO Conventions.<sup>12</sup> Human Rights Watch, meanwhile, has conducted quite a few investigations into EPZs. In April 2004, it drew attention to the discrimination suffered by women in the zones of the Dominican Republic – including pregnancy tests required at the time of hiring and unfair treatment of pregnant women.<sup>13</sup> Juana Diaz, for instance, a 20-year-old mother, tells of how she was dismissed when news of her pregnancy reached her supervisors. Another woman in the zone confirmed that, if you test positive for pregnancy, you are out. Generally, firms are reluctant to talk about such practices and some

have issued formal denials after reports from humanitarian organizations. Is the Global Compact launched by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan perhaps loosening a few tongues? Anyway, Novartis Inc, one of the world’s biggest pharmaceutical companies, recently admitted in a report<sup>14</sup> that such practices, which it deplored, had been used in one of its plants in an Asian EPZ. Investigators from Novartis were told that the tests were conducted in the best interests of the young women, most of whom were from Muslim communities and would be living away from their families for at least a year. “Learning of a pregnancy before her departure would enable a young woman to avoid problems with her community”, the inspectors were told. After discussion, the problem was reportedly solved by offering the candidates voluntary pregnancy tests, the results of which would be treated in the strictest confidence. Promise noted.

Tests for HIV/AIDS are also increasingly common in the EPZs and the tourist industry, according to Human Rights Watch: “Those who test positive are generally fired or denied employment”.<sup>15</sup> It reports that women workers in the Dominican Republic claim to have been sterilized without their consent, and without being informed of their rights, because they were found to be HIV-positive.

Sexual harassment is also a reality in the EPZs. In Haiti’s Ouanaminthe zone, Joseph Salnave claims: “If the Haitian women working on the machines wanted a promotion then they had to sleep with the Dominican ‘supervisors’. There was no getting around it. If they refused, then they couldn’t work”.

In Kenya, the Human Rights Commission put out a report denouncing jobs that pay poverty wages: “The very workers, who are the backbone of export success in many developing countries, are being robbed of their share of the gains that trade could and should bring”. Gladys Kagore, a textile worker in one of the Kenyan EPZs, confirms that sexual harassment is widespread. “The supervisors and some managers demand sexual favours

and when one refuses, she is dismissed. Many women, especially young girls, have died from HIV/AIDS because of sleeping around with the supervisors". In January 2003, 9,200 workers in Kenya's EPZs were dismissed after organizing a strike for better working conditions.

## New openings

Young jobseekers' best future prospect? These days, call centres are the hottest property on employment websites. Service-minded? Good listener? Solve problems fast? Know languages? Tech-savvy? Young and flexible? Not scared of working weekends? Zen when the little lights start flashing? Not too much into unions and none too fussed about pay? Come and join us! "Call centres are one of the rich job seams promised by the development of the service economy, for which the United States provides the model", proudly proclaims a site specializing in job offers. Inside the call centres, rows of agents with headsets and microphones key into their computers the data provided by the callers (a product order, an information request, a hotel reservation, a draft insurance policy, etc.).

"I'll give you the number of the fitness centre ..."

"Hi, this is Eva Sanchez. How can I help you?"

It is four in the afternoon in Tangiers, Morocco, and two o'clock in Madrid, where a subscriber has just dialled enquiries. He does not know that his call has been switched through to Morocco, and that the charming hostess who gives him the information in less than a minute is not Eva Sanchez, but Mariam Otmani, 23 years old and a call centre agent for the past three years. She studied Spanish in Tangiers. This subterfuge, used by most call centres, is really quite innocent. It is just meant to gain the caller's trust. And as long as everyone's happy ...

## The call of the centres

Soon, there will be 60,000 call centres in Europe, providing jobs for 4 million workers, most of them young. In the United States, they already account for 4 per cent of the labour force. Ever more sophisticated technologies, coupled with the development of the Internet, hold out the promise of exponential growth in this sector. But there are two sides to this coin. As the French Democratic Labour Confederation (CFDT) points out, "there is still not much of a legislative framework for the call centres' activity". So call centre workers are often paid the minimum wage, and their qualifications and skills are not properly recognized.

Horrendous work rates (the calls are timed), pressure from the supervisors, repetitive tasks, abuse from the customers ... in fact, the pay is the least of the agents' complaints. And yet, it is nothing to write home about either. According to the Dutch unions, pay in the call centres of the financial sector can be 20 to 30 per cent lower than for staff covered by a banking sector collective agreement. In Tangiers, call centre agents earn less than 400 euros a month; in Canada, 15 dollars an hour (10 euros); and in India, 6,000 rupees (150 euros) a month.

Even if working conditions have improved slightly in some call centres, trade union organizations continue to be concerned about the quality of these jobs offered to young workers. "Call centre workers are generally badly paid. It can happen that they do not receive any additional payment for evening and weekend work", notes a study by Union Network International (UNI).<sup>16</sup> The trails followed by some firms confirm that the quest for cheap, "flexible" (i.e. non-union) labour is a major factor when choosing locations. "Where legislation does exist, the operators manage to avoid it by relocating their premises", the CFDT points out. For example, Noos, a leader in cable TV distribution, and TPS, a big telecommunications firm, "relocated to escape the collective agreement for telecoms. The first wave of relocation was from Paris to the provinces, where wages are lower and the unemployment

rate is sometimes very high. The second wave is from the provinces to the emerging economies, where pay is even lower". Noos first moved from Paris to Le Mans, and then set up shop in North Africa. But Morocco is getting "expensive" and new locations are already being planned. British call centres may soon move more than 100,000 jobs to India. A seldom explicit but often experienced fact: union membership counts against any young person who applies to work in a call centre. A study carried out in the United Kingdom in 2002 showed that 40 per cent of employers discourage their workers from joining a union, and a quarter of the employers interviewed admitted to taking measures against union members.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, in Australia, 88 per cent of company bosses in this sector said that they preferred to deal "directly" with their staff rather than through a union. Barely half of the workers interviewed in 88 Australian call centres felt free to join a union, and individual contracts are generally preferred to collective agreements in this sector. Non-unionized workers, and those on individual contracts, are more likely to be promoted.<sup>18</sup>

"As well as flexible working hours, they have flexible contracts", notes the Belgian General Labour Federation (FGTB/ABVV).<sup>19</sup> In fact, the Belgian unions explain, the workforce consists of a small, stable core of permanent employees (managers and specialized agents), surrounded by an inner circle of fixed-term contracts (the agents) and an outer circle of short-term temporary contracts, or freelancers and part-timers, who cover outside regular hours. Just like the calls, the jobs are on a running meter. With a staff turnover of almost 30 per cent, tomorrow's job tip is not much of a prospect.

## Impermanence

The informal economy, EPZs and the call centres are all instances of how job opportunities for young workers have gone downhill. But flexibility reaches much further than these prime examples. It is

to be found in every corner of the labour market these days, and young people are in the firing line. In February 2002, a tripartite meeting in Bangkok voiced concern over the number of young people in Asia and the Pacific whose employment had been made precarious by fixed-term or temporary contracts.<sup>20</sup> Today, it is the same everywhere.

Flexibility is "a growth opportunity worth millions". Such is the proud boast of world temp agency leader Adecco. Nowadays, temping yields a turnover of US\$400 billion. About 1.5 per cent of the active population of the European Union, a daily average of 2.2 million workers, are now employed by temp agencies, mainly on short-term contracts of between one day and one year, according to the International Confederation of Temporary Work Businesses. In the United States, this sector provides 2.16 per cent of the workforce – about 3 million workers a day. In France, the number of temps increased fivefold between the mid-1980s and 2002.<sup>21</sup> Often portrayed as a springboard for young jobseekers, temp agencies recruit straight from the school gate, although these days they also tend to be on the lookout for young university graduates. In Belgium (as in many countries), the FGTB notes that the law places strict limits on the circumstances in which temps may be brought in – to replace a worker who has been dismissed or who has resigned (maximum six months); to replace a worker who is sick or who is taking a career break (three months); or in case of temporary work overload – but, as the Belgian unions put it, "many firms constantly use a certain number of temps, so it may be felt that companies place a, let us say, liberal interpretation on the law".<sup>22</sup> Temping is just one facet of flexibility: temporary and part-time employment contracts link up with it in a nexus of impermanence. Once again, young people are out front: in Australia, 64 per cent of the 15-19 age group and 50 per cent of 20- to 24-year-olds are in part-time employment, as against 27 per cent on average for the active population as a whole. In France, the number of employees on fixed-term con-

tracts tripled (from 319,000 to 897,000) between the mid-1980s and 2002. Temporary jobs accounted for 8 per cent of those in employment, while atypical jobs in general now make up 25 per cent of total employment, an increase of 9 per cent compared with the 1980s.<sup>23</sup> In Europe, young Italians, French and Swedes have the proportionately highest rates of involuntary part-time work (i.e. among those who would prefer to be working full-time), running at more than 50 per cent. In Sweden, this trend is particularly clear-cut for the age group 15-19, in which 85 per cent of the women and 73.2 per cent of the men are working part-time. Everywhere, precarious employment is increasing faster than permanent jobs. In Italy between 1994 and 2000, the number of standard employment contracts (permanent, full-time) rose by 1 per cent, whereas temporary and part-time jobs both increased by 26 per cent.<sup>24</sup> In Switzerland too, "it is clear that young people under the age of 25 have an above-average likelihood of being in precarious employment", confirms the February 2004 issue of the monthly *La Vie économique*.

It goes without saying that precarious employment is also badly paid employment. In the case of Europe, according to Yannick Fondeur and Florence Lefresne, "most reports emphasize the size of the relative wage cut taken by young people during the 1990s and the increase in the proportion of young people in the low-income groups".<sup>25</sup>

## Wage flexibility

On the pretext of boosting youth employment, many countries allow their minimum wage policies to be bent a little by encouraging the spread of either part-time or temporary contracts, particularly in cases where the minimum wages are calculated on an hourly basis. The workers concerned will then end up earning less, because they will be unable to work the number of hours required in order to receive the equivalent of the full-time minimum wage. Chile is a good case in point, cited in the ICFTU's

annual report: the employers managed to obtain the inclusion of flexibility measures, such as the introduction of short-term contracts and less strict regulations on the hiring of young people. Another approach is the adoption of minimum wage rates specific to young people, as in Spain and the United Kingdom. In such cases, the discrimination is institutionalized.

And flexibility has one more trick up its sleeve: encouraging self-employment. Not that there is anything wrong with self-employment in itself. It is an important source of jobs, but it can be used by "real" employers to avoid paying social charges on the "false" self-employed workers whom they take on. In Italy, for instance, a survey revealed that 45 per cent of firms have fraudulent recourse to "self-employed" workers who should, in fact, be on the companies' payroll.<sup>26</sup>

As well as favouring precarious conditions, exploitation and anti-union attitudes, flexibility can cost lives. This is probably its least visible facet. All too often, the statistics remain silent about the youthfulness of workplace victims. However, some disturbing trends can be made out. In 2003, in its report for the World Day for Safety and Health at Work, the ILO emphasized that "fatal accidents usually occur to workers who could still have had a long working career ahead of them, and some happen to young and inexperienced workers".<sup>27</sup> Three years earlier, the French newspaper *Le Monde*, reporting on European surveys, found that "the typical profile of European workplace accident victims tends to be: young, precariously employed and working in an SME".<sup>28</sup>

So we may well wonder if the time has not come to examine the quality of youth employment. The fight against unemployment must include decent work – and that goes for young people, too.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> ILO. 2004. *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2004* (Geneva), August. Online at [www.ilo.org/trends](http://www.ilo.org/trends)

<sup>2</sup> ILO. 2004. *Global Employment Trends* (Geneva), January.

<sup>3</sup> UN. 2004. *World Youth Report 2003* (New York), April.

<sup>4</sup> ILO. 2002. *Decent Work and the Informal Economy*, Report VI, International Labour Conference, 90th session (Geneva).

<sup>5</sup> Nathan, C. 2002. "Informal work: From concept to action", *Labour Education* (Geneva, ILO), No. 127.

<sup>6</sup> The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization was set up by the ILO and was co-chaired by President Tarja Halonen of Finland and President Benjamin William Mkapa of the United Republic of Tanzania. Its report, *A fair globalization: Creating opportunities for all*, was published in February 2004 (Geneva, ILO).

<sup>7</sup> Human Rights Watch. 2004. *El Salvador: Abuses against child domestic workers* (New York, NY), January.

<sup>8</sup> The economist's comments were given in an interview with Gustavo González and were quoted in an Inter Press Service dispatch of 8 May 2003 headed *Flexibility Makes it Tougher to "Earn Your Bread"*. The English quotes from Correa used in the present article are in our own translation.

<sup>9</sup> ILO. 2003. *Employment and social policy in respect of export processing zones (EPZs)*, Committee on Employment and Social Policy, 286th Session of the Governing Body (Geneva), March.

<sup>10</sup> ICFTU. 2004. *Annual report on violations of trade union rights 2004* (Brussels), June.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> OXFAM. 2003. *Highly affected, rarely considered: Export oriented manufacturing industries and young workers*, Report of the Commission of the Oxfam International Youth Parliament (Sydney), July.

<sup>13</sup> Human Rights Watch. 2004. *Pregnancy-based sex discrimination in the Dominican Republic's free trade zones: Implications for the U.S.-Central America Free*

*Trade Agreement (CAFTA)*, a Human Rights Watch Briefing paper (New York, NY), April.

<sup>14</sup> Journal of Corporate Citizenship. 2003. *Opportunities and risks of the United Nations Global Compact: the Novartis case* (Sheffield, Greenleaf Publishing), September.

<sup>15</sup> Human Rights Watch. 2004. *A test of inequality: Discrimination against women living with HIV in the Dominican Republic* (New York, NY), July.

<sup>16</sup> UNI. 2000. *Unionization of call centres in the financial sector*, a discussion paper prepared by Andrew Bibby (Geneva), March.

<sup>17</sup> These surveys are quoted in a report published in June 2003 by the Canada Industrial Relations Board, under the title *Recruitment strategies and union exclusion in two Australian call centres*.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> FGTB. 2003. "Centres d'appel : le côté sombre de la société de l'information", *Syndicats*, 31 janvier.

<sup>20</sup> This meeting was held in Bangkok from 27 February to 1 March 2002 under the aegis of the ILO and the Youth Employment Network, which includes the United Nations, the ILO and the World Bank. For more information, see [www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/bangkok/conf/meet02.htm](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/bangkok/conf/meet02.htm)

<sup>21</sup> Maruani, M. 2003. "Emplois atypiques", *Le monde diplomatique* (Paris), juillet.

<sup>22</sup> FGTB. 2003. "L'école est finie", *Syndicats*, 27 June.

<sup>23</sup> Maruani, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Altieri, G. 2002. "La flexibilité du marché du travail : débat politique, pratiques de terrain", *Chronique internationale de l'IRES* (Institut de recherches économiques et sociales (IRES)), (Noisy-le-Grand, France) May.

<sup>25</sup> Fondeur, Y. and Lefresne, F. 1999. "Présentation : les jeunes sur le marché du travail, une comparaison européenne", *Revue de l'IRES*, 2/1999.

<sup>26</sup> Altieri, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> ILO. 2003. *Safety in numbers* (Geneva), April.

<sup>28</sup> Aizicovici, F. 2000. "Mauvais bulletin de santé pour les conditions de travail", *Le Monde (Monde de l'Economie)*, 24 October.