

Precarious work as situated occupation: exploratory study of workers' experiences in the context of the Spanish economic crisis

Silvia Veiga Seijo^a, Lisette Farias^b, Natalia Rivas-Quarneti^a

^aFacultad de Ciencias de la Salud, Escuela de Terapia Ocupacional, Universidad de A Coruña, España.

^bFacultad de Ciencias de la Salud y Rehabilitación, Western University, Canadá.

Abstract: Introduction: From an occupational perspective, employment or work is conceived as a positive and significant occupation in the life of human beings. Throughout the development of the profession, work has been conceptualized as a goal and a means for recovering, focusing on its potential for (re)integrating people with physical and mental disabilities into the labor market. However, there is a gap in knowledge regarding work as an occupation when it is precarious. Objective: Adopting a critical and occupational justice perspective, the aim of this study is to explore and problematize the relationship between precarious work, health, and well-being, based on the experience of four individuals. Method: Participants' experiences of precarious work were gathered through two semi-structured interviews with each participant. Data was analyzed using a qualitative exploratory design, constant comparison techniques, and applying a kaleidoscope metaphor. Results: The findings describe the context of precarious work, its effects on the health and well-being of the participants, and the meanings that participants attribute to their work. Conclusion: This study problematizes the positive and significant relationship between work, health, and well-being implicit in the occupational therapy literature. This research contributes to the development of more complex understandings of work as an occupation that not only involves personal experiences, but also interrelates with socio-economic and political contexts.

Keywords: *Working Conditions, Health, Occupational Therapy, Occupational Justice, Social Critical Theory.*

El trabajo precario como ocupación situada: estudio exploratorio de experiencias de trabajadores en el contexto de crisis económica española

Resumen: Introducción: Desde la terapia ocupacional, el trabajo es concebido como una ocupación positiva y relevante en la vida de los seres humanos. A lo largo del desarrollo histórico de la profesión, el trabajo ha sido conceptualizado como un objetivo y medio curativo, centrándose en su potencial para la (re)integración laboral de personas con discapacidades físicas y mentales. Sin embargo, existe una laguna de conocimiento en referencia al trabajo como ocupación cuando este es precario. Objetivo: El objetivo de este estudio es explorar y cuestionar la relación entre trabajo precario, salud y bienestar a partir de la experiencia de cuatro individuos desde una perspectiva crítica y de justicia ocupacional. Método: Se analizaron las experiencias de cuatro trabajadoras/es, utilizando un diseño cualitativo exploratorio, técnicas de análisis de comparación constante, y aplicación de la metáfora de caleidoscopio. Para recoger los datos se utilizó una entrevista semiestructurada, realizando dos entrevistas por participante. Resultados: Los resultados describen el contexto del trabajo precario, los efectos del trabajo en la salud y bienestar de los participantes, y los significados que los participantes le otorgan a sus trabajos. Conclusión: En este estudio se cuestiona la relación positiva y significativa entre trabajo, salud y bienestar implícita en la literatura

de terapia ocupacional. Esta investigación contribuye al desarrollo de entendimientos más complejos del trabajo como ocupación que van más allá de experiencias individuales, situando el trabajo en relación a contextos socio-económicos y políticos.

Palabras clave: *Condiciones de Trabajo, Salud, Terapia Ocupacional, Justicia Ocupacional, Teoría Social Crítica.*

O trabalho precário com a ocupação implantada: estudo exploratório de experiências de trabalhadores no contexto da crise econômica espanhola

Resumo: Introdução: A partir da terapia ocupacional, o trabalho é concebido como uma ocupação positiva e relevante na vida dos seres humanos. Ao longo do desenvolvimento histórico da profissão, o trabalho tem sido conceituado como um alvo e meio de cura, concentrando-se em seu potencial para a (re)integração laboral de pessoas com deficiências físicas e mentais. No entanto, existe uma lacuna no conhecimento em referência ao trabalho como uma ocupação, quando esta é precária. Objetivo: O objetivo deste estudo é explorar e questionar a relação entre o trabalho precário, saúde e bem-estar com base na experiência de quatro indivíduos a partir de uma perspectiva crítica e da justiça ocupacional. Método: Foram analisadas as experiências de quatro trabalhadores, usando um desenho qualitativo exploratório, técnicas de análise de comparação constante e aplicação da metáfora do caleidoscópio. Para a coleta de dados, foi utilizada uma entrevista semiestruturada, realizando duas entrevistas por participante. Resultados: Os resultados descrevem o contexto do trabalho precário, os efeitos do trabalho na saúde e no bem-estar dos participantes, e os significados que os participantes dão aos seus empregos. Conclusão: Neste estudo, é questionada a relação positiva e significativa entre trabalho, saúde e bem-estar implícita na literatura em terapia ocupacional. Esta pesquisa contribui para o desenvolvimento de entendimentos mais complexos de trabalho como uma ocupação que vá além de experiências pessoais, colocando o trabalho em relação aos contextos socioeconômicos e políticos.

Palavras-chave: *Condições de Trabalho, Saúde, Terapia Ocupacional, Justiça Ocupacional, Teoria Crítica Social.*

1 Introduction

1.1 The construction of work as a significant occupation in occupational therapy

Wilcock (1993) argued that human beings have an innate need to “do” and engage in occupations that provide sense and meaning to their existence. Thus, occupation, as a concept related to human activity, has been conceived in occupational therapy as essential to the quality of life and the physical and emotional growth of human beings, and the well-being of communities (SIMÓ ALGADO; URBANOWSKI, 2006). According to this assumption, the need to do is beneficial and contributes to individuals' health status (WILCOCK, 1993). Also, it is considered that, through occupations, people have the power to choose and control their lives, exercising their right to citizenship and participation in society (FRANSEN et al., 2015). However, the need to do and be engaged in meaningful activities depends on the opportunities and resources an individual has to access occupations (WILCOCK, 1993; WILCOCK; TOWNSEND, 2009). Therefore, it has been proposed that human beings have

the right to equal opportunities to participate in dignified occupations that satisfy their needs and maximize their capacities (HAMMELL, 2008; POLLARD; SAKELLARIOU; KRONENBERG, 2009; WILCOCK; TOWNSEND, 2009).

In occupational therapy, occupations are traditionally divided into three categories (i.e. self-care, leisure, and productivity) which are considered fundamental for the study of various areas of people's personal and social life (CANADIAN..., 1997). Specifically, occupations related to work or productivity are perceived as essential, since they support individuals and their families' survival, their social networks and large community (DICKIE, 2003). Likewise, the role of employee has been conceptualized as indispensable in the transition to adulthood in certain cultures, being part of the social expectations of diverse communities and groups (ROMERO AYUSO; MORUNO MILLARES, 2003; LOHMAN; PEYTON, 1997). For example, through the performance in a certain job, individuals define their social expectations according to what they want to do or what they can do in society (DICKIE, 2003), which impacts their socioeconomic status, among other aspects (CORCORAN, 2004).

Work as an occupation has also been conceptualized as a goal and a means for obtaining personal and social gratification, food and shelter, and a lifestyle (BRAVEMAN; PAGE, 2012). In particular, paid work is considered as a platform or extension of individuals' social networks, offering opportunities to interact with others, providing a socioeconomic status, daily routines, and organization of time (BRAVEMAN; PAGE, 2012; MCMILLAN; YUILL, 1998). Based on these characteristics, paid work plays a fundamental role in the development and maintenance of people's self-image and identity, since it is often associated to concepts such as independence, autonomy, and dignity (DICKIE, 2003; CORCORAN, 2004). Thus, the reasons why people are engaged in paid job can be diverse, for example, to "[...] maintain a social network, to respond to social expectations, to satisfy personal ambitions, to escape from poverty, or to earn money [...]" (POLLARD; SAKELLARIOU, 2012, p. 9-10).

Claims have been made, predominantly in the occupational therapy literature, regarding the positive impact that participation in employment has on human development and health, yet without questioning the characteristics of certain work positions or opportunities to access those jobs. From the origins of the profession, for example, during the practice of moral treatment, or in association with the arts-and-crafts movement, work has been conceived as a part of a curative/restorative treatment (ROMERO AYUSO; MORUNO MILLARES, 2003) or as a therapeutic goal worth pursuing when "work was interrupted" due to illness or disability (CREPEAU; COHN; BOYT, 2005). Similarly, during World War I and II, work was used to promote the alleviation of diseases or injuries derived from war, seeking the reincorporation of soldiers to vocational work (HARVEY-KREFTING, 1985; LOHMAN; PEYTON, 1997). Other occupational therapy approaches to work have been related to rehabilitation of functions or skills to support the return or integration to work of people with chronic diseases (LOHMAN; PEYTON, 1997) and evaluation of work requirements (HARVEY-KREFTING, 1985). Also, the range of occupational therapy interventions include the development of rehabilitation and safety programs for workers with some injury or disability (CREPEAU; COHN; BOYT, 2010), counseling, ergonomics and postural education, job analysis and adaptations, prevention and treatment of injuries, labor integration programs, and sheltered workshops (KING; OLSON, 2011;

BRAVEMAN; PAGE, 2012). More recently, the profession has expanded its focus from a primary emphasis on work (re)integration to exploring the significant nature of employment linked to material gains, socioeconomic status, sense of independence, and autonomy (CHRISTIANSEN; TOWNSEND, 2010), while keeping the long-standing assumption of positive links between work and health (AMERICAN..., 2005).

However, accessing and participating in work is not a universal experience. Employment opportunities in the globalized world vary from those jobs that are significant and with decent conditions, to those precarious that do not ensure survival or functioning in society, up to the lack of opportunities to access employment. Specifically in Spain, with the so-called socioeconomic crisis and the policies of austerity applied to reduce unemployment, there has been an increase in precarious jobs available to the population (FUNDACIÓN..., 2015; FERNÁNDEZ NAVARRETE, 2016).

Despite the fact that work as an occupation is central for the profession, the repercussions associated with engaging in work with precarious conditions have not been explored in depth, although these are increasingly common conditions in modern societies. It is worth noting that with precarious work we refer to a type of work that is mainly characterized by instability and constant insecurity, associated with the worker's unawareness of the possibilities for continuing in his/her position and a lack of guarantee of the conditions of work (ORGANIZACIÓN..., 2012; SINDICATO..., 2016). This type of work is usually temporary, with low salaries and rapid processes of dismissal and hiring, without overtime compensation, limited rights to social security and possibilities for negotiation, and low social protection (ORGANIZACIÓN..., 2013; SINDICATO..., 2016).

1.2 Precarious work from a critical perspective

As a social and historical construction, work has been shaped through time to act as the axis of society. Drawing on critical social theory, labor precarization is understood as a recurrent reality due to the processes of capitalism and individualism, that emerged in the Industrial Revolution and continue to transform the economies of Western societies (MCMILLAN; YUILL, 1998; CABRALES SALAZAR, 2011). As such, the processes of

globalization and modernization are considered to be double-edged swords, since on one hand they have expanded the economy of societies, and yet on the other hand they have produced social inequalities that have gradually increased.

A conceptualization of work from a critical perspective can be traced to the work of Marx (NOGUERA, 2002). Based on Marx's (1906) analysis of the great social inequalities between the seventeenth and tenth centuries, inequalities are originated by the principles that underlie the capitalist system, which prioritizes human relationships based on production and economic/monetary exchange. According to Marx's theory of labor value, capitalism introduces an economic "value" to labor that objectifies the labor process and product of human activity, causing abuse, exploitation, and an unjust system that seeks to generate more economic/monetary value at the expense of individuals' work (MARX, 1906). From this perspective, it is understood that labor exploitation is produced by the ability of employers to pay their employees minimal wages, obtaining a benefit or surplus value; the difference in wages paid and the sale prices of products in the market. Further, capitalism is linked to labor exploitation since it promotes managing a greater workload with fewer workers, increasing precarious work conditions and workers' alienation/dissatisfaction (MCMILLAN; YUILL, 1998; CABRALES SALAZAR, 2011).

Also, from Marx's perspective, capitalism reduces workers' control over the production process by dividing and simplifying work-related activities without considering the personal characteristics, motivation, and/or expertise of the workers (MCMILLAN; YUILL, 1998; PEREIRA, 2008). This situation is associated with industrialization processes that promote division of work tasks in such a way that the employer saves time and money, increasing productivity through the simplification the role of the worker who has to perform repetitive and simpler tasks to decrease errors in production. The simplification of the role of workers also allows the employer to hire workers with less experience and/or to replace hand labor by machinery. However, with this simplification, workers can no longer feel part of the production process because they cannot conceive their work as part of the labor process, losing the connection

between worker's contributions and the final product (NOGUERA, 2002).

Further, Marx proposes the theory of alienation, which associates work, when it is divided into simple, repetitive, and monotonous tasks, with a rejection, disinterest, and demotivation of workers (MARX, 1906). Marx and other critical theorists pointed out the dangers of labor alienation and an excessive focus on "productivism" (CABRALES SALAZAR, 2011), which can create extreme competitiveness and individualism among workers, since they try to work overtime and/or perform the work of more than one person to generate more productivity and increase their salaries (MCMILLAN; YUILL, 1998). Thus, based on Marx theories, we understand precarization and alienation of work as the result of social phenomena such as capitalism and individualism, which value producing and generating income over motivation or commitment to a productive activity, cooperation, and workers' expertise (MCMILLAN; YUILL, 1998).

It is important to note that a critical perspective, based on the work of Marx and/or other critical theorists can help situate employment as an occupation embedded within political and socioeconomic systems. Furthermore, from this perspective, work/employment can be studied beyond its economic value, (re)focusing on the complex relationships between human beings and society (MCMILLAN; YUILL, 1998; CROSSLEY, 2005). Finally, embracing a critical perspective when studying work has the potential to challenge conceptualizations that frame work as a meaningful occupation, and at the same time ask: What are the conditions that facilitate or hinder work from generating positive links to health? (NOGUERA, 2002).

1.3 Contextualization of precarious work in Spain: the socioeconomic crisis

Until 2007, the Spanish society experienced a period of economic expansion promoted by the construction sector and the growth of the real estate market, with the successive creation of jobs (ROCHA; ARAGÓN, 2012; ORGANIZACIÓN..., 2011). However, after 2007, an economic decline known as the Great Recession began, originated mainly by the phenomenon of neoliberal capitalism and technology which led to the so-called

“economic crisis” (ROCHA; ARAGÓN, 2012; ORGANIZACIÓN..., 2012). Consequently, during the last nine years Spain has been affected by the crisis, characterized by massive reduction of social funds and systems of protection and redistribution (for example unemployment subsidy), an increase in unemployment, and precarization of employment (FUNDACIÓN..., 2015; FERNÁNDEZ NAVARRETE, 2016). In particular, the phenomenon of job insecurity has promoted numerous social inequalities and marginalization of groups in situations of vulnerability (ROCHA; ARAGÓN, 2012), becoming one of the greatest current social concerns (ORGANIZACIÓN..., 2013).

To better understand the phenomenon of precariousness and its repercussions on the population, it is pertinent and relevant to describe its relationship to the Spanish unemployment rate. Currently, Spain has an active population of 22,848,300, of which 18.91% are unemployed (INSTITUTO..., 2016). This rate is overwhelming since besides people being unemployed, 1 out of every 4 unemployed worker has been unemployed for more than 1 year, increasing the risk and the probability of accepting precarious and/or illegal jobs (ORGANIZACIÓN..., 2011; SINDICATO..., 2016). In this way, the unemployment rate is important since it is one of the factors that have contributed to precarization of working conditions, together with the cuts in social policies that reduce unemployment benefits and the ineffectiveness of policies aimed at improving the employability of the population (SINDICATO..., 2015).

In addition, unemployment data from recent years verify that the unemployment rate has decreased, increasing the employed population (INSTITUTO..., 2016; FUNDACIÓN..., 2015; SINDICATO..., 2015). However, jobs created from this socioeconomic phenomenon are solutions marked by precariousness (BILBAO, 1999; SINDICATO..., 2015). For example, there has been a 25% increase in temporary contracts in recent years, where 1 out of 4 new contracts signed has a duration of fewer than 7 days. Another indicator of job insecurity is the part-time contract, rising from 33.3% in 2007 to 63.2% in 2015, which contrasts with the strong desire for full-time contracts expressed by most of the population (SINDICATO..., 2015, 2016). There has also been 13.5% reduction in the amount of overtime paid, from 2010 to 2015,

because of the current precarious employment conditions (SINDICATO..., 2015, 2016).

Job insecurity is a complex reality, composed of different elements that lead to numerous inequalities becoming one of the biggest obstacles to enact labor rights (ORGANIZACIÓN..., 2013). It is an indicator of inequality and implies an increase of poverty, social exclusion, and situations of vulnerability, with a negative impact on the living conditions of individuals and their families (SERRANO ARGÜESO, 2015; SINDICATO..., 2016). It is therefore essential to address job insecurity from an occupational perspective, since the Spanish socioeconomic system in the last decade has produced numerous pressures that reinforce the construction of jobs characterized by deficient or unstable incomes and low social protections (SINDICATO..., 2016; FUNDACIÓN..., 2015). In particular, the groups that have been the most affected by this precariousness are groups that usually live in situations of vulnerability such as women, young people, immigrants, people with disabilities, people with lower levels of work and/or educational qualifications, and workers older than 45 years (ROCHA; ARAGÓN, 2012; SERRANO ARGÜESO, 2015).

Despite the fact that occupational therapy has begun to question the positive relationship between occupation and health, there is a lack of knowledge regarding the repercussions of occupations related to job insecurity and instability for the lives of people. Some studies related to job insecurity include Laliberte Rudman and Aldrich (2016) who studied long-term unemployment in cities of Canada and the United States from a critical occupational perspective, illustrating the tensions, complexities, and contradictions of the everyday occupations of 8 people who experience this situation. Also, in Spain, Rivas-Quarneti (2016) studied the daily life of 6 immigrant women in vulnerable job situations, illustrating how their lives are characterized by a pendulum movement between unemployment and precarious employment, that restricts the occupational opportunities and health maintenance of the participants. However, none of these investigations focus in depth on precarious employment. Due to this gap in knowledge, and responding to the call of Kiepek, Phelan and Magalhães (2014) to (re)consider the exclusion of the study of occupations considered as negative or unhealthy in occupational therapy, this study

examines the recent incidence of precarious work in Spain through the experiences of four individuals.

2 Objective

This study aims to explore the relationships between health, well-being, and precarious work from a critical and occupational justice perspective, based on the experiences of a group of workers.

3 Method

This study uses a qualitative and exploratory design to explore and analyze participants' experiences of precarious work (PEDRAZ MARCOS et al., 2014). From this perspective, the richness of the data does not depend on the number of participants in the study, but on their willingness to reveal personal and/or confidential information related to their beliefs, experiences, and realities (POLIT; BECK, 2008).

Further, this study was conducted under the umbrella of critical social theory, which is conceived as an epistemological space that accommodates a diversity of theoretical perspectives that aim to support "[...] change, social transformation and human emancipation" (BISQUERRA ALZINA, 2014, p. 283). This theoretical orientation has its roots in the Frankfurt School and emerged to challenge the status quo (GAMBOA ARAYA, 2011). This position seeks to respond to inequalities of power (economic, political and social) and situations of social oppression and injustice that can emerge from the growth of a technological and neoliberal capitalist society, characteristic of contemporary Western societies (TÓJAR HURTADO, 2006; GAMBOA ARAYA, 2011).

In congruence with critical social theory, this study was guided by an occupational justice perspective. This perspective emerged in the 1990s, based on the work of Wilcock and Townsend, aiming to promote a more "occupationally just" world (STADNYK; TOWNSEND; WILCOCK, 2010, p. 330). This perspective brings forward the right to equal opportunities to participate in varied and significant occupations, and the examination of structures and systems that perpetuate inequalities of opportunities and access to occupations (DUROCHER; GIBSON; RAPPOLT, 2014). In this context, it has been proposed that restrictions to participate in significant occupations is an "occupational

injustice" (STADNYK et al., 2010; TOWNSEND; WILCOCK, 2004; WILCOCK; TOWNSEND, 2009). Five forms of occupational injustice have been defined; occupational deprivation, occupational marginalization, occupational alienation, occupational imbalance, (TOWNSEND; WILCOCK, 2004) and occupational apartheid (KRONENBERG; SIMÓ ALGADO; POLLARD, 2007). Based on this perspective, it is assumed that precarious work can be linked to situations of occupational injustice since the participation of people in this occupation is controlled by others, limiting their possibilities for engaging in work tasks related to their interests and capacities (WILCOCK; TOWNSEND, 2009). In this study, an occupational justice lens was used to understand the context of precarious employment and its relation to health. This lens allows for the integration of critical perspectives in occupational therapy by seeking to promote inclusive societies and (re)focusing practice to respond to the needs of all citizens (NILSSON; TOWNSEND, 2010).

3.1 Participants

Intentional or convenience sampling was used to recruit participants (RUIZ OLABUÉNAGA, 2012; TÓJAR HURTADO, 2006). The inclusion criteria included; having a precarious work situation, being over 18 years old, and being able and willing to participate and collaborate with the investigation. The exclusion criteria included; presenting difficulties in understanding and/or maintaining a conversation.

To contact potential participants, a snowball technique was used. First, the first author contacted 5 gatekeepers, in this case, students of occupational therapy from a University in Spain, who had access to various associations or groups in contact with people engaged in precarious jobs. Potential participants were contacted by phone and/or email to discuss their participation in the study and set a date for the first interview. It is important to note that there were several difficulties in recruiting participants. Most individuals were afraid to share their experiences due to possible negative consequences, such as losing their jobs. Ethical procedures were followed to ensure the participants' anonymity.

After several attempts, it was possible to recruit 4 participants; 2 women, and 2 men, willing to share their experiences. It should be noted that this sample is not representative and/or does not express

the reality of all workers in precarious conditions in Spain. However, it allows exploring and enhancing understanding of precarious employment from the experiences of the participants, generating in-depth knowledge about this topic (ARANTZAMENDI; LÓPEZ-DICASTILLO; VIVAR, 2012).

A more detailed description of the participants is shown in Table 1. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure anonymity.

3.2 Data collection

A semi-structured interview was used since this type of interview allows for some structure and guidance, while at the same time flexibility to integrate topics of interest to the participants (BISQUERRA ALZINA, 2014). The interview guide was prepared by the researchers and consisted of 14 open and closed-ended questions. The first author conducted two 60 to 90 minutes interviews with each participant. The objective of the first interview was to explore and understand precarious employment as an occupation, as well as to investigate its impact on the health of the participants. The second interview aimed to reflect on the preliminary results together with the participants, and clarify and/or add information that they considered relevant. All interviews were documented through audio recordings and with the consent of the participant, reflective notes were taken and transcribed by the first author.

3.3 Analysis

A content analysis technique and a kaleidoscope metaphor were used to analyze the data (DYE et al., 2000). The analysis process began with an exhaustive

reading of the first interview transcripts. After this reading, the material was codified and discussed several times by the researchers, grouping the codes based on their similarity. Based on these discussions, preliminary categories were generated and compared by the researchers until more central themes were reached. Then, the second interviews were conducted, giving opportunity to participants to reflect on the preliminary findings, and clarify and/or add information that they considered relevant. Finally, with the contributions of the participants, the final categories were elaborated, following the same procedures (i.e. reading, discussing, coding, comparing, and more discussing). The kaleidoscope metaphor allowed the researchers to maintain a dialogical and open relationship between the “pieces” of text and the “whole” or more general themes (DYE et al., 2000). This metaphor also facilitated the creation of flexible subcategories that were refined as the analysis progressed.

To ensure the trustworthiness of the interpretations made by the researchers, the criteria for qualitative research suggested by Lincoln and Guba were followed (KREFTING, 1991; LINCOLN; GUBA, 1985). Data triangulation was conducted to ensure the credibility of the results (DENZIN, 1978, 2006). The credibility of the preliminary interpretations was also enhanced through discussions between the first author and the participants during the second interviews. A reflexivity approach, as well as reflexive notes and peer-to-peer discussion were used to increase the reliability of the analysis (FINLAY, 1998), as well as reflexive notes and peer-to-peer discussion (DEPOY; GITLIN, 2005; LINCOLN; GUBA, 1985).

Table 1. Characteristics of the participants.

	Age	Previous training	Previous work experience	Current job	Time in this job
<i>Raúl</i>	49	*EGB, Degree in Automobile Mechanics (*FP) and adjuster turner	Educator, waiter and chef	Chef	6 months
<i>Laura</i>	34	*EGB, *BUP, *COU, 3 years Social Degree	Administrative assistant, cleaner	Cleaner	2-3 years
<i>María</i>	28	3rd *ESO, Course in childcare and kitchen and waitress assistant	Chambermaid and commercial Abondo Cristal Line	Waitress	Working with temporary contract
<i>José</i>	37	Baccalaureate	Painter, waiter, restocker, salesman, waiter and warehouse manager	Warehouseman and warehouse manager	4 years

*EGB= Basic general education; FP= Professional Training; BUP= Polyvalent Unified Baccalaureate; COU= Course; University orientation; ESO= Compulsory Secondary Education.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Context specific ethical recommendations guided the study procedures (AMOR et al., 2007). Consequently, potential participants were contacted through gatekeepers. Those who showed interest in the study received an Information Sheet that summarizes the objectives of the study, as well as participants responsibilities and rights, and an informed consent model. Before starting the interviews, participants had time to discuss the study with the first author and give written informed consent. All participants voluntarily took part in the study without receiving any type of economic incentive for their participation.

4 Results

The results are presented in three interrelated themes described below. The first theme describes the occupational context of the participants, identifying the characteristics of the precarious work that shape their daily experiences. The second theme illustrates the relationships between precarious work, well-being, the health of the participants and their families. The third theme examines the tensions and meanings that participants associated with their precarious jobs.

4.1 The context of precarious work

To introduce the context of precarious work, it is important to highlight the way in which the participants describe how they accessed these jobs. The most common way described by the participants was the “word of mouth”, based on contacts between acquaintances, friends, and family members who knew about the unemployment situation of the participants. For example, María stated “[...] *the first time I went, I went because my sister-in-law was working there, in the kitchen, and she said come and talk to them, they are looking for a waitress*”. Raúl also pointed out that “[...] *a colleague asked me to help him in the restaurant, he told me to ask for work there because he was working in a hotel, and he knew the owners*”. In this sense, the participants considered word of mouth as the most efficient way to seek and get a job, even if it is precarious. Laura also commented that she used the Internet “[...] *we are looking at the blissful InfaJobs or Milanuncios all day, which is not worth anything, but all the time, every 15 minutes we download it, as an obsession*”.

After finding employment, the participants noted the precariousness of their work, for example, their jobs involved varied and numerous tasks, with excessive and intense workloads, and without limits or clear routines. Raúl commented

[...] one day I entered at 8 and he wanted [the boss] to be here until the closing [closing time], from 8 in the morning until the closing, and I have to rest, I have to take a breath.

José also added:

[...] the problem of the schedules, they did not tell me everything, you know, they did not tell me that after arriving at the store it was a broken schedule, I had to do 10 hours.

Participants also pointed out that the context of precarious work demands extra tasks that have not been stipulated previously, as Raúl described,

[...] they put everything on you and there you manage, you wash, you scrub, you peel potatoes, you prepare the food, you [clean] the tiles, you do this, you empty the trash, it's not a job, it's slavery.

José added

[...] it is a very big workload for a single person, especially here, in this store [...] that is to say it was very, very suffered [...], we work a lot in that store, a lot in that job.

Related to this instability, participants conveyed their frustration with their employers due to their extensive workloads that Raúl associated with a constant pressure to produce more; “[...] *now I do the function that two people do, and before there were three*”. José also commented “[...] *with the same staff, with one person I had to do my job, plus a job as a waiter*”. In line with this, participants mentioned that employers exerted an extreme control of their functions, as Maria explained “[...] *normally every day he left pieces of chopsticks behind the legs of the chairs to see if I swept well, behind the bins in the bathroom or in the toilet to see if I cleaned the bathrooms well*”. Laura also commented “[...] *it is true that he [employer] called me every day at the time of arrival and departure*”. Raúl added:

[...] [employer] every time he enters the kitchen, he enters whistling, like an alarm, why does he come whistling?, it's like an alarm, that he's going to enter, so he does not say anything, for example, in case I'm angry.

Further, María stressed that:

[...] there was a constant fear and a daily discomfort, you went away with the fear of what you could find the next day in case something was left undone or not done as the boss wanted.

Participants also raised concerns about the legal status of their jobs, forced to work in black¹, that is, without a contract, without medical insurance, with material in bad conditions and/or in dangerous conditions. About this situation, Raúl said “*[...] in the kitchen it’s hot, when I turn on the extractor they turn it off*”. María emphasized that

[...] I was going to cover rest days for another waitress or when someone was missing or when they needed me they called me, they paid me 30 euros a day and it was not a good price¹.

Similarly, Laura described “*I’m paid 8 euros an hour by the lady and I’m not insured¹, this is the precariousness of the country*”. María also commented “*[...] the thing of legality, I do not know if it exists, I think it’s fictitious, the legend tells*”. José added:

If you go to trial, I could have all of the losing, staying with one hand in front and another behind [...], they have the pan caught by the handle, and in the trial they can take people from the store, which is logical, very understandable, even the kid [young] who was a friend of mine could take him [to declare what the company wants] and tell him or do it or send you to the street.

4.2 Relationships between precarious work, health, and well-being

The experiences of the participants described in the previous theme suggest that precarious work conditions can negatively impact the physical and mental health of the participants and their families.

For example, María referred to her work as a constant concern, in the context of the economic crisis and high unemployment, pointing out that “*[...] you accept because it is what you have, if you want to take it and if you do not leave it, behind [you] there are many more people who will take it [...]*”. José described this situation as; “*Then 2 extra hours, without paying [...] then it was 10 hours and if you do not like it, there’s the door*”. Laura added “*[...] is that there is no other way, and after being at home [unemployed], that seems like a gift, that’s precariousness today, you know?*”.

The participants also emphasized that the precariousness of their work affected their work environment and consequently their health. As such, participants describe their work environment as a “*[...] lousy work environment, super overwhelming, misogynistic and such, and then I, and at my level, was already full, that is, to me, I was not going to hit my head [...]*” (Laura). María described the impact of her work and environment on her health as:

Being a waitress, being 28 years old and being fucked from the back is the most common... You make a physical effort, you support weights, you stand for a long time, then having back pain is... Normal. Nothing, cervical, I woke up every day and had been a month and a half two months getting up in the morning vomiting... between nerves and cervical and discomfort all in general then, I had crazy nerves, apart from physical, psychological.

In a similar way, Raúl said “*[...] they end up complaining because the burden of mental work and the abandonment that you have to do everything, you suffer*”. Raúl added “*[...] it does influence my health, because I might or might not eat, today, for example, I did not eat*”. José also explained

[...] it is that you do not feel like doing anything, that on Sunday, which is the only day you have to rest, you do not feel like it, you want to be alone and pass by everyone, from your friends and of all, that’s when you see that you have a problem.

In the case of José, for example, his health situation worsened to such an extent that he needed to seek medical care:

You decide to seek help, go to a doctor, who prescribed us, because I fell flat, that is, it was getting up and I fell, I could not take it anymore, I had no strength.

Laura also commented

[...] I was on antidepressants for a year, but not because of depression, but because of stress, that stress ends up going somewhere, you know? And it ends up burning you.

Participants also described how their working conditions have restricted their health, well-being, and possibilities for participation in leisure and social activities, impacting their family and social relationships. As articulated by María:

I was physically quite tired and quite upset with my nerves and yes, I usually say 4 times to be quiet or 5, there in that space of time, I did not have that patience, I got a lot of fun with the kids [...].

I did not feel like doing things anymore, I did not stop with them even though I had the time I had in the afternoon to have time with them, it was not to be with them, I did not lie with them on the floor to play, or not [...]. I did not enjoy it. No. I did not give more to be with more people. I did not want to.

Likewise, José described:

[...] to be stressed, you arrive home bad [bad mood], tired, you do not live, you do not have family, you have family, but you do not enjoy it, you leave at 6 in the morning, you arrive at 8 in the afternoon, the children in bed, hello dad, bye, and to sleep.

Along these lines, Raúl pointed out “[...] *with that divided shift schedule, I can not make life as someone else's because at 4 o'clock in the afternoon I have a greater fatigue*”.

4.3 Meanings of precarious work as occupation

Several tensions between the meanings that participants associate with their jobs and how their conditions make them feel emerged in the interviews. On the one hand, participants described their work as a source of economic and family support in a context of great employment insecurity. As such, participants referred to their situation as “luck” or a blessing related to the opportunities that their employment provides them, which are beneficial for participants and their families (such as money, flexibility, sense of achievement and/or dignity). For example, Laura indicated “[...] *it is much better for me [to work part-time] because I can be with the children in the afternoon and I do not depend on anyone [to take care of them]*”. José stressed “[...] *working is important because it dignifies*”. Participants also expressed that, despite the unstable conditions of their work, they wanted to perform their work competently and contribute as professionals to their workplace. As José explained “*I am working and I try to do my best, be competitive, being the best*”. Raúl added “[...] *I want to see people happy, that whatever products you sell you sell them well, know how to explain, what it takes or what it does not take [food]*”. This pursuit of a sense of achievement and/or dignity in a context of labor instability is interpreted as the way in which participants tried to find beneficial aspects related to their jobs; benefits that go beyond economic

compensation, and that facilitate supporting a positive occupational identity and engagement.

On the other hand, the schedules, workload, and work environment, among other factors, showed to have a negative impact on the lives of participants and their families. For example, participants stressed that there is a stigma associated with their employment situation. José described “[...] *if you do not have money, you are nothing*”. Laura expressed feeling discriminated because “[...] *being a cleaning girl is the last shit in a company, in this work it is not allowed for me to talk with colleagues or with clients*”.

Participants also described that they are forced to negotiate different tensions on a daily basis since work is necessary to sustain themselves economically, but at the same time precarious conditions create injustices that transform this activity into an alienating occupation,

[...] the way of life that they force you to have, is that you have to dedicate yourself to a 100%, nowadays they demand that and more, [...] your life becomes your job, they raise it for your way. So, I try to work to live, they want you to live to work (Maria).

Further, participants described different strategies for managing their frustration with their work situation. As José explained “[...] *you accept temporarily and you try to get out of there as soon as possible*”. Laura emphasized that her strategy is to study to be able to choose other jobs: “*I will recycle myself, I will study a course, and people who do the course are almost always working*”. However, participants stressed that sometimes their strategies to cope with work demands are not enough, as María described:

That day it was when the last straw broke the glass, I took a bucket of water to fill it up, I threw half a bottle of bleach and throw it into the air in the bathroom and said: It's already cleaned thoroughly!... I hung a paper in the door of the bathroom for the clients: dear clients, the bathroom will be closed temporarily, sorry for the inconvenience. And then nothing, I sat at the bar, I waited for it to be my time to leave.

5 Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore and problematize the relationship between precarious work, health, and well-being from a critical and

occupational justice perspective. As discussed in the introduction, work as an occupation has been conceptualized as a vehicle to promote health, well-being and social inclusion. However, the findings of this study challenge this conceptualization and present work as a complex and situated occupation, shaped by social, economic, and political factors. From this perspective, it is understood that occupations are not static entities, but dynamic and in continuous negotiations with existing social systems and structures (LALIBERTE RUDMAN, 2010). For this reason, work as an occupation can provide positive effects for individuals and communities when social systems and structures support equal possibilities for decent and fair employment. In turn, work can become precarious if the social system and economic situation set up conditions that produce a rise of unemployment rate, and consequently an increase in unstable and unsafe working conditions. The findings of this study support other studies, such as Rodrigues Farias and Cavalcante Bezerra (2016), that argue that precarious work is the result of socioeconomic and political conditions that promote reduction of public expenditure and social rights. As such, this study argues for the exploration of precarious work in relation to its context, in this case, an economic crisis aligned with neoliberal principles that value autonomy, individualism, and self-sufficiency, and frame health maintenance and well-being as being the responsibility of citizens instead of the community or government (ILCAN, 2009). From this perspective, it is not surprising that precarious work has been positioned within public policies as a matter of individual choice, and/or self-determination, rather than a situation created by socio-economic and political systems.

This exploratory study also reveals that precarious work conditions generate a situation of vulnerability that affects the health and well-being of workers and their families. This is illustrated in the findings by not only revealing the negative effects of precarious work on the health of workers but also the stigma associated with this type of jobs. The findings also exemplify how precarious work as an occupation can promote complex tensions, for example, promoting a negative, unhealthy, stigmatizing, and/or alienating bond between people and their health, while at the same time promoting work as a blessing or dignified opportunity.

Further, the findings challenge the notions that sustain an implicit positive relationship between

occupation, health, and well-being. Although this relationship has been questioned in recent studies, occupational therapy research continues focusing on positive occupations, consciously and/or unconsciously ignoring the so-called negative or unhealthy occupations (DENNHARDT; LALIBERTE RUDMAN, 2012; KANTARTZIS; MOLINEUX, 2011; KIEPEK; PHELAN; MAGALHÃES, 2014).

From an occupational justice perspective (TOWNSEND; WILCOCK, 2004), it is essential to problematize the strict economic value that the profession and Western societies have attributed to work. For example, Townsend (1997) explicitly criticized the dominant positivist approach in the conceptualization of occupation, for over-emphasizing the need for objectification and classification of occupations as productive. Similarly, it is argued that the productivity category in occupational therapy limits and classifies occupations as static, giving value and power to some work-related occupations, while neglecting others. Along these lines, Hugman (1999) also raised concerns related to the way in which the profession usually excludes the contributions of unpaid work and occupations not associated with economic status. In particular, Hugman criticized the way in which paid occupations have been overvalued throughout the development of the profession, perpetuating systemic discrimination and stigmatization of people who cannot contribute in strictly economic ways to society, such as the elderly, homeless, immigrants, people who have physical, mental, or chronic disabilities who are unemployed or retired.

Based on the findings, we seek to continue problematizing the arbitrary way in which occupations are classified, encouraging the analysis of occupations that can enhance understanding of more complex meanings and tensions as shown in this study. At the same time, we argue for the integration of critical reflection in occupational therapy practice and education to explore the ways in which political and socio-economic phenomena, such as the economic crisis, shape occupations such as work. In this way, the causes and effects of precarious work on people and communities are presented as a challenge to the profession; a challenge that could be used to prompt complex understandings of the current labor market, expand the profession's scope, and promote interventions guided by an occupational rights agenda (HAMMELL; IWAMA, 2012). By expanding the profession's scope, occupational therapy has

the potential to develop projects that promote social entrepreneurship, community development and connectivity between government, policies and social practice (SIMÓ ALGADO; OLLER, 2013), as well as understandings of human beings as participatory citizens and not just as patients or clients of a market system.

For example, occupational therapists could promote questioning of precarious work to reveal not only its effects on people's physical and mental health, but also its social implications and associated stigma, and the impact of policies that are not compatible with the protection of public health. In this way, occupational therapists, especially when they are inserted in public and community services, can take on an ethical-political commitment to participate in the defense of workers, promoting better working conditions, democracy and citizenship.

Moreover, this research highlights tensions that contribute to the understanding of precarious work as an occupation with positive and negative implications, shaped by daily negotiations, and associated with occupation alienation (TOWNSEND; WILCOCK, 2004). By denoting this occupation as alienating, we seek to demonstrate how certain occupations are not always directly controlled by the individual but influenced by contextual factors that limit and/or force their participation in occupations. In this way, a change of approach is proposed to move beyond the individual as a social and autonomous being, capable of choosing their occupations, to focus on the social environment that creates and restricts occupations influenced by political, economic and social factors.

For a more complex understanding of occupations around concepts related to systems of oppression and social structures that create diverse types of inequalities, the adoption of a critical perspective is recommended. A critical perspective can contribute to illuminating situations of injustice and occupational inequality by facilitating the examination of power relationships and their role in facilitating or hindering occupational opportunities for groups in society (TOWNSEND et al., 2012). Embracing a critical stance, occupational therapy can be seen as a social and political agent (KRONENBERG; SIMÓ ALGADO; POLLARD, 2007) with the potential to contribute to the "[...] reduction of economic and social inequalities in different occupational lives [...]" (TOWNSEND et al., 2012, p. 43).

6 Conclusion

In an attempt to contribute to the efforts that seek to develop a critical and socially responsive discipline, we presented a discussion regarding the implications of the findings of this exploratory study. Since this study focused on the experiences of a specific group of workers, it is not possible to generalize the results, but the results could be transferred to other contexts or groups experiencing job insecurity. The study could be expanded by the inclusion of a greater number of participants to enrich the data with other experiences and nuances. Likewise, using different strategies for entering the field would help to recruit a more heterogeneous group of participants. In the same way, we consider it relevant to use other data generation methods (i.e. not only interviews) and discuss preliminary findings and explore emerging issues with the participants on more occasions.

Acknowledgements

This study is based on the first author's Final Project in Occupational Therapy at the University of Coruña in Spain, supervised by the co-authors. We would like to thank the members of the evaluation panel of this university for their comments (June 2016 call) as well as the reviewers of the article, who have undoubtedly contributed to its improvement.

References

- AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION – AOTA. Occupational therapy services in facilitation work performance. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, New York, v. 59, n. 6, p. 676-679, 2005.
- AMOR, M. et al. *Normas de boa practica en investigación en seres humanos: guía para o investigador*. Xunta de Galicia: Consellería de Sanidade, 2007.
- ARANTZAMENDI, M.; LÓPEZ-DICASTILLO, O.; VIVAR C.C. *Investigación cualitativa: manual para principiantes*. España: Eunate, 2012.
- BILBAO, A. *El empleo precario*. Madrid: Catarata, 1999.
- BISQUERRA ALZINA, R. *Metodología de la investigación educativa*. Madrid: La Muralla, 2014.
- BRAVEMAN, B.; PAGE, J. *Work: promoting participation & productivity through occupational therapy*. Philadelphia: Davis Company, 2012.

- CABRALES SALAZAR, O. La precarización laboral y el desempleo como consecuencias del neoliberalismo y la globalización. *Tendencia y Retos*, Colombia, n. 16, p. 43-57, 2011.
- CANADIAN ASSOCIATION OF OCCUPATIONAL THERAPISTS – CAOT. *Enabling occupation: an occupational therapy perspective*. Ottawa: CAOT Publications ACE, 1997.
- CHRISTIANSEN, C. H.; TOWNSEND, E. A. *Introduction to occupation: the art and science of living*. Cranbury: Pearson Education, 2010.
- CORCORAN, M. A. Work, occupation, and occupational therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Boston, v. 58, n. 4, p. 367-368, 2004.
- CREPEAU, E. B.; COHN, E. S.; BOYT S. E. *Willard & Spackman-Terapia Ocupacional*. España: Médica Panamericana, 2005.
- CREPEAU, E. B.; COHN, E. S.; BOYT, E. S. *Willard & Spackman's Occupational Therapy*. Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2010.
- CROSSLEY, N. *Key concepts in critical social theory*. London: SAGE, 2005.
- DENNHARDT, S.; LALIBERTE RUDMAN, D. When occupation goes “wrong”: a critical reflection on risk discourses and their relevance in shaping occupation. En: WHITEFORD, G. E.; HOCKING, C. *Occupational science: society, inclusion, participation*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. p. 117-133.
- DENZIN, N. K. *The research act: a theoretical introduction to sociological methods in sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978.
- DENZIN, N. K. *Sociological methods: a sourcebook*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006.
- DEPOY, E.; GITLIN, L. N. *Introduction to research: understanding and applying multiple strategies*. St. Luis: Mosby, 2005.
- DICKIE, V. A. Establishing worker identity: a study of people in craft work. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Boston, v. 57, n. 3, p. 250-261, 2003.
- DUROCHER, E.; GIBSON, B. E.; RAPPOLT, S. Occupational justice: a conceptual review. *Journal of Occupational Science*, London, v. 21, n. 4, p. 418-430, 2014.
- DYE, J. et al. Constant comparison method: a kaleidoscope of data. *Qualitative Report*, Fort Lauderdale, v. 4, n. 1-2, p. 1-10, 2000.
- FERNÁNDEZ NAVARRETE, D. La crisis económica española: una gran operación especulativa con graves consecuencias. *Estudios Internacionales*, Santiago, v. 48, n. 183, p. 119-151, 2016.
- FINLAY, L. Reflexivity: an essential component of all research? *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, London, v. 61, n. 10, p. 453-456, 1998.
- FRANSEN, H. et al. Participatory citizenship: critical perspectives on client-centred occupational therapy. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Oslo, v. 22, n. 4, p. 260-266, 2015.
- FUNDACIÓN FOMENTO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES Y DE SOCIOLOGÍA APLICADA – FOESSA. *Análisis y perspectivas: empleo precario y protección social*. Madrid: Cáritas, 2015.
- GAMBOA ARAYA, R. El papel de la teoría crítica en la investigación educativa y cualitativa. *Revista Electrónica Diálogos Educativos*, Chile, n. 21, p. 48-64, 2011.
- HAMMELL, K. W. Reflections on. . . well-being and occupational rights. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Ottawa, v. 75, n. 1, p. 61-64, 2008.
- HAMMELL, K. R. W.; IWAMA, M. K. Well-being and occupational rights: an imperative for critical occupational therapy. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Oslo, v. 19, n. 5, p. 385-394, 2012.
- HARVEY-KREFTING, L. The concept of work in occupational therapy: a historical review. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Boston, v. 39, n. 1, p. 301-307, 1985.
- HUGMAN, R. Ageing, occupation and social engagement: towards a lively later life. *Journal of Occupational Science*, London, v. 6, n. 2, p. 61-67, 1999.
- ILCAN, S. Privatizing responsibility: public sector reform under neoliberal government. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, Malden, v. 46, n. 3, p. 207-234, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-618X.2009.01212.x>.
- INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA – INE. *Encuesta de Población Activa*. Madrid, 2016. Disponible: <<http://www.ine.es/daco/daco42/daco4211/epa0316.pdf>>. Acceso: 4 dic. 2016.
- KANTARTZIS, S.; MOLINEUX, M. The Influence of Western Society's Construction of a Healthy Daily Life on the Conceptualisation of Occupation. *Journal of Occupational Science*, London, v. 18, n. 1, p. 62-80, 2011.
- KIEPEK, N.; PHELAN, S. K.; MAGALHÃES, L. Introducing a critical analysis of the figured world of occupation. *Journal of Occupational Science*, London, v. 21, n. 4, p. 403-417, 2014.
- KING, P. M.; OLSON, D. L. Trabajo. In: CREPEAU, E. B.; COHN, E. S.; SCHELL, B. A. B. (Ed.). *Willard & Spackman - Terapia Ocupacional*. Madrid: Médica Panamericana, 2011. p. 615-632.
- KREFTING, L. Rigor in qualitative research: the assessment of trustworthiness. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Boston, v. 45, n. 3, p. 214-222, 1991.

- KRONENBERG, F.; SIMÓ ALGADO, S.; POLLARD, N. *Terapia Ocupacional sin Fronteras: aprendiendo del espíritu de supervivientes*. Madrid: Editorial Médica Panamericana, 2007.
- LALIBERTE RUDMAN, D. Occupational terminology: occupational possibilities. *Journal of Occupational Science*, London, v. 17, n. 1, p. 55-59, 2010.
- LALIBERTE RUDMAN, D.; ALDRICH, R. "Activated, but Stuck": applying a critical occupational lens to examine the negotiation of long-term unemployment in contemporary socio-political contexts. *Societies*, Switzerland, v. 6, n. 28, p. 1-17, 2016.
- LINCOLN, Y. S.; GUBA, E. G. *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1985.
- LOHMAN, H.; PEYTON, C. The influence of conceptual models on work in occupational therapy history. *Work*, Reading, v. 9, n. 3, p. 209-219, 1997.
- MARX, K. *Capital: a critique of political economy* (Das Kapital). Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Company, 1906.
- MCMILLAN, I. R.; YUILL, C. Work. In: JONES, D. et al. *Sociology & Occupational Therapy: an integrated approach*. Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1998. p. 143-156.
- NILSSON, I.; TOWNSEND, E. Occupational justice – bridging theory and practice. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Oslo, v. 17, n. 1, p. 57-63, 2010.
- NOGUERA, J. A. El concepto de trabajo y la teoría social crítica. *Papers*, Barcelona, v. 68, p. 141-168, 2002.
- ORGANIZACIÓN INTERNACIONAL DEL TRABAJO – OIT. *Estudios sobre el crecimiento con equidad*. Empleos de calidad para una nueva economía. España, 2011. Disponible en: <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_158551.pdf>. Acceso en: 2 feb. 2016.
- ORGANIZACIÓN INTERNACIONAL DEL TRABAJO – OIT. *Políticas y regulaciones para luchar contra el empleo precario*. España, 2012. Disponible en: <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_164288.pdf>. Acceso en: 1 feb. 2016.
- ORGANIZACIÓN INTERNACIONAL DEL TRABAJO – OIT. Enfrentar el desafío del trabajo precario: la agenda sindical. *Boletín Internacional de Investigación Sindical*, Ginebra, v. 5, n. 1, p.25-44, 2013. Disponible en: <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/publication/wcms_216288.pdf>. Acceso en: 15 feb. 2016.
- PEDRAZ MARCOS, A. et al. *Investigación cualitativa*. Barcelona: Elsevier, 2014.
- PEREIRA, L. Teoría social y concepción del trabajo: una mirada a los teóricos del siglo XIX. *Gaceta Laboral*, Venezuela, v. 14, n. 1, p. 81-101, 2008.
- POLIT, D. F.; BECK, C. T. *Nursing research: generating and assessing evidence for nursing practice*. Lippincott: Williams & Wilkins, 2008.
- POLLARD, N.; SAKELLARIOU, D. *Politics of occupation-centred practice: reflections on occupational engagement across cultures*. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- POLLARD, N.; SAKELLARIOU, D.; KRONENBERG, F. *A political practice of occupational therapy*. Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 2009.
- RIVAS-QUARNETI, N. *Estudio de las ocupaciones cotidianas para la promoción de la salud de las mujeres inmigrantes en situación de vulnerabilidad*. 2016. 373 f. Tesis (Doctorado en Ciencias Sociosanitarias) – Universidade da Coruña, A Coruña, 2016.
- ROCHA, F.; ARAGON, J. La crisis económica y sus efectos sobre el empleo en España. *Gaceta Sindical*, España, n. 19, p. 67-90, 2012.
- RODRIGUES FARIAS, K. K.; CAVALCANTE BEZERRA, W. Condições institucionais e estratégias de enfrentamento da precarização do trabalho por terapeutas ocupacionais em hospitais públicos. *Cadernos de Terapia Ocupacional da UFSCar*, São Carlos, v. 24, n. 2, p. 235-246, 2016.
- ROMERO AYUSO, D.; MORUNO MILLARES, P. *Terapia Ocupacional: teoría y técnicas*. Barcelona: Masson, 2003.
- RUIZ OLABUÉNAGA, J. I. *Metodología de la investigación cualitativa*. Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 2012.
- SERRANO ARGÜESO, M. Medidas de reparto de empleo en España en un contexto de crisis económica: ¿solución contra el desempleo o vía de incremento de la precariedad laboral? *Revista Internacional y comparada de Relaciones Laborales y Derecho del Empleo*, Italia, v. 3, n. 3, p. 1-27, 2015.
- SIMÓ ALGADO, S.; OLLER, J. Terapia Ocupacional y emprendeduría social: un diálogo necesario. *Revista TOG*, Galicia, v. 10, n. 17, p. 1-19, 2013.
- SIMÓ ALGADO, S.; URBANOWSKI, R. El modelo canadiense del desempeño ocupacional I. *Revista TOG*, Galicia, n. 3, p. 1-27, 2006.
- SINDICATO UNIÓN GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES – UGT. *La precarización del mercado de trabajo en España: algunas vivencias*. Madrid, 2015. Disponible en: <http://www.ugt.es/Publicaciones/precarizacion_mercado_trabajo_evidencias_espanya_UGT.pdf>. Acceso en: 8 feb. 2016.
- SINDICATO UNIÓN GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES – UGT. *Se crea empleo, pero de baja calidad: la precariedad se extiende*. Madrid, 2016. Disponible en: <<http://www.ugt.es>>

es/Publicaciones/Balance_situacion_mercado_trabajo_la_precariedad_se_extiende.pdf>. Acceso en: 04 dic. 2016.

STADNYK, R. L.; TOWNSEND, E. A.; WILCOCK, A. Occupational justice. In: CHRISTIANSEN, C. H.; TOWNSEND, E. A. (Ed.). *Introduction to occupation: the art and science of living*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson, 2010. p. 329-358.

TÓJAR HURTADO, J. C. *Investigación cualitativa: comprender y actuar*. Madrid: La Muralla, 2006.

TOWNSEND, E. et al. Imagining occupational therapy. *The British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, London, v. 75, n. 1, p. 42-44, 2012.

TOWNSEND, E. Occupation: potential for personal and social transformation. *Journal of Occupational Science*, London, v. 4, n. 1, p. 18-26, 1997.

TOWNSEND, E.; WILCOCK, A. Occupational justice and client-centred practice: a dialogue in progress. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Ottawa, v. 71, n. 2, p. 75-87, 2004.

WILCOCK, A. A theory of the human need for occupation. *Journal of Occupational Science*, London, v. 1, n. 1, p. 17-24, 1993.

WILCOCK, A.; TOWNSEND, E. Occupational justice. In: SCHELL, B. A. et al. *Terapia Ocupacional Willard y Spackman*. Baltimore: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2009. p. 192-199.

Author's Contributions

Silvia Veiga Seijo developed this study as part of her Final Degree Project of Occupational Therapy. For this reason, Silvia carried out the literature review, collected the data and prepared the preliminary results. This process was supervised by Natalia Rivas-Quarneti and Lisette Farias who participated in the conception and design of the work as well as the discussion of the results. Lisette and Natalia collaborated in the writing of this manuscript and critical review of it. All authors approved the final version of the text.

Notes

¹ These expressions refer to working without a legal contract, which in Spain implies limiting access to Public Health, not contributing to the pension in the future (not contributing) and not be entitled to unemployment benefits, among others.