

THE WORKING POVERTY TRAP AT THE MICROECONOMIC LEVEL: THEORETICAL ASPECTS

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Abstract: *Most researchers of the working poor issue are focused on the causes of the working poor chronic nature. The paper aims to contribute to this issue by investigating the root causes and identifying the main mechanisms for working people falling into the poverty trap. The paper analyzes both well-known and poorly researched micro-mechanisms of the poverty trap (financial, behavioral, property and institutional) formed in the labor market. The practical significance of the paper lies in the possibility of employing the results obtained to develop new measures of social policy to lift people out of poverty. The theoretical significance of the study is seen by the authors in the development of the concept of the working poor trap through the increment of scientific knowledge about the institutional barriers to the exit from poverty of working individuals in emerging markets.*

Key words: *working poor, poverty trap micro mechanisms, poverty trap risk, exit poverty trajectories, labor market*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that, according to ILO data, the poverty level of the employed has significantly decreased over the past decades, the problem of the working poor remains relevant for almost all countries of the world (UN, 2015). Experts are concerned about two emerging trends: firstly, in recent years, the global rate of poverty reduction has slowed significantly, and it has not been possible to eradicate the working poverty (ILO; 2019); secondly, the number of countries where

working poor is becoming chronic due to existing institutional problems of the economy is growing.

The working poor traps are multidimensional in nature and have the multilevel organization of the factors that form them. The factors of the poverty trap, including the working poverty, are studied to a greater extent at the macro- and mesoeconomic level and to a lesser extent at the micro- and mini-economic (household and individual levels). This limits our understanding of the mechanisms that create the working poor traps and can hinder or even negate policies to eliminate them.

The paper aims to study the main causes of the working poor issue in the Russian labor market, to analyze the risks and the main micro-mechanisms of falling into the poverty trap of employed Russians.

The paper includes an introduction, four sections and conclusion. In the first section deals with the theoretical scientific literature related to the working poor issue. The second section is related to theoretical and methodological basis of the study. The third section analyses the obstacles to moving out the poverty. The fourth section is focused on the main trap of the working poor. In conclusion, the main conclusions from the study are formulated.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Peter Townsend defined poverty as “Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack resources to obtain the type of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged and

approved, in the societies in which they belong” (Townsend, 1979).

A large volume of sources shows that our ideas about who to classify as poor depend on what method of measuring poverty we use (Kathleen, 2016). There are two concepts of poverty that define two approaches to poverty assessment. The first concept implies that the poor are those whose actual expenses do not allow them to meet the necessary needs. The second concept refers to those who cannot meet the needs typical of the society to which they belong (Sen, 1979; Akire and Santos, 2014; Bourguignon&Chakravarty, 2003). Thus, the assessment of the extent of poverty depends on the methodology used to classify an individual as poor.

A separate independent area of research in the theory of poverty is the problem of the working poor (low-paid employment). It is safe to say that the problem of low-paid employment is acute for both advanced and emerging economies (Armstrong, 2018). Scientists believe that the urgency of the working poor issue will only increase in the near future, and social policy researchers will need to have good theoretical foundations and reliable strategies to address this problem in the coming years (Crettaz, 2013).

There are some patterns in the prevalence of the problem of low-paid employment in the country context: a) countries with low levels of low-paid employment are also countries that keep overall poverty at a low level; b) the strongest factor determining the low level of the working poor is the high share of social spending relative to GDP (Allègre, 2008).

Researchers identify many factors of low-paid employment (Spannagel, 2013; Saraceno, Benassi and Morlicchio, 2020; Horemans, Marx and Nolan, 2016; Marx and Nolan, 2012; Eurofound, 2017; Podestà and Marzadro, 2016; Peña-Casas et al., 2019), which can be grouped as follows: individual, including low qualifications/education, belonging to an ethnic minority, part-time work, temporary contract or self-employment; household characteristics, including single parenthood, number of children and number of employees in the family; institutional factors that can be divided into two groups – labor market regulation factors (de-commodification) and family structure regulation factors (defamilialization).

Post-Soviet countries are of particular interest in terms of studying the working poor issue (Szelényi, 2013; Golubovic, Mirkovic and Kaludjerovic, 2022; Podestà and Marzadro, 2016; Pejin Stokić and Bajec, 2019). post-communist countries are characterized by a high role of structural determinants of labor poverty and the

human life cycle, and less importance of such determinants that are related to personal achievements, for example, the level of education and occupation.

From an analytical point of view, research on the mobility of low-paid employees in terms of three alternative conditions - unemployment, low-wage employment and high-wage employment is of great interest. Three key effects characterizing the dynamics of low pay are discussed in the literature: state-dependence effect, stepping-stone effect and low pay – no pay cycle (Heckman, 1981; Dickens and Lang, 1985; McCormick, 1990; Cai, 2014; Gimpelson et al., 2018). The effect of dependence on the previous condition tends to transform into a self-sustaining mechanism from which there is no way out, i.e. into a poverty trap (low-paid employment).

Looking at the situation from a macroeconomic perspective, the working poor trap is a situation where the state stimulates low-paying jobs in order to prevent social explosions associated with unemployment. The working poor, in turn, preserve low productivity in the industries where they are concentrated and limit their growth (Gimpelson et al., 2018).

Among the macro mechanisms that form poverty traps, the most studied are "saving-based poverty traps" and "coordination failure". The saving-based poverty traps also occurs at the individual level, its essence is that if a household (or individuals) is too poor, they cannot accumulate capital (including human and social), and thus their incomes can only grow at the rate of total factor productivity growth. If this growth is low or zero, then incomes will stagnate (Kraay and Raddatz, 2007; Caucutt and Kumar, 2008).

Among the micro-mechanisms of the poverty trap, the most studied are nutrition-based poverty traps (Dasgupta, 1997), lumpy investments coupled with borrowing constraints (Barrett and Carter, 2013; Banerjee et al., 2015), behavioral poverty traps (Radosavljevic et al., 2021; Antman and McKenzie, 2007; Adato, Carter and May, 2006; Shah, Mullainathan and Shafir, 2012), geographic poverty traps (Bryan et al., 2013; Jalan and Ravallion, 2002).

3. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BASIS

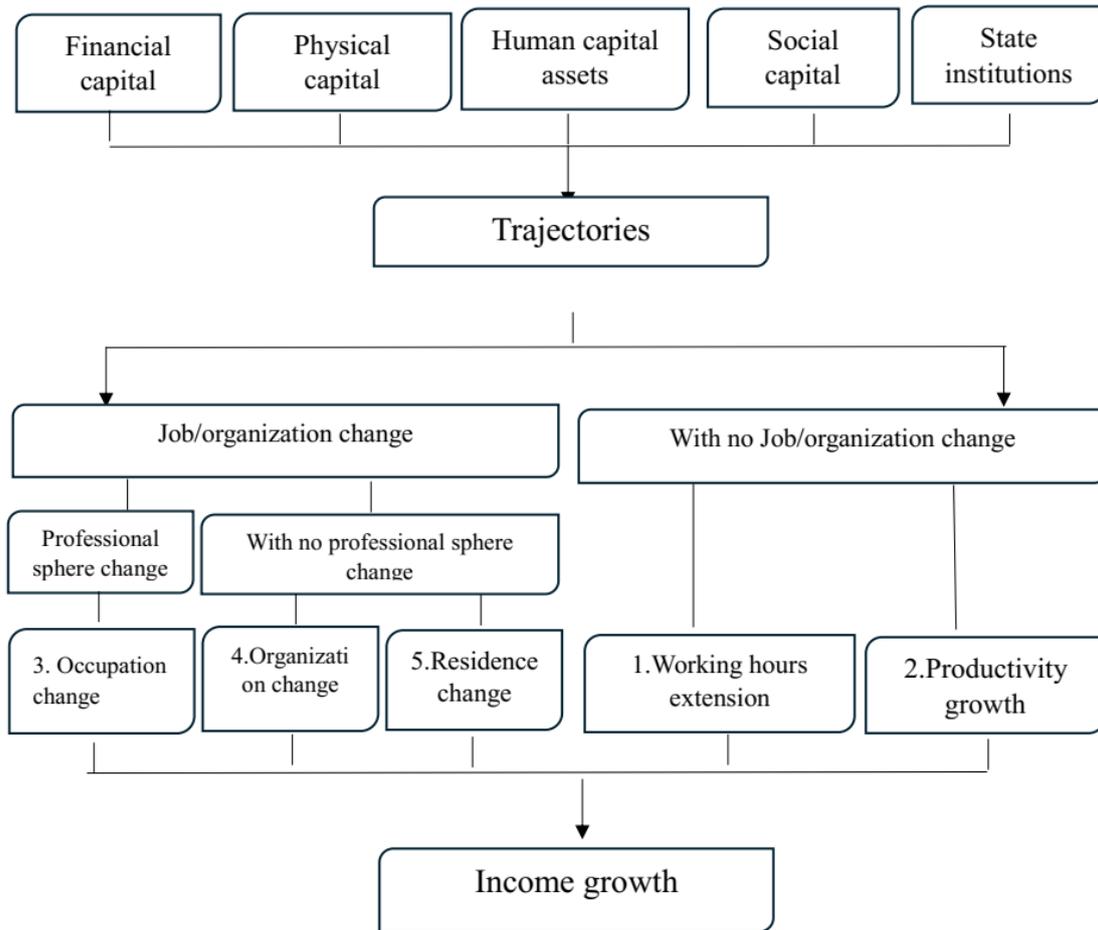
Two main approaches to studying the poverty trap, including the working poor issue, are common among researchers (Ghatak, 2015). In the first approach, the poverty trap is explained by a shortage of assets among the poor (financial, physical, human, social and capital of state institutions), respectively, reducing the problem of

asset scarcity leads to a reduction in poverty (Piachaud, 2002). The second approach covers the institutional barriers that arise in the process of using individual assets in economic activity. And the solution to the problem of the poverty trap is seen through reducing friction and eliminating barriers that prevent people from forming and using assets effectively in the market system.

4. POTENTIAL EXIT TRAJECTORIES

An increase in income for the working poor is possible in several ways, including through an increase in the intensity, duration and/or productivity at the previous workplace or through a change of place of work or employment (Banovcinova and Zakova, 2021; Gilbert, 1998) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. The working poor potential exit trajectories



The decision on the expediency of following a particular trajectory out of poverty is determined both by the existing restrictions on access/use of individual capital of the poor, and by a subjective assessment of the risks arising from dismissal from a low-paid workplace.

This structure of employment of the poor suggests that the scenario of increasing the time/intensity of work in most cases will not bring a positive result. The current situation can be described as a trap of economic motivation (Karacharovskiy and Gurulaeva, 2023), when the high level of existing workloads and/or low elasticity of remuneration relative to efforts form the individual

unwillingness of employees to increase the intensity of work, even if wages are increased.

The second scenario for increasing income, which is possible without changing jobs, is an increase in labor productivity. Productivity growth is often associated with an increase in human capital through an increase in the educational and qualification level of an employee. Researchers of the peculiarities of the labor market in Russia and other post-communist countries put an emphasis on the problem of the lack of an explicit link between wages and education, which is a serious demotivator of productivity improvement and economic development (Melianova et al., 2021).

The next possible individual exit poverty trajectory is to change jobs/organizations without changing their place of residence. The state's "tolerance" of low-paid jobs contributes to maintaining high employment and low unemployment within what is called the "Russian labor market model" (Gimpelson et al., 2018). Therefore, one of the possible scenarios for increasing income for an employee may be a change of employer of the budget sector to an employer of the private sector, without a significant change in the sphere of professional activity. Barriers to the realization of such a trajectory of income increase for the working poor are: 1) the narrowness of local labor markets with limited supply; 2) low horizontal social mobility; 3) fears of the working poor to lose existing social ties and expected financial income in the future in the form of pensions and other social guarantees.

It is even more difficult for the working poor to realize the trajectory of changing the field of activity. The costs of intersectoral mobility in Russia are very high in comparison with other countries and amount to 4.56 average annual wages (the average for all countries is 3.75) (Artuç, Lederman and Porto, 2015). This means that an employee who changes the employment sector faces total losses of his utility, which are equivalent to 4.56 times the annual average wages in the economy. Another possible scenario for increasing income is the search for a new place of work with a change of residence, which encounters low territorial mobility of Russians due to the lack of opportunity to finance their relocation (Andrienko and Guriev, 2004). Among the significant reasons for the low mobility of Russians, scientists name the results of privatization and housing policy in the Russian

Federation (Barkov et al., 2019). As a result of the mass privatization of the 1990s, most Russian families became owners of their apartments or houses. The housing rental market is very poorly developed institutionally; an individual needs to sell the property and buy a new one to relocate which also requires time and financial costs and involves risks. The scale of chronic poverty among the working poor and the existing restrictions on getting out of poverty suggest that mini-mechanisms of the working poor trap are formed and function in the labor market.

5. MAIN TRAPS OF THE WORKING POOR

The working poor may face the impact of micro-mechanisms of the poverty trap based on a shortage of financial and tangible assets, such as saving-based poverty traps, lumpy investments coupled with borrowing constraints.

We consider the risks of a personal poverty trap along with other poverty researchers (Carter and Barrett, 2006; Balboni et al., 2022; Araujo, 2019; Araujo, Bosch and Schady, 2019; Ghatak, 2015) as follows: "poor" structure of household expenditure of funds (debt or a high share of expenses related to food and housing); extreme shortage of material and financial assets, lack of efforts to exit from poverty; the poverty routinization. We assume that the formation of micro-mechanisms of the working poor traps can be determined by the corresponding features, the main of which are shown in Table 1. Based on these indicators, the low-income population can be divided into 3 groups according to the level of risk of falling into the poverty trap: high (presence of at least one feature of high poverty), medium (presence of at least one feature of medium poverty) and low (absence of features of medium and high poverty).

Table 1. The working poor trap risk assessment

The nature/basis of the trap mechanism	Risk levels of the low-wage employment trap	
	Medium	High
Financial	Two or more "bad" loans (consumer credit, credit card, microloan)	Spending pattern includes: more than 2/3 of the "bad" expenses (for food, housing and communal services/rent and loans)
Property (material)	No physical and tangible assets that can be used to increase income or reduce expenses	No tangible and financial assets in the property
Behavioral (motivational)	No income growth/decrease over the past three years	Income decrease over the past three years. No expectation of their growth in the near future
Institutional	Poverty duration from 1 to 5 years.	Poverty duration over five years

According to the criteria of the poverty trap risk level shown in Table 1, all the working poor were classified into three groups: the group with a high risk of a poverty trap; the group of the working

poor with an average risk to move in the poverty trap and the group of the working poor with a low risk to move in the poverty trap.

The group with a high risk to move in poverty trap included working poor with a lack of tangible assets, poor spending structure, demotivation of efforts to move out of poverty and normalization of poverty.

The second group of the working poor in terms of risk is people with an average risk of falling into the poverty trap. These people do not have a decrease in income, but there is no income growth either; their expenses exceed income, they try to solve the problem of lack of money with "bad" loans" (consumer credit, credit card, a microloan), of which they have more than two; they own assets for life, but there are no assets that they can use to reduce costs or increase income; the duration of poverty of these people is less than 5 years, that is, there is a possibility that this poverty has not normalized for individuals and they are ready to make efforts to move out of the poverty.

The third group of the working poor is a group of people with a low risk of falling into the poverty trap. These are, first of all, the situationally poor and the "fictitiously" poor. The former found themselves in the group of the poor at the moment and, probably, this condition is temporary for them. These are women on parental leave, young people entering the labor market for the first time, etc. These people have assets that bring them additional income, or they are supported by relatives, their spending pattern differs from that of the poor.

CONCLUSION

In the process of implementing possible exit poverty trajectories, the working poor face various constraints. The main ones, in our opinion, are as follows: limited territorial mobility; high dependency burden; characteristics of social capital; the high costs of intersectoral mobility. Most of the working poor are people at high or medium risk to fall in the poverty trap. A significant number of the working poor spend most of their expenses to cover vital needs, many use expensive loans, do not have assets to reduce costs or generate additional income, and a fifth do not have their own housing. In addition, they do not see practical ways to move out of poverty and, therefore, do not make efforts to change it, often normalizing life in poverty. The working poor may face one or more poverty trap mechanisms. Financial, property, behavioral and institutional micro-mechanisms of the working poor trap have become widespread in the labor market. The financial mechanism of the working poor trap is provoked primarily by the low level of wages in certain sectors of the economy. It can be seen in the structure of household expenses there are only current mandatory expenses and there are no

expenses for the reproduction of human capital of household members. The lack of savings and the limited availability of loans leads to the fact that the working poor objectively do not have the opportunity to change jobs, because, since they do not have a financial cushion in case of temporary disability, cannot pay for additional education and advanced training, pay for relocation, etc. The financial planning horizon is limited by the need to cover the current most important expenses and force the working poor to stay in a "low-quality" workplace. The reason for the property mechanism is the shortage of tangible assets caused by the underdevelopment of market institutions and the weakness of state institutions for the redistribution of national income, which does not allow to stimulate the accumulation and preservation of private property. The property mechanism of the working poor trap forces an individual to stay in a low-paid job, since housing or other property (car, equipment) is provided there, which an individual can use to reduce current expenses or illegal earnings. The extreme form of the mechanism is when an employee is tied to a workplace by a corporate housing, but there is no opportunity to rent / buy their own housing on the free market.

The behavioral poverty trap mechanism is associated with the lack of connection between the intensity/productivity of labor and its payment. The negative dynamics of income over the past three years and the lack of respondents' vision of income growth prospects in the future creates disbelief in the possibility of correcting something on their own and accepting the poverty conditions. A person loses motivation to make efforts to increase their earnings. The institutional mechanism of the working poor trap forms a system of norms and rules that preserve poverty and limit the possibility to move out the poverty. When a person has been in poverty for a long time (more than 5 years), he shares the rules of life of a social group, often with the same low income level, becomes a carrier of institutions that allow him to "get settled" in this condition, appropriate behavior is formed and poverty becomes commonplace for him. In this case, the workplace is included in the general institutional architecture of poverty and allows an individual to solve some tasks of both a material plan (free meals, social package, etc.) and an intangible plan (communication, self-realization, etc.).

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