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Atypical Employment in Europe 1996 – 2011

by Jutta Allmendinger, Lena Hipp, Stefan Stuth

Summary

To assess the influence of nonstandard employment for the labor market participation of different demographic groups, we provide detailed descriptions of the development of atypical employment in comparison to standard employment, unemployment, and economic inactivity between 1996 and 2011. In our analyses, we distinguish between fixed-term employment, solo self-employment, substantial part-time work (between 20 and 35 hours/week), and marginal part-time work (less than 20 hours/week). By simultaneously considering standard employment, atypical employment, and non-employment, we are able to assess the consequences of flexible labor markets for the economic integration of different population groups, such as women, the elderly, young people, or the low-skilled.

Keywords: Labor Market, Nonstandard Employment, Atypical Employment, Part-time, Temporary Jobs, Solo self-employment, International Comparison, Europe

JEL Klassifikation: J21, J23, J82
Introduction

Within the last two decades, Germany has gone from being Europe’s problem child to its model pupil. Its unemployment rate is at an all-time low. The employment rate for older people has risen. The number of standard jobs including statutory social security contributions is growing. In contrast to Germany, previously lauded European countries such as Denmark or Ireland are experiencing difficult times in the financial and economic crisis. Whereas these countries’ weakly regulated labor markets and high levels of flexibility were once praised and considered important economic success factors, the situation now looks very different. The debate on the right level of labor market flexibility is therefore by no means over. It is still unclear how the expansion of flexible employment affects unemployment and labor market participation.

Supporters of flexible labor market structures propose that deregulating labor market structures can increase employment, reduce unemployment, and therefore reduce social inequality. The idea behind this is as follows: When employers can use their employees flexibly and end employment relationships without incurring high costs, they will be more likely to employ new personnel. If the expansion of part-time employment and fixed-term contracts increases employment, the flexibilization of the labor market may contribute to reducing social inequality, because alongside a regular income and social security entitlements, having a job guarantees social inclusion.

Critics of labor market flexibilization argue in contrast that the dismantling of employment protections merely transfers business risks to employees and that the expansion of atypical employment in no way increases inclusion. On the contrary, they claim it could lead to an increase in social inequality precisely because disadvantaged labor market groups such as women, older people, or those with lower qualification levels are particularly likely to work in these jobs with lower pay and insurance entitlements. In addition, instead of increasing standard employment, the expansion of atypical employment may result in regular jobs being squeezed out and may even deepen recessions in economically challenging times.

As the empirical evidence to support both positions is far from unanimous, we seek to contribute to the debate on the “right” level of flexibilization by conducting a detailed analysis of the development of atypical employment relationships in comparison to standard employment on one hand and economic inactivity (i.e., unemployment and inactivity) on the other.
Defining atypical employment

First, it is of central importance to define “atypical” or “nonstandard” employment and to distinguish these phenomena from other designations. The social science literature uses a range of different terms to describe the splintering of employment relationships in the form of shorter working times, fixed-term contracts, freelance employment, or agency-based employment.

Research on “precarious employment” (Treu 1992) places the focus on material and psychological insecurity in employment relationships, which is characteristic of marginal part-time employment, and fixed-term contracts. This insecurity often also applies to solo self-employment. Therefore, the proportion of people who, for example, voluntarily work on fixed-term contracts, should be quite low. In addition to the considerable insecurity regarding their continuing presence in the company, fixed-term employees are also at a disadvantage compared to permanent employees when it comes to in-company job opportunities and participation in continuing training courses (Booth, Francesconi, and Frank 2002; Gebel and Giesecke 2009). Marginal part-time employment and solo self-employment may also rightfully be described as precarious due to their lower incomes and poor or absent social insurance coverage in periods of unemployment and in old age. The term “precarious” does not, however, necessarily apply to part-time work with substantial hours or to successful start-ups.

Terms such as “nonstandard employment” (e.g., Casey 1991; Goldthorpe 1984; Green, Krahn, and Sung 1993; Kalleberg, Reskin, and Hudson 2000) and “atypical employment” (Córdova 1986; Delsen 1995; Grip, Hoevenberg, and Willems 1997) facilitate a less judgmental approach to the phenomenon of changing forms of employment. These terms simply express the fact that part-time work, fixed-term contracts, agency-based employment, or even (solo) self-employment are not “normal” forms of employment. They do not, however, describe whether these forms of employment are characterized by a higher degree of material or psychological insecurity than “normal” employment forms (Mückenberger 2010), i.e., permanent, dependent full-time employment subject to social insurance contributions. The terms “atypical” and “nonstandard” imply that, while these forms of employment may be associated with poor pay and social insurance coverage and limited career prospects, this will not necessarily apply in all cases. These neutral terms are, however, also somewhat problematic, given the fact that women’s employment patterns differ fundamentally from men’s employment patterns and part-time work has not been the “atypical” but instead the “typical” form of employment for women in many countries and for many years. Nevertheless, due to a lack of better alternatives, the term “atypical employment” is primarily used in the following analysis, as we wish to take account of the fact that there are qualitative differences between the different forms of employment and that these forms of employment may differ in character from country to country.
Data used in the descriptive analyses and preliminary methodological remarks

We consider the development of standard employment, atypical employment, and nonemployment in 21 European countries (Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom) over a period of 16 years (1996–2011). In order to ensure the comparability of the development of atypical employment across countries, the country profiles developed here are based on data from the European Labor Force Survey (EU-LFS). The centralized administration and distribution of the survey by Eurostat ensures that the same characteristics are studied in all participating countries and that the same definitions and classifications are applied. The data set contains all the information relevant to our study and is a representative sample of the populations in all the participating states. Military conscripts, those doing civilian service, and the occupants of collective living quarters (i.e., monasteries/convents, hospitals, barracks, prisons, etc.) are excluded from the analysis. In order to ensure that the changes within the countries and between the individual years are not due to seasonal economic cycles, we use second-quarter data in each year studied.

We restrict the population studied to people of working age (15–64 years of age). Following the International Labour Organization (ILO), we define economically active individuals as those who work for monetary reward for at least one hour per week. According to this definition, it is unimportant whether the person surveyed is employed in the private or public sector, or is self-employed. According to the ILO definition, people are considered unemployed if they are not in employment but are available for work and are actively seeking paid employment, or are due to commence paid employment within three months of the survey.

In the country profiles, this definition of unemployment is applied to the entire working-age population. This means that the unemployment rates used in this discussion paper differ from the unemployment rates commonly published by international organizations such as the World Bank, the OECD, or the ILO, which calculate these statistics in relation to all economically active individuals, while we refer to all people of working age. The same applies to the levels of part-time employment, fixed-term employment, self-employment, and solo self-employment. Although this method differs fundamentally from the methods used to calculate the rates usually published, we have decided to use a broader reference group including all people of working age. This is necessary to answer the question of whether an expansion of atypical employment is

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1 Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, and the United Kingdom have participated in the EU-LFS since 1983. Portugal and Spain have taken part since 1986, Finland, Norway, and Sweden since 1995, Hungary, Switzerland and Slovenia since 1996, and the Czech Republic, Poland, and Romania since 1997. Germany has also participated since 1983. German case law and legal precedents permit the use of these data for research purposes, albeit from the year 2002 onwards. For this reason, the German Mikrozensus was rewritten to comply with EU-LFS standards. As there was no Mikrozensus data available for the years 2010–2011 at the time these country profiles were compiled, we use EU-LFS data that were already available for these years.

2 We use first quarter data for Austria and France, as the second quarter data were not available.
associated with a lowering of unemployment or inactivity, or whether it results in a reduction in standard employment.

Within the part-time employment group we distinguish between people in marginal part-time employment, (i.e., those working less than 20 hours per week), and those in substantial part-time employment, (i.e., people who are employed for at least 20 hours but less than 35 hours per week). Fixed-term employees are all employees with an employment contract that is temporally limited. Solo self-employed people are self-employed people with no employees.

In differentiating between groups according to age and education, we also refer to international standards. “Young” people are those under the age of 30. The “middle” age category consists of people between the ages of 30 and 49. The “older” age category includes all people that are over the age of 50. The “low,” “medium,” and “high” education/skills groups are based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) from UNESCO. The “low” education/skills level covers ISCED groups 1, 2, and 3c, that is, those individuals that were integrated into the education system until the end of the second phase of basic education at most and did not participate in any additional formal education beyond this. The “medium” category includes ISCED groups 3 and 4 (excluding 3c) and therefore encompasses all those who have completed upper secondary education or an apprenticeship as well as those who have completed a program in preparation for tertiary education. “Highly” qualified individuals are those in ISCED groups 5 and 6. These are people with a tertiary-level qualification.
Key results of the descriptive analyses

The central result of our descriptive analyses is that both the levels of atypical employment and its distribution vary greatly across the countries studied. For example, in the last year of the study, 2011, only slightly more than one tenth of the population of working age in Hungary and the Czech Republic was in atypical employment. By contrast, in the Netherlands almost half of this group was in nonstandard employment; in Germany, Switzerland, and Denmark it was almost a third of the population between 15 and 64.

In addition, we determined that, with the exception of the Czech Republic and Romania, there was an increase in employment in the period studied despite the severe economic crisis from 2009 onwards. In the majority of countries, this increase in employment is due to the growth of atypical employment, but this is by no means the case for all countries.

Countries such as Austria, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands saw atypical employment grow by up to 15 percent in the period of the study. By contrast, there were only minimal changes in comparison to the mid-1990s starting level for nonstandard employment in the Scandinavian countries, France, and the United Kingdom. There was also little change in Spain, Greece, and Portugal in the period studied, although this may very well be an indicator that job reductions primarily occurred at the periphery of the labor market during the crisis, i.e., among people in atypical employment. In Romania, atypical employment even fell.

The question of whether the expansion of atypical employment is problematic from a sociopolitical perspective depends on whether the growth of atypical employment leads to a growth in overall employment or whether it replaces existing standard employment. It is also important to consider which forms of atypical employment are addressed here and whether these are practiced in a one-sided manner by specific population groups. Our country profiles also provide some initial, if ambiguous, answers to these questions.

Based on our country profiles we can show that in the bulk of the continental European countries, such as Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and also the Nordic states and the United Kingdom, part-time work is the dominant form of atypical employment. In seeking to evaluate the high levels of part-time work and its growth in these countries since the middle of the 1990s (e.g., 44 percent in the Netherlands in 2011 compared to 29 percent in 1996), the distinction between marginal and substantial part-time employment is important. This is because part-time work is not necessarily associated with insufficient income, poor social insurance coverage, or a lack of professional prospects as long as it is accompanied by a substantial number of hours (for example, more than 20 hours per week). Substantial part-time work is the dominant form of part-time work in all the countries studied, yet particularly in Germany “small” part-time employment is of distinct importance. This kind of employment is usually associated with low incomes, poor social insurance, and considerable employment insecurity and can therefore certainly be described as “precarious.” In assessing part-time work as the dominant form of atypical employment, it is also important to consider that it is primarily women that work part-time. This means that women earn lower incomes than men and have fewer pro-
fessional development opportunities. Therefore, having a higher percentage of individuals in atypical employment primarily resulting from women’s high rates in part-time employment is extremely problematic with regard to gender inequality.

Solo self-employment, which is the dominant form of atypical employment in countries such as Romania, Greece, and the Czech Republic, is as ambiguous a phenomenon as part-time work. Solo self-employment may be associated with lower income, insufficient social insurance coverage, considerable insecurity, and a lack of professional development prospects, but this is not necessarily the case. An indicator of the ambiguity of the phenomenon is, for example, that in Greece both poorly qualified and highly qualified individuals are particularly likely to be in solo self-employment. As is the case for part-time work, a clear gender nexus can also be extrapolated where solo self-employment is a dominant form of employment. However, the balance is reversed: In all countries in which solo self-employment is the dominant form of atypical employment, i.e., the Czech Republic, Greece, and Romania, men are more commonly atypically employed than women.

The picture looks quite different for the third largest form of atypical employment we investigate: fixed-term employment. This form of employment is the most common form of atypical employment in Spain, Portugal, Poland, and Slovenia. Fixed-term employment also plays an important role in France and Finland. In Finland, the proportions of fixed-term contracts and part-time employment are almost equal. Due to the higher likelihood that individuals in this form of employment will have erratic employment biographies, lower incomes, and higher levels of psychological insecurity (e.g., Gash 2008; Mertens, Gash, and McGinnity 2007; Polavieja 2003), atypical employment in these countries is problematic from an employee perspective. The answer to the question of which population groups are particularly likely to be in fixed-term employment is not the same for all countries. In four of the countries where fixed-term contracts are the dominant form of nonstandard employment, young people are particularly likely to be in fixed-term contracts. However, in Portugal, Spain, and Poland this also applies to the middle age category (30 to 49 years old). The distribution of these employment forms between men and women and between people with different education levels is similarly ambiguous in these countries.

If we do not consider the different forms of atypical employment, based on the descriptive analyses we can establish the following points, which apply almost unanimously across country borders: Women are—above all due to part-time work—more commonly atypically employed than men; younger people (i.e., people under the age of 30) are more commonly atypically employed than people in the middle category, and low-skilled workers are more likely to be in atypical employment than those with medium- or high-level qualifications. Little has changed about this distribution over the course of the past 16 years.
The advantages and use of the country profiles

Overall, the country profiles indicate more divergence than convergence, both for the trends in atypical employment compared to those for permanent full-time employment and nonemployment and for the distribution of nonstandard employment between the various social groups. This means these country profiles will be of interest to politicians, union representatives, and employers’ organizations. The factual basis the profiles provide may contribute to the debate on labor market flexibilization as they describe “real” changes in the labor market rather than “felt” ones. They describe the paths the individual countries have taken with regard to the integration of different population groups in the labor market and provide indicators of whether a trend towards “full employment” is developing within Europe. As the country profiles allow for comparisons across various points in time and between various countries, they are relevant for discussions of social insurance coverage for atypical employment.

In addition, the country profiles are relevant for researchers who (wish to) work with the EU-LFS data. The systematic description of labor market developments is of central importance for the development of specific research questions, and may facilitate the embedding and interpretation of results of further studies. The overviews of the descriptive results also clearly identify the points in time at which there were problems in data collection in particular countries. The identification of these points and elaboration of the problems may considerably simplify future research processes. Additional overviews and descriptive analyses may be generated by using the aggregated data, which are available to download from the project website (www.wzb.eu/atypical).
Important terms

The population studied includes all people who were of working age (between 15 and 64 years of age) at the time of the survey but excludes those living in collective living quarters (monasteries/convents, hospitals, etc.) and those doing compulsory military service.

A person was considered employed if they were working in the private or public sector, either in a dependent or self-employed capacity, for at least one hour a week and received a salary, wage, or other monetary remuneration for this.

Individuals were considered unemployed if they were not employed but were actively seeking work and were available to the labor market or if they were entering employment within the following three months.

Those who were neither employed nor unemployed were considered economically inactive. Inactive individuals who were in education or training were assigned to the inactive in education or training category.

A standard employment relationship exists when an individual is in a dependent employment relationship for at least 35 hours weekly and has a permanent employment contract.

Marginal part-time employment is employment with fewer than 20 hours a week.

Substantial part-time employment is employment with 20 hours and more a week but less than 35 hours a week.

Fixed-term employment exists when the period during which a contract is valid is limited. We differentiate between fixed-term employment (35 hours and more a week) and fixed-term part-time employment (less than 35 hours a week).

Self-employment exists when an individual’s main economic activity is not dependent employment.

Solo self-employment refers to self-employment without employees.

The educational/skill levels “low,” medium,” and “high” are based on the ISCED classification of qualifications developed by UNESCO.
Austria

Employment trends in Austria exhibited limited fluctuation. After a relatively stable phase at the start of the new century, in 2004 employment reached a low point for nearly all the groups examined. Employment rates then recovered. Within this, the individual labor market groups were represented to differing degrees. Over-49s and low-skilled workers had lower employment rates. Women were also less well represented in the labor market, although their employment rate, along with that of older employees, markedly increased. Inactivity decreased in all the groups investigated, with the exception of men and highly qualified individuals (although the level of inactive people was already low in these groups). Despite this fall in the level of inactivity, women, older people, and low-skilled workers were particularly likely to be inactive. Whereas for most groups the proportion of normal employment was greater than that of atypical employment, the relation was reversed for women and low-skilled workers. These groups have become more likely to be in nonstandard than in standard employment. In most groups, part-time employment was the dominant form, particularly for women, the 30-to-49 age group, and individuals with mid-level qualifications. By contrast, fixed-term contracts were more frequently adopted by younger employees and low-skilled workers. The people with the highest education levels were particularly likely to be solo self-employed. The economic crisis did not affect employment in Austria.

Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)

Employment in Austria by Age (1996–2011).

Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)

The survey process in Austria was changed in 2004 and continuous survey methods were adopted. For this reason, the comparability with the preceding year is limited. More source details are contained in the respective country tables, which can be accessed on the project website.

Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)
Belgium

In the period studied, the Belgian labor market only experienced slight fluctuations. In total, the proportion of inactive individuals in the working-age population is relatively high. Above all, women and low-skilled workers had lower employment rates than men or more highly qualified individuals, who were frequently in permanent and full-time employment. Younger and older people were also less well represented in the labor market compared to those in the middle age group. While many younger people were economically inactive due to participation in education and training, older people were for the most part not integrated into the labor market at all. Of all the forms of atypical employment, substantial part-time employment and solo self-employment were the most common. Within these forms of atypical employment, women tended to work part-time, whereas men were more frequently in solo self-employment.

Employment remained stable during the crisis period. The proportion of atypical employment rose slightly, a development that was largely confined to substantial part-time employment. The crisis led to a decrease in youth employment rates, which had previously been stagnating. Among older people, employment in the crisis even increased, from almost 48 percent in 2008 to almost 53 percent in 2011, although most of this increase was due to increases in part-time employment.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
**Czech Republic**

Employment trends in the Czech Republic remained very stable between 1996 and 2011 and the marked differences in employment between the various demographic groups persisted during this period. The proportion of people in employment differed considerably between the various groups. While low-skilled workers were the least likely to be employed, highly qualified people and people in the middle age category had the highest employment rates. Inactivity primarily affected women, low-skilled workers, and older people. Of all the employment types studied, standard employment was the most common form of employment among the population groups examined, although its levels differed from group to group. While part-time and fixed-term employment was almost irrelevant for the majority of the groups studied, solo self-employment is the only relevant form of atypical employment. This was most often taken up by highly qualified individuals, men, and the 30-to-49 age group. Women, younger people, and low-skilled workers by contrast were involved in the three atypical employment forms in almost equal measure; however the levels were very low. The economic crisis that began in 2009 only led to very slight drops in employment. Unemployment rose in nearly all groups by about 2 percentage points.

**Employment in the Czech Republic (1997–2011).**

*Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).*

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4 In contrast to the other European countries studied, employment data for Romania is only available from 1997 onwards. No information was available on education and training for the Czech Republic from 1998 to 2001. However, the age category chosen (15 to 64 years of age) includes all people attending school and those in education or training. The group of people who were in education and training cannot clearly be identified. Therefore, people who were in education or training between 1998 and 2001 are in the "inactive" category.
Employment in the Czech Republic by Gender (1997–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Employment in the Czech Republic by Age (1997–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\textsuperscript{4,5}

\textsuperscript{5} There is no information on qualifications for the year 1997. Therefore, no results could be provided for that year.
Denmark

The employment rates of all the groups studied were relatively high, although younger people, older people, and low-skilled workers have lower employment levels than, for example, men or highly qualified individuals. Women, people with lower qualification levels, and people under the age of 30 entered atypical employment and standard employment in similar numbers. Marginal part-time employment was more common among younger people and low-skilled workers than substantial part-time employment. Employment in Denmark fell quite dramatically during the crisis. Whereas employment was still at 78 percent in 2008, it had fallen to 73 percent by 2011. This fall was largely due to decreases in standard employment. Whereas 47.3 percent of all employed people were in this form of employment at the beginning of the crisis, by 2011 it was a mere 43 percent. By contrast, atypical employment largely remained stable. The fall in employment primarily affected men (a drop by 6.2 versus a drop by 3.2 percentage points for women). Atypical employment remained stable among both genders. The younger generation has also been affected by the crisis: Their employment rates dropped by 10.6 percentage points. This represents a particularly large drop compared to the drops for the middle and older age groups (3.7 and 0.7 percentage points respectively). Atypical employment in the under-30s only fell by 2 percentage points. Among the other age groups it remained stable.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Employment in Denmark by Age (1996–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Due to the implementation of harmonized concepts and definitions in the survey, information on education and training lack comparability with the preceding years from 2003 onwards (http://circa.europa.eu/irc/dsis/employment/info/data/eu_lfs/lfs_main/Related_documents/emploi_em05.htm).
Finland

Employment increased in Finland up to 2008, to over 72 percent in total. With the exception of young people and low-skilled workers, this increase can be linked to an increase in permanent full-time employment. Between 2009 and 2011, employment in Finland dropped by 2.3 percentage points. However, the rate only fell below the median for the ten-year stable phase for a brief period in 2010. From 2008 to 2011, atypical employment grew by 0.4 percentage points. However, fixed-term contracts decreased and substantial part-time employment increased.

During the crisis, employment fell to a larger extent for men than women (2.8 versus 1.7 percentage points). The slight increase in atypical employment is primarily due to more substantial and marginal part-time employment. The proportion of atypical employment among women did not change during the crisis (from 2008 to 2011). Declining employment during the crisis in Finland is primarily a problem for the younger and middle age groups (−3.8 percentage points for young people in comparison with −2.2 for middle-aged people, and −0.7 for older people). For younger people, fixed-term employment fell by 1.9 and substantial part-time employment increased by 0.9 percentage points. Low-skilled workers in Finland suffered most from the effects of the crisis. Their employment rates fell by 5.4 percentage points, followed by moderately qualified workers at 3.3 and highly qualified workers at 1.4. However, atypical employment remained stable; only fixed-term employment among low-skilled workers fell (by 1.2 percentage points).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).7

Employment in Finland by Gender (1996–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).7

7 A dramatic shift in the statistics occurred between the years 1998 and 1999. This is due to a change in the sampling procedure used, from pure random sampling to stratified random sampling. The sample size was also doubled from 1999 onwards.
Employment in Finland by Age (1996–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
France

There was slight growth in employment in the French labor market during the period studied. Women and older people were the primary beneficiaries of this development. The French labor market is polarized: Men, highly qualified people, and the 30-to-49 age group have the highest employment rates and women, low-skilled, younger and older people the lowest employment rates. The proportion of inactive people is particularly high among low-skilled workers. Although older people had the highest proportion of inactive people, in the period under observation, this proportion dropped by almost 10 percentage points.

During the crisis, employment trends in France also remained comparatively stable. Employment only decreased by 1 percentage point during this period. There was also little change in atypical employment. This finding applies to both genders. There are minimal differences between the various age groups. Whereas the employment rate for older people increased in 2011 after years of stagnation, the employment rate for younger people, which peaked in 2008, fell back to its 2007 level in the period between 2009 and 2011. Differentiating between educational levels demonstrates that not all employees were affected to a similar degree by the crisis. While workers with low- and medium-level qualifications experienced a fall in employment of 2.2 percentage points, employment for highly qualified individuals only fell by 0.2 percentage points.

Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)

Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)


Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)

Data source: ELFS (first quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)
Germany

Employment in Germany rose in the last 1.5 decades in almost all groups. Women and people over the age of 49 have been the primary beneficiaries of this, while other groups, such as the under-30s and low-skilled workers, had lower employment rates compared to the top performing groups. Low-skilled workers also had the highest levels of unemployment. Permanent full-time positions have declined in all groups, with the exception of the older group, where standard employment increased by 4.8 percentage points. Part-time employment was the most common form of atypical employment in nearly all groups. Men and the under-30s were the only groups in which fixed-term employment exceeded part-time employment. Marginal part-time employment increased in importance in all population groups, with the exception of highly qualified individuals and men. Solo self-employment was primarily taken up by highly qualified individuals, men, and people in the middle age category.

In contrast to many other European countries, Germany emerged largely unscathed from the economic and financial crisis. Due to favorable economic conditions, employment has in fact increased by 2.1 percentage points since 2008. Atypical employment only grew by 1.1 percentage points during this period. The growth in atypical employment is due in equal measure to solo self-employment and part-time work, but not to fixed-term contracts. Women in particular had higher employment rates in 2011 than at the start of the crisis. Women’s employment rates rose by 2.9 percentage points, whereas men’s only rose by 1.3 percentage points. Among younger people, almost the entire increase in employment is in fixed-term contracts.


Data sources: Microcensus until 2009, ELFS for 2010 & 2011 (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)

Data sources: Microcensus until 2009, ELFS for 2010 & 2011 (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)

Employment in Germany by Age (1996–2011).

Data sources: Microcensus until 2009, ELFS for 2010 & 2011 (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)
From the years 1996 to 1999, the Microcensus categorized education levels differently to the ELFS. Therefore, the proportions for the years up to including 1999 are not comparable with subsequent years. There is a data problem for the low educational/skills level in the year 2011. The quality report 2011 highlights the following change in the German questionnaire: increase of number of employed persons (due to change of leading questions on employment). These data should therefore be interpreted with caution.
**Greece**

Between 1996 and 2008, employment in Greece increased. However, among men, the under-30s, and people with medium-level qualifications, employment fell slightly. Although inactivity fell in almost all the groups investigated, women, older people, and low-skilled workers were still comparatively poorly integrated in the labor market. Since 2009, unemployment has risen in all the groups studied. Women, the under-30s, and people with medium-level qualifications had the highest unemployment rates during the entire period studied. In all the groups, more people worked in permanent full-time jobs in 2009 than in 1996. Women and people aged between 30 and 49 experienced the highest levels of growth in this form of employment. Nevertheless, it was women, but also younger people, older people, and low-skilled workers who were the least likely to be in standard employment. No clear trend emerged in atypical employment. Whereas the proportion of atypically employed men fell, this proportion increased for women and people with medium education levels. There was little change in other groups. Overall, solo self-employment was the dominant form of atypical employment. This was particularly true for men, people aged between 30 and 64, and low-skilled individuals. Among high-skilled individuals, by contrast, part-time work was very prevalent.

Since the beginning of the crisis, Greece has experienced a massive drop in employment. Our data go as far as 2011 and document a drop in overall employment of 2.1 percentage points from 2009 to 2010, as well as a drop of 3.7 percentage points from 2010 to 2011. Most of this drop was due to the decline of standard employment. A disproportionate number of men lost their jobs. Their employment rates dropped by 8.3 percentage points; among women it was “only” 3.3 percentage points. In Greece, it is primarily the younger population that has suffered due to the crisis. Their employment rates have fallen by 10 percentage points. This meant that only every third person between the ages of 16 and 30 had a job in the year 2011. Employment fell by 6.1 percentage points among the middle age group; for older people it fell by 2.5 percentage points. All the education groups were affected by drops in employment to a similar extent (5 to 7 percentage points). Highly qualified individuals suffered the greatest declines in employment, with a drop of 7 percentage points between 2008 and 2011.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Hungary

In Hungary, employment rates rose consistently from 1996 to 2003 and remained stable until 2007. While women, men, and the over-49s were the beneficiaries of an upward trend, a downward trend, especially among low-skilled workers and the under-30s began to take shape as far back as the start of the new millennium. Unemployment particularly affected men, low-skilled workers, and the young and middle age groups. Women, low-skilled workers, and both the older and younger age groups were most likely to be inactive, although their proportion fell markedly in the period considered. In all the groups studied, more people worked in standard employment than in atypical employment. The highest proportions of people in standard employment were found in the 30-to-49 age group and among highly qualified people, while low-skilled workers, the under-30s, and over-49s were proportionately least likely to be in permanent full-time employment. The individual forms of atypical employment were represented to relatively similar degrees. Solo self-employment decreased in importance in almost all the groups, with the exception of older people. Employment rates dropped slightly in the economic crisis. All groups were affected equally by the crisis, with the exception of women, high-skilled workers, and older people.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

There are no data on work contracts in Hungary for the year 1996, making a differentiation between fixed-term and permanent contracts impossible. People who worked on fixed-term contracts in 1996 are therefore assigned to the standard employment category.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Employment in Hungary by Age (1996–2011)

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).⁹,¹⁰

¹⁰ There are no data on qualifications for Hungary in 1996, making conclusions on employment levels according to various education levels impossible to reach. Therefore, the year 1996 is not depicted in this chart.
Ireland

Employment in Ireland expanded and unemployment fell from the middle of the 1990s onwards. Nonstandard employment increased, above all among women, older people, and moderately qualified individuals. In addition to part-time employment, solo self-employment and fixed-term employment played an important role.

However, growth had already begun to drop dramatically in the year before the crisis. The economic crisis of 2009 left clear marks: Employment fell in all the groups investigated. Men, the under-30s, and low- and medium-skilled workers were especially badly affected. Inactivity fell in the period under consideration and rose slightly among all groups in the crisis year of 2009, particularly among low-skilled workers and young people. Since the beginning of the economic crisis, employment in Ireland has dropped by 8.6 percentage points. This drop has affected standard employment relationships above all; other forms of employment have remained stable. The greatest job losses in standard employment were experienced by men (−11.3 percentage points), the under-30s (−16.2 percentage points), and individuals with mid-level qualifications (−12.9 percentage points). In comparison to this, the proportion of atypical employment has remained relatively stable since 2009.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

No information was available on education and training for Ireland from 1998 to 2001. However, the age category chosen (15 to 64 years of age) includes all people attending school and those in education or training. Between 1998 and 2001, the group of people who were in education or training cannot be clearly identified. Therefore, people who were in education or training between 1998 and 2001 are in the “inactive” category.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Employment in Ireland by Age (1996–2011)

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\textsuperscript{11,12}

\textsuperscript{12} There is no information on qualifications for the year 1998. Therefore, no results could be depicted for that year.
Italy

The trends in employment in Italy were positive for all the groups investigated until 2008. Although women and older people were better integrated into the labor market in the period under consideration, there are persistently high levels of inactivity for these two groups. The same applies to low-skilled workers. There was little change in standard employment, although this form of employment dropped among low-skilled workers and the under-30s. Atypical employment rose in all groups, particularly for women, moderately qualified individuals as well as in the 15-to-49 age groups. In addition to part-time work, solo self-employment plays an important role in Italy. Only the under-30s are more commonly in fixed-term employment than in part-time employment or solo self-employment. Marginal part-time employment was characteristically for high qualified people. However, marginal part-time fell continuously.

The years of crisis from 2009 onwards had only a small effect. Employment fell slightly in most of the groups studied. The only group that was hit hard was the younger age group, with a drop in employment rates of 6 percentage points.

Employment in Italy (1996–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{13}\) From the year 2004 onwards there was a shift of people from self-employed to solo self-employed. This may actually be an artifact of the data. The Italian census switched over to a continuous infra-annual survey program and second, changes were made to the questionnaire. Further source details are contained in the respective country tables, which can be accessed on the project website.
Employment in Italy by Gender (1996–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Employment in Italy by Age (1996–2011)

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
The Netherlands

The overall trend in the labor market in the Netherlands was positive until the start of the economic crisis. An increase in employment was achieved by creating more flexible employment opportunities. The principal beneficiaries of this were younger and older people, lower-skilled workers, and women. At the same time, standard employment relationships declined in almost all the groups studied, while part-time work expanded greatly. Young employees and low-skilled workers were increasingly affected by marginal part-time employment.

With the dramatic fall in economic growth in the year 2009, employment in the Netherlands dropped by 2.5 percentage points. Although a drop was observed in all population groups, younger people were strongly affected. Employment in this group fell by 5.6 percentage points.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Norway

There were a number of small fluctuations in Norway's employment rates. Almost all of the groups studied benefited from the first peak in employment in 1998. In 2004 and 2005, employment fell back to the starting level of 1996. The proportion of employed people in all groups had once again increased by 2008. Unemployment fell in the period under consideration in all groups. The under-30s had higher unemployment rates than people from any other group. Even before the crisis, young people were more likely to be unemployed compared to the general population. Inactivity was particularly prevalent among older and low-skilled people. While normal employment rose most strongly among women and the 30-to-49 age group compared to the 1996 levels, it fell slightly among low-skilled workers and fell strongly among the under-30s. At the same time, marginal part-time employment rose in both groups, while fixed term contracts dropped sharply among the under-30s.

In the crisis years after 2008, the employment fell by 3.1 percentage points. Both women and men were affected to a similar degree. Young people were seriously affected by the crisis, with a drop in their employment rates of 7 percentage points.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} No information was available on education and training for Norway for 1998 and 1999. However, the age category chosen (15 to 64 years of age) includes all people attending school and those in education or training. In the years mentioned, the group of people who were in education or training cannot clearly be identified. Therefore, people who were in education or training between 1998 and 1999 are in the “inactive” category.

From 2000 to 2002, a new, harmonized way of measuring education and training was implemented. Due to this, the information on inactive people in education and training cannot directly be compared with the

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

preceding or subsequent years. This may lead to inaccuracies, particularly among young and low-skilled individuals. Further source details are contained in the respective country tables, which can be accessed on the project website.
In 2006, the census was revised, which resulted in a lack of comparability over time, particularly for low-skilled individuals. Although there is information on education and training for the period 2000–2002, it is not included in this figure. In the analysis according to education, the proportion of inactive individuals in education and training cannot be meaningfully interpreted. Therefore, people who were in education or training between 2000 and 2002 are in the “inactive” category.
Poland

At the start of the new millennium the economic revival in Poland ran out of steam. As a consequence, employment fell and unemployment rose. The number of jobs fell, particularly permanent full-time jobs, while fixed-term positions became more prevalent. Both men and women were equally affected by this development. However, men were, on the whole, better integrated into the labor market during this period than women, who frequently worked part time. The 30-to-49 age group had the highest employment rates and worked most frequently in permanent full-time jobs. Atypical employment is relevant in all age groups, although it is less important in the older age group. However, over half of this age group does not participate in employment. There are clear differences between the three educational groups. The highly qualified group has high levels of employment, and almost half of them were in full-time employment. By contrast, only every fourth person in the low-skilled group was in employment at all. People with all levels of education could be found in the various levels of atypical employment, whereas part-time work was particularly prevalent among highly qualified people. Only low-skilled workers were more commonly found in atypical employment than in normal employment.

The crisis did not have a noticeable impact in Poland; at most the general upward trend was merely halted. Among the older age group, employment even increased by 2.9 percentage points.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

In contrast to the other European countries studied, employment data for Romania is only available from 1997 onwards.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

No information was available on education and training for Poland for 1998 and 2000. However, the age category chosen (15 to 64 years of age) includes all people attending school and those in education or training. The group of people who were in education and training cannot clearly be identified. Therefore, people who were in education or training between 1998 and 2000 are in the “inactive” category.

There is no information on working times in Poland from 1997–2000. This made it impossible to distinguish part-time from full-time employment. People who work part-time are therefore assigned to the standard employment category.
Employment in Poland by Age (1997–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Portugal

Employment in Portugal increased in all groups between 1996 and 2001/2002 and remained at this level with only minor fluctuations until the year before the crisis, 2008. The primary beneficiaries of this increase were women, young people, and older people as well as individuals with low and mid-level qualifications. Low-skilled workers, older people, and women were most affected by inactivity, although the respective proportions were trending downwards over the entire period under consideration. The most important forms of atypical employment were fixed-term contracts and solo self-employment. Young and highly qualified employees were particularly likely to be in fixed-term employment. Low-skilled workers and the over-49s were particularly frequently found in solo self-employment.

Employment in Portugal fell by 3.8 percentage points during the crisis. The pattern is familiar: The fall in employment affected men (−5.8 percentage points) more strongly than women (−1.9 percentage points). Younger people were also more affected than the middle and older age groups (−6.7 vs. −3 and −3.4 percentage points respectively). There was a large drop in employment among low-skilled workers: A fall of 6.2 percentage points was observed here. In Portugal—in contrast to many other countries—highly qualified individuals were also relatively seriously affected by the crisis (−3.4 percentage points).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Romania

Levels of employment fell steadily in all the groups studied from 1997 to 2002. Employment rates for low-skilled workers did not reach a low point until 2004. On the whole, low-skilled workers and the under-30s had disproportionately low levels of labor market integration. Unemployment and standard employment only fluctuated slightly for all groups, although men and the under-30s were the most likely to be unemployed and the 30-to-49s and highly qualified individuals were the most likely to be in standard employment. Solo self-employment dominated over all the other forms of flexible employment analyzed here. It was primarily low-skilled individuals and the over-49 age group who considered it an alternative to standard employment. By contrast, part-time employment and fixed-term contracts played almost no role.

In Romania, there was little movement on the labor market as a result of the crisis. Only older people and highly qualified individuals faced falls in employment of 3.1 and 3.4 percentage points respectively.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\textsuperscript{17,18}

\textsuperscript{17} In contrast to the other European countries studied, employment data for Romania is only available from 1997 onwards.

\textsuperscript{18} Changes in the survey program in the year 2002 mean the comparability of the data from the preceding years is restricted. Further source details are contained in the respective country tables, which can be accessed on the project website.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Employment in Romania by Age (1997–2011).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Slovenia

From 1996 to 2003 employment only fluctuated slightly in Slovenia. Employment only dropped for the under-30s and medium education group, whereas there was a clear upward trend for the over-49 age group. Highly qualified individuals and people between the ages of 30 and 49 were particularly likely to be in permanent full-time employment. The under-30s and people with mid-level qualifications were particularly likely to be in atypical employment. The most common form of atypical employment by far is fixed-term employment. This form of employment is particularly prevalent among the under-30s. In contrast to other EU countries, there were no differences in Slovenia between the genders, but only between the different education and age groups.

The crisis in the year 2009 led to a fall in employment among all groups. There was a particularly sharp decline among the under-30s (-6 percentage points) and low-skilled workers (-9 percentage points).

**Employment in Slovenia (1996–2011).**

![Chart showing employment categories from 1996 to 2011.](chart.png)

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\(^{19}\)

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\(^{19}\) No information was available on education and training for Slovenia for 1998 and 1999. However, the age category chosen (15 to 64 years of age) includes all people attending school and those in education or training. This group of people cannot be clearly classified according to their education and training behavior and are thus categorized in the inactive category for the years 1998 and 1999.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\textsuperscript{19}


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\textsuperscript{19}

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys)."
Spain

The proportion of people in standard employment increased between 1996 and 2008, while unemployment fell consistently. Men were better integrated into the labor market during the period under consideration, although increasing numbers of women took up employment. This increase in the number of women in the labor market was possible due to almost equal increases in standard and nonstandard employment. However, men were markedly more affected by the crisis than women. The employment rate for men fell to a much greater extent than for women (11 and approximately 2.5 percentage points respectively). Among the under-30s the proportion of people in standard employment was consistently smaller than the numbers of people in atypical employment. Unemployment for this group was also much higher than for any other age group. The over-49 age group was particularly likely to be inactive. The differences between these age groups became especially apparent at the onset of the crisis. Whereas more than half of the 15 to 29 age group were in employment before the crisis, only 39 percent of this group were in employment in the year 2011. Almost half of this drop can be linked to a fall in standard employment, and over 40 percent can be linked to a drop in fixed-term employment. By contrast, among people over the age of 50, employment did not even fall by 2 percent. In Spain, the type of employment is strongly connected with qualification level. The higher the qualification, the better the chance that a person will be integrated into the labor market, although the difference between low-skilled workers and those with medium-level qualifications was remarkably small. Low-skilled workers had high levels of inactivity, which continuously declined in the period of the study. As is also the case in other countries, highly qualified individuals were less affected by the crisis of 2009, with a drop in employment of 4.8 percent, than those with medium-level qualifications (−8.5 percent) and low-skilled workers (−8.4 percent).

In the crisis year of 2009, the numbers of unemployed people increased dramatically, and reached similar levels to those reported in the mid-1990s. This rise was linked with a fall in the numbers of atypically employed individuals, in particular those in fixed-term employment. However, the proportion of people in fixed-term and part-time employment had increased consistently up to the year 2008. From the beginning of the economic crisis in the year 2009, employment in Spain fell by 6.6 percent. In contrast to other countries, standard employment fell astonishingly little (2 percent). More than half of the fall in employment was due to the drop in fixed-term employment.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Employment in Spain by Age (1996–2011)

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Sweden

The Swedish labor market is characterized by generally high employment levels. Women, older people and low-skilled individuals are comparatively well integrated into employment. However, the same trends that affect all the other European countries also apply to Sweden, albeit to a lesser extent: Higher qualification levels increase an individual’s likelihood of participating in employment. In Sweden, standard employment is the dominant form of employment in almost all the groups analyzed. Standard employment is slightly increasing in all groups except among young people and low-skilled individuals, where standard employment is decreasing. Substantial part-time employment is the most important form of atypical employment, especially for women. Only the under-30s were more frequently found in fixed-term employment and fixed-term part-time employment. Fixed-term employment rose markedly in this group in the last decade.

Despite a dramatic drop in economic growth—with the exception of low-skilled workers and men—employment in Sweden remained stable during the crisis. Among low-skilled workers there was a comparatively larger fall in standard employment and a simultaneous rise in participation in further education and training. There was a fall in employment among men in 2009 and 2010 of 2 percentage points and a slight increase in unemployment.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

No information was available on education and training in Sweden for 1998. However, the age category chosen (15 to 64 years of age) includes all people attending school and those in education or training. The group of people who were in education or training in 1998 cannot be clearly identified. Therefore, people who were in education or training in 1998 are in the “inactive” category.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).  


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).  

Changes in the survey program in 2001 mean the comparability of the data with the previous time points is restricted. Further source details are contained in the respective country tables, which can be accessed on the project website.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
Switzerland

An important feature of the Swiss labor market is its stable and high employment rate in the period under consideration. More than 70 percent of all people of working age are in employment. Despite the high employment rates for women (between 67 and 74 percent) and men (over 80 percent), the employment patterns of the two genders differ considerably. Among the men, 57 percent were in standard employment, however only 30 percent of women were in this form of employment. Part-time employment—both marginal and substantial part-time employment—was the most typical form of employment among women. For young people and low-skilled workers, fixed-term employment and fixed-term part-time employment were the “typical” form of employment. The low-skilled group was also notable for the fact that it proportionately had the lowest employment rates and the highest unemployment rates. The crisis had little impact on the Swiss labor market.


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Changes in the survey program in 2001 mean the comparability of the data with the previous time points is restricted. The increase in fixed-term and decrease in fixed-term part-time employment in 2010 and 2011 should be interpreted with great caution. These changes may actually be due to a change in survey design in 2010. Further source details are contained in the respective country tables, which can be accessed on the project website.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).
United Kingdom

There were overall increases in employment in the UK from the mid-1990s until the turn of the millennium, and rates remained constant until 2008. In the UK, men, highly qualified individuals, and the 30-to-49 age group were most likely to be in permanent full-time employment, while women, the over-49s, and low-skilled workers were least likely. Standard employment fell in almost all groups from 1996 onwards. Since 2004, low-skilled workers have been squeezed out of employment in the United Kingdom (-10 percentage points between 2004 and 2011. With regard to atypical employment, there were marked differences between the groups studied. Women, the 30-to-49 age group, and moderately qualified individuals were increasingly employed in nonstandard jobs, whereas men engaged comparatively rarely in atypical employment. Part-time work was the dominant form in almost all the groups. Although substantial part-time employment slightly outweighed marginal part-time employment in almost all the groups, the marginal form played an important role for women, low-skilled workers, those with mid-level qualifications, and the under-30s. Solo self-employment was of particular importance for 30 to 49 year olds, the over-49s, and men. Men are also the only group for whom the solo self-employment levels are higher than the levels of part-time work.

The economic crisis brought the employment rates slightly down and unemployment rose among all population groups. However, the crisis affected the various groups differently. Men were more strongly affected than women, and younger workers were harder hit than those in the middle and older age groups. The reduction in employment was mostly due to the reduction of standard employment.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\(^{22}\)


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).\(^{22}\)

\(^{22}\) No information was available on education and training for the United Kingdom from 1996 to 1998. Therefore, people who were in education or training between 1996 and 1998 are in the “inactive” category. Further details are contained in the respective country tables, which can be accessed on the project website.

Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).22


Data source: ELFS (second quarter based on yearly and quarterly surveys).22,23

23 There is no information on qualifications for the year 1998. Therefore, no results could be depicted for 1998.
References


