

## Women and men in the crisis

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# SOCIAL SITUATION OBSERVATORY INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND LIVING CONDITIONS 

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Women and men in the crisis

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#### Abstract

The crisis has continued to have a differential effect on different sectors of economic activity and as a result, a continuing effect on the employment of men and women. Initially, therefore, the main effect of the recession in 2008 and 2009 was on manufacturing and construction, leading to large-scale job losses in many countries. Over more recent years, the response to the crisis of governments virtually throughout the EU has been to reduce employment in the public sector, the growth of which offset the decline elsewhere in the economy in the recession years. The concern here is to examine the extent to which employment has risen or fallen in the different broad sectors and how this has affected men and women. It is equally to examine the spread of part-time working which was a prominent feature too of the recession years, to see how far this has continued and how far it has affected men as well as women. The consequences of employment developments for the division of paid work between men and women within households are also considered, along with the implications for the contribution of the two to household income. It ends by examining the relative incomes of men and women in the light of labour market developments and, more specifically, the relative number of men and women with income below the at-risk-ofpoverty threshold, focusing on those living alone, since the income of couple households is assumed to be shared equally between household members.


## Introduction

The global recession which struck in the EU in 2008 had a clear differential effect on men and women in that by far the largest number of jobs that were lost were in construction and manufacturing industries where men accounted for most of employment and, in some cases, such as construction, almost all of employment. What is less clear is what has happened since and how the crisis -the period of virtual stagnation interspersed with renewed spells of economic downturn in many Member States or continuing recession in some (the southern EU15 countries especially) which has followed has affected men and women in term of both their employment and incomes. This is the broad question examined below. As such, the concern is to update the analysis carried out in 2012 on the same question and to extend it to cover one or two additional issues of policy interest ${ }^{1}$.

The analysis begins by examining the sectoral shifts in employment, focusing on the period up to mid-2013 (the latest date for which employment date are available at the time of writing) and how the changes which have occurred up to then have been divided between men and women. The concern here is not only with jobs as such and how they have expanded or contracted but also with the extent to which the new jobs created - or the existing one which have been lost -have been part-time rather than full-time, which clearly has implications for the income they have given rise to. The concern is also with the extent to which jobs are temporary, or fixed-term, rather than permanent or with open-ended contracts since this has implications for the stability of employment and the degree of uncertainty surrounding the future course of income which the jobs generate. The effect of their education level on how men and women have been affected over the crisis period and on the nature of the jobs that they have been able to find is examined at the same time.

The second broad set of issues investigated concerns how the division of employment between men and women has changed during the crisis, focusing on men and women sharing a household. The interest here is in how far there has been a shift towards women moving into employment or working longer hours as men lost their jobs or, more generally, have not been able to not bring as much income into the household as before the crisis, whether because of not working or earning less money.

The third set of issues relates to changes in the contribution to household income of men and women and how far, in particular, there is evidence of the contribution of women increasing over the crisis period, even if the data available cover only the initial years.
The main focus throughout is on men and women aged 25-64 in order to focus on those of working-age but to exclude young people since they raise a different set of issues, though the change in employment of those aged 65-74 over the crisis period is examined since there has been a tendency for this to increase as a number of men and women have extended their working lives. So far as possible the latest set of data available at the time of writing is used in order to be as up-to-date as possible. The first part of the analysis is therefore based largely on quarterly data up to the second quarter of 2013.

[^0]Women and men in the crisis

# Changes in employment of women and men during the crisis 

## Reductions in employment concentrated on the young while employment of those of 65 and over has risen

Over the four years 2008-2012 (taking in each case the second quarter of the year), the total number employed in the EU28 declined by around $2.3 \%$, most of the decline occurring in 2009 as a consequence of the deep recession which followed the global financial crisis which struck the Union in 2008. In the following year - or more precisely from the second quarter of 2012 to the second quarter of 2013 - the number declined by a further $0.3 \%^{2}$.

Most of the decline in both periods is accounted for by young people under 25, who made up only $10 \%$ of the total in work in the EU28 in 2008, but whose numbers in employment fell by $16.5 \%$ between 2008 and 2012 and by a further $3.5 \%$ in 2013, or by 4.4 million in absolute terms over the 5 -year period as whole. This represents almost three-quarters of the job loss of 5.9 million over the period. (The share in 2013 was actually bigger than this, at around $85 \%$ of the total decline.) While some of the decline in the number of young people in work can be attributed to the fall in their numbers as a consequence of demographic trends (around a third if the employment rate of those aged $15-24$ is applied to the decline in the number employed), most of it (i.e. around two-thirds) is a result of young people being squeezed out of the labour market by a shortage of job.
Given the depressed state of the economy across much of the EU and the highly uncertain prospects for future growth, there has, therefore, been relatively little new job creation and many older workers retiring have not been replaced. As a result, the employment rate of those aged 15-24 fell from 37\% to 32\% between 2008 and 2013 in the EU28 and from just over 39\% to under 32\% in the EU15 countries excluding Germany (where the rate increased slightly). Even more dramatically, the rate fell from $24 \%$ to under $12 \%$ in Greece and from $36 \%$ to $16 \%$ in Spain.
By contrast, there has been some increase in employment at the same time of those of 65 and over, who make up only around $2 \%$ of the total number of people in work, reflecting the tendency for both men and women to remain in work longer before retiring. Between 2008 and 2012, the number of them employed in the EU28 went up by over $12 \%$ and in the year up to the second quarter of 2013, by almost a further $4 \%$. There is, however, a stark contrast between the EU15 and the EU13 countries, the number in work in the latter declining by $12 \%$ over the 5 year to mid-2013 and in the EU15 increasing by $27 \%$.

Part of the increase in employment among this age group can be attributed to an increase in the number of people of 65 and over (of over 7\% between 2008 and 2013), due to population trends, but there was still a significant increase in the employment rate of those aged 65-74 in the EU15 (from $6.3 \%$ to $7.5 \%$, even if Germany - where it rose markedly from $5.5 \%$ to $8.5 \%$ - is excluded). This continues a trend dating back before the crisis and is true of both men and women. In Portugal, $25 \%$ of men in this age group were employed in 2013 and $13 \%$ of women (though both figures were significantly less than in 2008 before the crisis) and in the UK, 19\% of men and just under $12 \%$ of women (both figures around 3 percentage points higher

[^1]than in 2008). In the EU13, however, the employment rates of the age group declined in most cases, especially for men. In both the EU15 and EU13, there was an increase in part-time working at the same time, particularly among men, though not in all countries (in the UK, for example, it declined) which implies that in terms of earnings from employment, there was less of an increase in the EU15 than the employment figures suggest and more a reduction in the EU13.

Most of the people in work are aged $25-64$ (some $88 \%$ of the total). The number of these has also declined since 2008, by 1\% between 2008 and 2012 but by only $0.1 \%$ over the year to mid-2013. The extent of the decline in most countries, however, is disguised by the significant increase in both periods in Germany - by $5.5 \%$ in the first and by $1.3 \%$ in the second. Excluding Germany, the reduction in employment in the EU15 is pushed up to $2.6 \%$ in the four years $2008-2012$ and to $0.7 \%$ in the year to mid-2013. Similarly in the EU13, the growth of employment in Poland in the first period (by $1.4 \%$ ) serves to moderate the decline which becomes $2.7 \%$, though in the year to mid-2013, it makes only a marginal difference, in this case, the marginal decline there reducing the increase in the EU13 which was $0.6 \%$ without Poland.

## Reductions in employment have affected men more than women

Between mid-2008 and mid-2012, the number employed in the EU among those aged $25-64$ fell by $1 \%$, as noted above. More than all of the decline, however, was accounted for by employment of men, which fell by $1.5 \%$, while that of women increased if only slightly (by $0.5 \%$ ) (Figure 1). There is some difference between EU15 and EU13 countries, the number of men in work declining by $2.7 \%$ in the former and the number of women increasing only marginally, while in the EU13, the number of women employed declined along with that of men, if only by half as much.
Figure 1 Division of change in number employed aged 25-64 between men and women, 2008.Q.2-2012.Q. 2 ( $\%$ total employed in 2008)


The pattern of change in the EU15 and EU13 is broadly repeated in the individual countries which make up the two groups, with the employment of men declining by more than that of women or increasing by less in all countries, except Poland and Romania, where there was a relatively small increase in both, though bigger for men than women, and Luxembourg, where the much larger increase was much the same for both. In the other countries, the difference in the extent of the change tended to be wider in the EU15 Member States than in the EU13 ones, if less so in Greece and Portugal as well as Germany.

There is less of a difference in most countries in the change in employment among men and women in the year to mid-2013, even if at the aggregate level, the difference is similar to that in the previous four years (Figure 2 ).

Figure 2 Division of change in number employed aged 25-64 between men and women, 2012.Q. 2 -2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


In the EU15, excluding Germany, there was a reduction in the number of women in work as well in that of men, even if smaller, while in the EU13, excluding Poland (where women declined but men remained unchanged), the employment of men increased by much the same as that of women. In the four southern EU15 countries, the reduction in employment continued to be concentrated on men, if less so than previously and in Italy, women shared in the loss of jobs whereas in the years before the number of them employed had increased. In Finland, the number of women employed fell by more than that of men and in Demark and Ireland, it increased by less.

In the EU13, too, there were a number of countries, in addition to Poland, where the employment of women either declined by more than that of men -as in Slovenia - or increased by less - as in Lithuania, Hungary and Estonia - or rose to much the same extent - as in Latvia and Malta.

## The shift to part-time jobs

Many of the job which have been created since the crisis began have been part-time rather than full-time, not only for women, for whom part-time working in many countries, in the EU15 at least, had risen in importance over the preceding years, but also for men. Over the four years from mid-2008 to mid-2012, there was a net reduction of over 4.5 million in the number of those aged 25-64 employed in full-time jobs in the EU28, which was followed by a further decline of almost 1.1 million in the year to mid-2013 (Figure 3).

Figure 3 Number employed in full-time and part-time jobs in the EU28, 2008-2013


This was accompanied by an increase in the number employed in full-time jobs of around 3.1 million over the 5 years.

The decline in full-time jobs has been much larger in countries other than Germany where the number employed in such jobs increased by over 1.4 million over the 5 years, accompanied by a growth in part-time employment at a similar rate (Figure 4).
Figure 4 Number employed in full-time and part-time jobs in Germany, 2008-2013


Excluding Germany, the decline in full-time employment in the EU15 has been precipitous, amounting to over $6 \%$ or a loss of over 6.4 million jobs, which was compensated to some extent by an increase of some 2.1 million part-time jobs (almost 10\%) (Figure 5).

Figure 5 Number employed in full-time and part-time jobs in EU15 excluding Germany, 2008-2013


The shift to part-time employment has been less pronounced in the EU13 and concentrated in the years 2008-2010 when the number in work declined. This is especially so if Poland, where employment rose over the period, is excluded (Figures 6 and 7). In the EU13, excluding Poland, therefore, full-time employment declined markedly between 2008 and 2010, offset to a small extent by a rise in part-time employment After falling further in 20911, though at a slower rate, he number employed full-time then increased in both 2012 and 2013, while part-time employment remained broadly unchanged.

Figure 6 Number employed in full-time and part-time jobs in Poland, 2008-2013


Figure 7 Number employed in full-time and part-time jobs in EU13 excluding Poland, 2008-2013


The shift to part-time jobs has been widespread across the EU Between 2008 and 2012, only three Member States (Croatia, Sweden and Poland) experiencing a decline in the number of people aged 25-64 working part-time and in $n 5$ of the 11 countries in which employment rose over the period, most of the increase was among people working part-time (Figure 8).

Figure 8 Division of the change in employment of those aged 25-64 between full-time and part-time jobs, 2008.Q2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% of total employed in 2008)


In the year up to mid-2013, employment in part-time jobs among those aged 25-64 continued to increase in most EU15 countries while full-time jobs declined, though there were more countries (6) where part-time employment fell, in half the cases accompanying a reduction in full-time employment (Figure 9). In the EU13, there were only 4 countries - the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Cyprus and Malta - where the rise was more than marginal.

Figure 9 Division of the change in employment of those aged 25-64 between full-time and part-time jobs, 2012.Q2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% of total employed in 2012)


As noted above, the shift from full-time to part-time working has affected both men and women. This was especially the case in the 4 years 2008 to 2012 . Over this period, the number of men aged 25-64 employed full-time declined by around $4 \%$ in the EU28 while the number employed part-time went up by just over 1\% (Figure 10).

In the EU15 excluding Germany, a reduction of over 6\% in men employed full-time was offset to a small extent by a rise of $1.5 \%$ in those employed part-time and in the EU13, a decline in the former of just over $4 \%$ was accompanied by a rise of $1 \%$ in men working part-time. In all Member States apart from Poland and Malta, the number of men in the age group in part-time jobs increased while in most cases (in all but 5), the number of full-time jobs fell. This was the case even in Latvia where fulltime employment of men declined by over $24 \%$.

Figure 10 Division of the change in employment of men aged 25-64 between full-time and part-time jobs, 2008.Q2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% of total employed in 2008)


In the subsequent year up to mid-2013, the phenomenon was much less widespread, especially in the EU13 countries. Nevertheless, in the EU15 excluding Germany, it was still the case that part-time employment of men aged 25-64 increased, if only slightly,
while full-time employment fell (by 1.6\%) (Figure 11). This was also the case in most EU15 Member States (all but 5 - Portugal, France, Luxembourg, Finland and Sweden). In the EU13, on the other hand, part-time employment among men declined slightly while full-time employment increased, reversing the shift which occurred over the preceding 4 years. Only in the four countries listed above where the total number employed in part-time jobs increased (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Cyprus and Malta) was there any growth in part-time working among men in 2013, in Cyprus and Slovakia partly offsetting a reduction in men employed full-time.

Figure 11 Division of the change in employment of men aged 25-64 between full-time and part-time jobs, 2012.Q2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% of total employed in 2012)


For women aged 25-64, much the same pattern of change is evident in the first period but much less so in the second. Between mid-2008 and mid-2012, the number of women in full-time jobs in the EU28 declined, if only marginally, while the number employed part-time increased (Figure 12).

Figure 12 Division of the change in employment of women aged 25-64 between fulltime and part-time jobs, 2008.Q2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% of total employed in 2008)


In this case, the reduction in full-time employment among women was larger in the EU13, excluding Poland than in the EU15, excluding Germany (by 3\% as opposed to $1.5 \%$ ), but in both, the number employed part-time rose (by $1 \%$ in the former and $1.5 \%$ in the latter).

While the employment of women in part-time jobs increased in the great majority of Member States, there were four in which it fell (Croatia, Portugal, Denmark and Sweden), one more than in the case of men. All of these except Sweden were countries in which full-time employment of women also declined.

Over the year to mid-2013, an increase in part-time working was solely responsible for the small rise in the number of women aged 25-64 in employment in the EU28, the number employed in full-time jobs declining (Figure 13). Excluding Germany, however, where virtually all of the increase in the employment of women was accounted for by part-time working, the number of women employed in part-time jobs rose only marginally while the number in full-time jobs fell significantly (by 1.6\%). In the EU13 too, there was only a very small rise in women working part-time.

Figure 13 Division of the change in employment of women aged 25-64 between fulltime and part-time jobs, 2012.Q2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% of total employed in 2012)


Nevertheless, in three of the four southern EU15 countries, Greece, Italy and Portugal, a growth in part-time working helped to offset a reduction in full-time employment, which was significant in Greece and Italy. In these two countries, therefore, the fall in the total number of women in work understates the extent of the reduction in terms of the earnings from employment of women. Equally, in Germany, the increase in the total exaggerates the growth which occurred in these terms, as it does in the Czech Republic. On the other hand, in Belgium and Austria, as in Cyprus, Slovenia and Lithuania, and most especially in Estonia, where there was a shift from part-time to full-time working, the increase in the total number in work understates the growth which occurred (in Estonia, for example, the number of women in employment went up only a little over the year but the shift to full-time jobs is likely to have meant a much bigger increase in the earnings of women from employment.)

The decline in the employment of men which has occurred in most countries since 2008 is reflected in the proportion of men aged 25-64 in work, i.e. the employment rate. This fell from $80.3 \%$ to $76.0 \%$ between mid-2008 and mid-2013 (Figure 14). There was a bigger decline, however, for the EU15 countries excluding Germany (from $81.0 \%$ to $75.7 \%$ ), while in the EU13 countries, excluding Poland, the reduction was smaller but still significant (from $78.2 \%$ to $75.2 \%$ ). The biggest declines in the rate were in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Croatia and Cyprus, all over 10 percentage points, while the rate increased in only three countries, Hungary, Malta and Germany.

Figure 14 Employment rates of men aged 25-64 in 2008.Q. 2 and 2013.Q. 2 (\% of men in age group)


In terms of full-time equivalents (FTE) ${ }^{3}$, the reduction in the employment rate over the period is slightly larger in nearly all countries. In the EU28 as a whole, it amounts to just over 4 percentage points instead of just over 3, while in the EU15 excluding Germany, it amounts to just over 6 percentage points instead of just over 5 (Figure 15, in which the countries are ranked in terms of the actual employment rate to highlight the differences the FTE adjustment makes in some countries). In Ireland and Cyprus, it adds almost 2 percentage points to the decline and in Portugal, 1.5 percentage points. It also adds 1 percentage point or more to the decline in Spain, France, the UK, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Slovakia.

Figure 15 FTE Employment rates of men aged 25-64 in 2008.Q. 2 and 2013.Q. 2 (\% of men in age group)


For women aged 25-64, there was a marginal increase in the proportion in work over the period in the EU as a whole but a small decline in both the EU15 excluding Germany and the EU13 excluding Poland (Figure 16). In most countries, there was a reduction or hardly any change in the proportion, the decline amounting to nearly 9 percentage points in Greece and 4-5 percentage points in Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and Slovenia.

[^2]Figure 16 Employment rates of women aged 25-64 in 2008.Q. 2 and 2013.Q. 2 (\% of women in age group)


Adjusting to FTE terms makes a bigger difference to the employment rates of women than for men, but less so for the change over the period, though the slight increase in the rate for the EU28 is turned into a marginal decline after adjustment and the reductions in the rate in the EU15 and EU13 are increased slightly (Figure 17).

Figure 17 FTE Employment rates of women aged 25-64 in 2008.Q. 2 and 2013.Q. 2 (\% of women in age group)


The reduction in the employment rate is increased by over 1 percentage point in both Cyprus and Estonia if employment is adjusted to an FTE basis, while in both Austria and Malta, the increase is reduced by over 1 percentage point and in Germany by just under 1 percentage point. On the other hand, in Sweden, the small rise in the rate is increased by 1 percentage point after adjustment because of the shift from part-time to full-time jobs.

## Division of changes in employment between men and women by sector

Over the 4 years from mid-2008 to mid-2012, job losses among men aged 25-64 in the EU28 were predominantly in manufacturing and construction, while the job losses among women in manufacturing were offset by a significant increase of employment in public services (education, health and social services as well as public administration) (Figure 18). Much the same pattern is evident for the year up to mid2013, though the overall change was much smaller. Again the main job losses for men were in construction and manufacturing and the main gains for women were in public

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services - if less so than in over the preceding four years - where there was an increase in women employed but a reduction in men (Figure 19). There was also an increase in women employed in other services, much more so than for men, while the reverse was the case in Basic services (which had declined over the previous four years) and Business services, where in both cases, the number of men employed rose by more than the number of women, especially in the former.

Figure 18 Change in employment of those aged $25-64$ by sector split by men and women in the EU28, 2008.Q. 2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2008)


Figure 19 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in the EU28, 2012.Q. 2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


Again, the extent of the change but also the nature is concealed to a significant extent by the changes in employment which occurred in Germany in both periods. Instead of declining, the number of both men and women aged 25-64 employed increased over the 4 years 2008 to 2012, with only agriculture and other services showing a decline (Figure 20). The larger increase among women in work than among men was mainly due to the growth of employment of women in public services, which alone was responsible for more than half of the additional jobs filled by women over the period. In both the other main growth sectors, Business services and Basic services, the employment of men rose by more than that of women (by twice as much in the latter).

The pattern of change over the year to mid-2013 was similar in many respects, except that employment in both manufacturing and ICT declined, affecting men in particular. This was offset by a significant increase in employment in Basic services, which as in the previous four years benefited men more than women (Figure 21). A major reason for the larger increase in the employment of women than men, however, was again the bigger rise in the jobs filled by women in public services.
Figure20 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in Germany, 2008.Q. 2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2008)


Figure 21 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in Germany, 2012.Q. 2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


In the rest of the EU15, The pattern of change over the period mid-2008 to mid-2012 mirrors that in the EU as a whole, except that the reduction in employment was larger. The decline in the number of men employed was largely a consequence of a big loss of jobs in construction and manufacturing, while the small increase in employment among women was due to the expansion of jobs filled by women in public services which offset the job losses in manufacturing and basic services (Figure 22). Women also gained more than men from the rise in employment in business and other services.

The pattern of change in employment in the year to mid-2013 was similar to that over the preceding 4 years with the major difference that instead of jobs in public services increasing to offset the fall in manufacturing and construction, they contracted and reinforced the decline instead (Figure 23). Accordingly, although the number of men employed in the sector declined by more than that of women, the lack of growth meant that the number of women in work fell over the year along with the number of
men. The main growth sector, as in the pre-crisis years, was business services, in which the employment of men went up by much more than that of women.

Figure 22 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in EU15 excluding Germany, 2008.Q. 2 to 2012.Q. 2 ( $\%$ total employed in 2008)


Figure 23 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in EU15 excluding Germany, 2012.Q. 2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


Poland, like Germany, experienced growth of employment over the period 2008 to 2012 instead of a decline. The pattern of growth, however, was different, in that it was mainly due to an expansion of business and basic services rather than public services, though there was an increase in jobs in the latter as well (Figure 24). These increases offset job losses in in manufacturing and agriculture, in which unlike in Germany, employment fell significantly. Since the jobs losses in both cases affected women rather than men, there was not the same relative increase in the overall number of women in work as in Germany, despite the growth of jobs filled by women in public services as elsewhere.

In the year to mid-2013, the pattern of employment change in the different broad sectors was different than over the previous four years. Again there was an reduction of employment in agriculture, but this was accompanied by jobs losses in construction and basic and business services, in the latter two concentrated among women (Figure 25). Instead of declining, employment in manufacturing increased, though only among men. Employment in public services also increased, with most of the additional jobs
again going to women rather than men, but this was not enough to offset the decline in the employment of women in other sectors, especially in agriculture.

Figure 24 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in Poland, 2008.Q. 2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2008)


Figure 25 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in Poland, 2012.Q. 2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


In the rest of the EU13, employment of those aged 25-64 declined between mid-2008 and mid-2012, the main differences with the experience in Poland being larger job losses in manufacturing and losses in construction instead of an increase together with smaller increases in employment in the service sectors, especially in basic services (Figure 26). As in Poland, the decline of jobs in manufacturing affected women more than men and more than offset the larger jobs gains for women in public services and other services.

Over the subsequent year from mid0-2012 to mid-2013, the pattern of employment change by sector was very similar, in that there was once more a decline in the number employed in agriculture, manufacturing and construction, though larger in the first than the other two, unlike in the preceding four years (Figure 27). There were also job gains in business services and public services, in this case, much more in the latter than the former. As in the previous period, these gains benefitted women more than men, though as before, the reverse was the case in agriculture and
manufacturing, so that as a result, the overall increase in the employment of women was much the same as that of men.

Figure 26 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in EU13 excluding Poland, 2008.Q. 2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2008)


Figure 27 Change in employment of those aged $25-64$ by sector split by men and women in EU13 excluding Poland, 2012.Q. 2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


It is also interesting to examine the pattern of employment change in Greece where job losses since 2008 have been larger than anywhere else in the EU. Over the four years from mid-2008 to mid-2012, as in most other Member States, there were big reductions in manufacturing and construction, which mainly affected men (Figure 28). There was, however, a large reduction of employment in basic services, more than in either of the two industrial sectors and more than in other countries. This affected women slightly more than men. At the same time, there were no increases in employment of any significance in any of the other sectors, with jobs losses occurring in both public services and other services, in contrast to the situation in other parts of the EU over the period, and these affecting women more than men, again contrary to the experience in other countries.
Over the year up to mid-2013, employment continued to decline significantly if by less than in the previous four years, with large job losses in both construction and basic services, the first concentrated on men, the second on women, though a relatively small decline in manufacturing (Figure 29). The largest decline was in business services, in marked contrast to the growth which occurred in the rest of the EU15, this
affecting men more than women, while there also a decline in public services, this also being concreted on men, the employment of women increasing slightly. On the other hand, there was a rise in the number of men employed in both ICT and other services which was accompanied by a fall in both cases in the number of women employed.
Figure 28 Change in employment of those aged $25-64$ by sector split by men and women in Greece, 2008.Q. 2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2008)


Figure 29 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in Greece, 2012.Q. 2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


Spain, where there has also been a large-scale loss of jobs, is similar to Greece in that employment declined virtually throughout the economy over the period 2008-2012, with the largest reduction also in manufacturing, construction and basic services, though much more in construction than in Greece (Figure 30). Again these reductions affected men more than women. The big difference, however, is that instead of declining, employment in public services increased significantly to offset at least some of the job losses in the other sectors. The additional jobs in public services, moreover, went predominantly to women, which is a major reason why the fall in the overall number of women employed in Spain was much less than in Greece (the fall in the number of men was only slightly smaller).

In the subsequent year to mid-2013, the pattern of change in employment was similar with one major difference. Instead of employment in public services increasing it declined significantly so reinforcing rather than offsetting the decline in other sectors. Indeed, job losses in public services alone were responsible for a reduction of $1 \%$ in total employment (Figure 31). Moreover, a large number of the job losses were among
women, $60 \%$ of the overall decline in their employment being accounted for by the fall in the number working in public services, resulting in a reduction of women employed which was much closer to that of men than over the previous four years.

Figure 30 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in Spain, 2008.Q. 2 to 2012.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2008)


Figure 31 Change in employment of those aged 25-64 by sector split by men and women in Spain, 2012.Q. 2 to 2013.Q. 2 (\% total employed in 2012)


The pattern of change in Portugal is very similar to that in Spain, with employment in public services expanding to offset even if to a small extent the decline in jobs over the period 2008-2012 and contracting considerably in 2013 to reinforce the decline elsewhere in the economy (accounting in itself for a reduction in total employment of $1 \%$, though affecting men slightly more than women).

## The fall in employment has affected men with low education in particular...

The reduction in employment which has occurred since 2008 has been disproportionately concentrated in men with only a basic level of education - i.e. with no qualifications beyond compulsory schooling. This is only to be expected since at a time of job shortages such men are likely to experience increased competition for jobs from those with higher education levels. (It is a feature of the labour market that those with relatively high levels of education can perform jobs which require only basic education levels while those with low education are usually incapable of doing jobs which require a high education level. So long as those with high education levels are willing to accept low level jobs and the wages that go with them, they are likely to be
preferred to those with lower education levels by employers and are accordingly likely to squeeze out the latter from the labour market.) Although a significant number of those losing their jobs during the recession were employed in manufacturing and construction and had upper secondary qualifications, it is therefore men with only basic schooling who have in most countries been most affected, though less so in the EU13 than the EU15.

In the EU as a whole, therefore, the employment rate of men aged 25-64 with only basic education declined by 8 percentage points between mid-2008 and mid-2013, much more than the rate for those with upper secondary education (by 3 percentage points) or those with tertiary education (by 2 percentage points (Table 1).

Table 1 Employment rates of men and women aged 25-64 by education attainment level, mid-2008 and mid-2013

|  | Men <br> Uasic <br> Upper 2nd |  |  |  | Tertiary | Women <br> Basic |  |  | Upper 2nd | Tertiary |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Greece | -22.0 | -18.9 | -12.9 | -5.9 | -13.0 | -14.1 |  |  |  |  |
| Spain | -19.7 | -14.5 | -8.8 | -4.1 | -9.0 | -6.4 |  |  |  |  |
| Cyprus | -18.6 | -11.2 | -7.8 | 0.7 | -8.2 | -9.8 |  |  |  |  |
| Portugal | -12.9 | -6.3 | -8.6 | -8.4 | -3.1 | -5.8 |  |  |  |  |
| Croatia | -16.2 | -12.2 | -8.8 | -6.6 | -4.1 | -3.9 |  |  |  |  |
| Ireland | -14.2 | -14.7 | -6.4 | -7.6 | -7.4 | -4.0 |  |  |  |  |
| Latvia | -12.1 | -11.5 | -4.3 | -5.2 | -9.3 | -0.9 |  |  |  |  |
| Bulgaria | -11.8 | -10.5 | -6.8 | -6.7 | -5.7 | -3.2 |  |  |  |  |
| Slovenia | -8.7 | -7.5 | -2.4 | -12.6 | -6.0 | -6.7 |  |  |  |  |
| Slovakia | 2.4 | -5.7 | -5.5 | 0.2 | -4.0 | -5.9 |  |  |  |  |
| Estonia | -3.7 | -4.2 | -3.3 | 3.6 | -7.6 | -0.9 |  |  |  |  |
| Denmark | -9.4 | -3.3 | -1.1 | -4.9 | -3.6 | -1.4 |  |  |  |  |
| Italy | -6.2 | -5.9 | -5.0 | -0.1 | -4.7 | -1.8 |  |  |  |  |
| Lithuania | -5.4 | -7.9 | -2.4 | -0.8 | -4.3 | 2.2 |  |  |  |  |
| Netherlands | -6.1 | -4.5 | -0.7 | 0.2 | -2.3 | 0.0 |  |  |  |  |
| Finland | -5.0 | -3.8 | -2.6 | -4.8 | -3.0 | -0.7 |  |  |  |  |
| Romania | -1.1 | -0.9 | -2.0 | -1.5 | -2.9 | -0.4 |  |  |  |  |
| France | -3.1 | -3.8 | -0.5 | -3.1 | -1.5 | 0.2 |  |  |  |  |
| UK | -3.3 | -2.0 | -1.3 | -3.6 | -1.0 | -0.9 |  |  |  |  |
| Poland | -5.4 | -1.8 | 0.4 | -5.6 | -2.1 | -0.9 |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | -2.9 | -0.8 | 0.2 | -4.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 |  |  |  |  |
| Austria | -7.8 | -1.5 | -1.0 | -0.7 | 2.3 | 1.7 |  |  |  |  |
| Belgium | -3.2 | -0.7 | -0.2 | 0.0 | 2.4 | -1.3 |  |  |  |  |
| Czech Rep. | -7.2 | -1.0 | 0.8 | -5.8 | 1.0 | 0.2 |  |  |  |  |
| Hungary | 1.2 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 0.6 | -1.3 |  |  |  |  |
| Luxembourg | -6.9 | -0.3 | -2.7 | 5.0 | -0.6 | 0.5 |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.8 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.9 | 5.5 | 2.3 |  |  |  |  |
| Malta | 2.8 | -2.5 | 1.8 | 7.6 | 6.0 | 1.9 |  |  |  |  |
| EU13 ex PL | -3.6 | -3.8 | -2.4 | -2.0 | -2.6 | -1.8 |  |  |  |  |
| EU15, ex DE | -9.5 | -5.2 | -3.3 | -3.2 | -3.3 | -2.2 |  |  |  |  |
| EU28 | -8.1 | -3.1 | -2.0 | -2.4 | -1.1 | -1.4 |  |  |  |  |

Notes: Countries are ordered by the extent of the fall in employment. Shaded cells indicate where men or women with upper secondary or tertiary education showed the largest decline in the employment rate or smallest increase. In all other cases, those with only basic education showed the largest decline.
Source: Eurostat, LFS
The reduction in the employment rate among men with only basic education was particularly large in the EU15, Germany excluded (by almost 10 percentage points)
and only in Ireland was the extent of the decline bigger among those with higher education levels (only slightly so among those with upper secondary education). In the EU13, by contrast, there were four countries (Slovakia, Estonia, Lithuania and Romania) where the decline in the rate was less for men with only basic schooling than among those with higher education levels (in Romania, the biggest decline was among those with tertiary education) and two (Hungary and Malta) in which the employment rate of men with upper secondary education declined or remained unchanged while the rate for those with only basic schooling increased.

## ...but has had less effect on women with low education

While in the EU as a whole, women aged 25-64 with only basic schooling have experienced a larger decline in their employment rate than those with higher education levels, this is not the case if Germany and Poland are excluded and nor in most Member States. In the EU15 excluding Germany, therefore, the employment rate of women with upper secondary education declined on average by marginally more over the period 2008-2013 than that of those with only basic schooling and this was also the case in Spain, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, as well as in Greece, where women with tertiary education experienced even more of a decline. In Belgium, the employment rate of women with tertiary education also declined by more than among those with lower education levels, while in Germany, it increased by less.

In the EU13, there were four countries (the three Baltic States along with Romania) in which the employment rate of women with upper secondary education declined by more than for those with only basic schooling and three (Slovakia, Hungary and Cyprus) where the decline was largest among women with tertiary education. In addition, in Malta, the increase in the employment rates was less among women with tertiary education than among those with lower levels.

## Little change in the proportion of men and women employed in temporary jobs

The crisis can, in principle, have two opposing effects on the relative number of people employed in temporary jobs - or those with a fixed-term contract of employment. On the one hand, the downturn in economic activity might lead to fewer people being employed in temporary jobs as a result of employers not renewing fixed-term contracts when they come to end as the least costly way of reducing their work force to the lower level of demand for their products. On the other hand, the number could increase if the uncertainty attached to economic prospects in the short and mediumterm during the crisis causes employers to be reluctant to take on permanent staff if they need to expand their work force or replace people who leave (because, for example, of retiring). It is difficult to predict which of these two opposing force is likely to be the stronger, it seems reasonable to expect the former to predominate during the initial period of recession and the latter to become stronger the longer the period of low or zero growth goes on.

In practice, the evidence shows that in aggregate in the EU as a whole, there has been little change in the relative number of men and women employed in temporary jobs since 2008, at least among those aged 25-64. In mid-2008, therefore, before the crisis began, around $10 \%$ of male employees worked in temporary jobs, in mid-2009, in the midst of the fall in GDP and reduction of employment, the proportion fell to $9.5 \%$, it then rose to $10.4 \%$ in mid-2011 before declining slightly to $10.2 \%$ in 2013 (Figure 32). The proportion of women employed in temporary jobs followed a similar pattern, declining from 12.0\% of employees in mid-2008 to $11.4 \%$ in 2009 and then rising slightly to $11.7 \%$ in 2011 before falling again to $11.4 \%$ in 2012 where it remained in 2013.

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Figure 32 Proportion of male and female employees aged 25-64 employed in temporary jobs in the EU28, mid-2008 to mid-2013 (\% of male employees in age group)


The pattern is a little more pronounced in the EU15, where there tends to be more use, of temporary contracts, than in the EU13, Poland apart. This is especially so if Germany, where there has been less change than elsewhere in the relative number employed in temporary jobs, is excluded from the EU1 (Figure 33)
Figure 33 Proportion of male and female employees aged 25-64 employed in temporary jobs in the EU15, mid-2008 to mid-2013 (\% of employees in age group)


In Poland, as in many other countries, there was a decline in the proportion of women employed in temporary jobs in 2009, though not in the proportion of men, which increased slightly before rising more markedly in the subsequent three years before falling in 2013 (Figure 34).
Figure 34 Proportion of male and female employees aged 25-64 employed in temporary jobs in the EU13, mid-2008 to mid-2013 (\% of employees in age group)


The proportion of women employed in such jobs fluctuated over the years 2010-2013 and was slightly lower (at around 23\%) at the end of period than in 2008, while the
proportion of men was some 1.5 percentage points higher. In the rest of the EU13, the proportion of both men and women aged 25-64 employed in part-time jobs tended to increase over the period and in each case was some 1.5 percentage points higher in 2013 than in 2008, though still much smaller than in Poland or most EU15 countries.

The slight decline in the EU15 in the relative number of men in this age group employed on fixed-term contracts between mid-2008 and mid-2012 is to a large extent a consequence of a significant decline in in Spain (by over 4 percentage points). Here temporary contracts are used more extensively than anywhere else in the EU and the decline reflects the large-scale jobs losses among men over this period. Apart from Spain, there were only three other EU15 countries in which the proportion employed in temporary jobs fell - Germany, marginally, Luxembourg and Greece, in the last of which there were also substantial job losses (Figure 25). In all the other EU15 countries, the proportion increased, in Belgium, France and Italy, by around 1 percentage point.

Figure 35 Men aged 25-64 in temporary jobs, 2008.Q. 2 and 2012.Q2 (\% of male employees aged 25-64)


In the EU13, there was a more widespread increase, the proportion rising on average by over 1 percentage point over the four years and declining only in Bulgaria.
Over the subsequent year from mid-2012 to mid-2013, in the EU15, apart from in Germany, there was a decline in the relative number of men in temporary jobs only in Italy, the UK and Sweden, in each case very small and an increase in all other countries, apart from Spain and Luxembourg (Figure 36). In the EU13, the proportion of men employed in temporary jobs rose in all countries except Poland, Latvia, Romania and Slovenia, where it fell.
Figure 36 Men aged 25-64 in temporary jobs, $2012 . Q .2$ and $2013 . Q 2$ (\% of male employees aged 25-64)


In the case of women aged $25-64$, the change in the importance of temporary contracts is less straight-forward. The decline in the number of women in work employed in temporary jobs between mid-2008 and mid-2012 was more widespread across the EU15 than in the case of men, with 9 countries, including Germany, showing a fall (Figure 37). The overall scale of the fall, however, was due in large measure to a reduction of 5 percentage points in Spain and over 3 percentage points in Portugal. In all the other countries, apart from Greece (in which there was a fall of just over 1 percentage point), there was a decline of only around 0.5 of a percentage point or less.

Figure 37 Women aged 25-64 in temporary jobs, 2008.Q. 2 and 2012.Q2 (\% of female employees aged 25-64


In the EU13, by contrast, there was a widespread increase in the proportion over these four years, with only the Czech Republic and Poland recording a fall. In Slovakia, the increase was over 3 percentage points (though from a very low figure - only 3\%) and in Latvia, around 2 percentage points (from an even lower figure (2\%).

This general pattern has continued. In the year from mid-2012 to mid-2013, the decline in the proportion of women in employment working in temporary jobs in the EU15 was slightly less widespread than previously, with 8 countries, again including Germany recording a fall (Figure 38), This was largest once more in Spain (just under 1 percentage point), though only slightly smaller in Italy. On the other hand, there was a relatively large increase (of around 2 percentage points) in Portugal (following the large fall over the preceding four years) and a slightly smaller one in France (just over 1 percentage point and again following a decline).
Figure 38 Women aged 25-64 in temporary jobs, 20012.Q. 2 and 2013.Q2 (\% of female employees aged 25-64)


In the EU13, there was an increase in the proportion in the majority of countries, especially in Croatia (of almost 2 percentage points), Hungary, Cyprus and the Czech Republic (of around 1.5 percentage points. On the other hand, there was a decline in 5 countries, including Poland and Romania and, most especially, Slovenia (where is fell by around 1.5 percentage points).

## Over half of men and women moving from unemployment into work went into a temporary job in 2012

The relatively widespread increase in the proportion of men aged 25-64 in work employed in temporary jobs is supported by the evidence on the extent to which men in this age group move into a temporary rather than a permanent job when they are successful in finding employment after being unemployed. In 2012, just over 58\% of men in this age group in the EU28 moving into work from being unemployed took up a temporary job, around 5 percentage points more than in 2008 before the start of the crisis (Figure 39) ${ }^{4}$.In the EU15 excluding Germany, where the proportion fell, the proportion was almost 7 percentage points larger in 2012. In the EU13 excluding Poland, the increase was even bigger, at around 10 percentage points. In the EU15, apart from Germany, there were only three countries, Portugal, Finland and Luxembourg, where the proportion declined between 2008 and 2012, though there was no change in Spain (and no data for Ireland or the Netherlands), and in the EU13, there were also only three, Croatia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Figure 39 Proportion of men aged 25-64 moving from unemployment into work who went into temporary jobs, 2008 and 2012 (\%)


In the case of women in the age group, the proportion moving from unemployment into a temporary job when they found work also increased between 2008 and 2012, though by less in the EU15, where there was one more country than in the case of men in which the proportion declined instead of increasing (Figure 40). Apart from Germany, there was a rise in four countries, Greece and Sweden as well as Portugal and Finland, though there was also a rise in Spain. In the EU13 excluding Poland, the increase over the four years was even larger than for men (one of almost 12 percentage points) and in this case, there was a fall in the proportion only in Cyprus. The increase was particularly large in the Czech Republic, Croatia and Slovakia (by over 17 percentage points in each case).

[^3]Figure 40 Proportion of women aged 25-64 moving from unemployment into work who went into temporary jobs, 2008 and 2012 (\%)


## Most men and women employed in temporary jobs do so involuntarily

Along with the widespread increase over the crisis period in the relative number of men and women taking up temporary jobs when moving from unemployment into work, there has also been a rise in those working in doing so involuntarily, in that they were unable to find a permanent job - or one with a standard open-ended contract of employment. In 2012, $72 \%$ of men aged 25-64 employed in temporary jobs in the EU28 were doing so mainly because they could not find a permanent job. For the EU15, excluding Germany (where the figure was $66 \%$ ), the figure was even higher at 74\%, while in the EU13 excluding Poland (where it was $57 \%$ ), it was a high as $77 \%$ (Figure 41). All the figures were significantly higher than in 2008 before the crisis, in the EU15 countries other than Germany, 11 percentage points higher and in the EU13 other than Poland, 13 percentage points higher.
Figure 41 Proportion of men aged 25-64 employed in a temporary job involuntarily, 2008 and 2012 (\% men in temporary jobs)


In the EU15, there were only two countries, Belgium and Austria - both of which have been less affected by the crisis than most other Member States - in which the proportion of men working involuntarily in temporary jobs was smaller in 2012 than four years earlier before the crisis. In the EU13, there was only one country, Hungary, in which the proportion was smaller in the later year.

For women in the same age group, the proportion of those employed in a temporary job doing so because they could not find a permanent one was similar to that for men but in general there was less of an increase over the crisis period. In the EU28 as a
whole, therefore, some $70 \%$ of women reported this to be the case in 2012, $73 \% \%$ in the EU15 excluding Germany (57\%) and 71\% in the EU13 excluding Poland (56\%) (Figure 42). Over the four years 2008-2012, the proportion increased by only around 2 percentage points in the EU28 and by about the same in the EU15, although in the EU13, excluding Poland where the figure declined, the increase was bigger at around 16 percentage points.

Figure 42 Proportion of women aged 25-64 employed in temporary jobs involuntarily, 2008 and 2012 (\% women in temporary jobs)


In the EU15, there were 7 Member States, including Germany where the figure declined marginally, where the proportion was lower in 2012 than four years earlier. In the EU13, however, there were only two apart from Poland; there are Latvia and Lithuania, in both of which the labour market situation had improved markedly by 2012 after the deep recession in 2008-2009.

## The proportion of men and women working part-time involuntarily has risen over the crisis period

The same dataset can be used to examine the extent to which the growth in part-time employment in many part of the EU over the crisis period is also involuntarily. As might be expected, a much smaller proportion of men and women in part-time jobs do so involuntarily than is the case for those in temporary jobs. Nevertheless in many Member States, the proportion has risen significantly since the onset of the crisis.
In 2012, 42\% men aged 25-64 in the EU28 working part-time reported that they were doing because they could not find a full-time job, while in the EU15, excluding Germany, the figure was slightly higher (45\%) and in the EU13, excluding Poland, higher still (51\%) (Figure 43).

Figure 43 Proportion of men aged 25-64 employed in part-time jobs involuntarily, 2008 and 2012 (\% men in part-time jobs)


The proportion increased markedly in the EU15 excluding Germany (where it fell) over the previous four years before (by around 12 percentage points) but by less in the EU13, particularly if Poland (where it rose by 9 percentage points) is excluded (rising by only just under 4 percentage points.
Apart from Germany, there were only four other countries in the EU15 where the proportion of men working in part-time jobs involuntarily declined over the crisis period - Belgium, Austria, Finland and Luxembourg. The increase was substantial in Ireland, Greece and Spain, in each of which the proportion of men employed part-time increased significantly over the period. In the EU13, there were also 4 countries in which the proportion declined - Croatia, Latvia, Malta and Slovakia. In the other 9 countries, the proportion increased, most especially in Bulgaria, Lithuania and above all in Cyprus, where again the number of men in employment working part-time went up over.

In the case of women aged 25-64, fewer of those working part-time were doing so because they could not find a full-time job, which is only to be expected given the relatively large number of women in the EU15 especially employed part-time because of caring responsibilities. In the EU28 as a whole, just under a quarter of women in this age group in part-time jobs in 2012 reported not being able to find a full-time job, slightly more than a quarter in the EU15 excluding Germany and just over $30 \%$ in the EU13 excluding Poland (Figure 44).

Figure 44 Proportion of women aged 25-64 employed in part-time jobs involuntarily, 2008 and 2012 (\% women in part-time jobs)


All these figures were higher than in 2088 before the crisis but only slightly in the EU28 (by 1 percentage point) and only slightly more in the EU15 excluding Germany (by around 2.5 percentage points). The increase, however, was larger in the EU13 by around 7 percentage points whether Poland (where the figure rose by 8 percentage points) is excluded or not. Moreover, there is only one country, Malta, in which the proportion did not increase over the crisis period, the rise being over 10 percentage points in Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and, over above, all in Cyprus. Although the relative number of women in work employed part-time tends to be small (well under $10 \%$ in most cases) - to a large extent because of the need to work full-time to obtain sufficient earnings - these were all countries in which the number increased over the period.

## Division of employment between men and women sharing a household

As indicated above, the global recession which stuck the EU in 2008 affected men more than women because of the sectors which have been affected. The same sectors, manufacturing and construction, have continued to shed jobs as the crisis has gone on and the employment of men has continued to decline relative to that of women in most Member States, especially in the EU15. This raises the issue of the effect on the division of work within households and, linked to this, the division of earnings between men and women sharing households. The concern here is to examine this issue and the extent to which there has been a shift of employment towards women within couples and towards there being more reliance on the earnings of women and less on those of men who have traditionally been the breadwinner. The focus is again on those aged 25-64. The analysis is based on the LFS household data.

In 2008, in $58.5 \%$ of couple households in the EU28 where the man and woman concerned were aged 25-64, both of them were in full employment, in $24 \%$ of the households, the man was employed and the woman not, while in only $7 \%$ of the households was the woman employed and the man not. In 2012, the proportion of couple households in which both partners were working has been reduced to just over $57.5 \%$, and those in which the man was the sole person employed to $23 \%$, while in just over $8 \%$ of households women were the sole person in work (Table 2).
At the same time, the proportion of couple households in which neither the man nor woman was in work had risen from $10.5 \%$ to $11 \%$.

The changes indicated by these figures are not dramatic but they are moderated by an increase in employment among both men and women in Germany (the proportion of households in which both partners were in work rising from $63 \%$ to $67 \%$ over the four years) and to a much smaller extent, a similar increase though on a smaller scale in Poland. In the EU15 excluding Germany, therefore, the proportion of couple households with both the man and woman working declined from $58 \%$ to $56 \%$, the proportion with the man only working from $25 \%$ to $24 \%$ and the proportion where the woman was the only one in employment increased from $6.5 \%$ to $8.5 \%$. At the same time, there was an increase of just over 1 percentage point in the households with neither of the two in work. In the EU13 countries excluding Poland, the changes were smaller, with only a small decline in the households with both partners in work (of around 0.5 of a percentage point), virtually no change in the proportion with only the man working and an increase in the proportion where only the woman was in work (of around 1 percentage point.

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Table 2 Men and women aged 25-64 employed in couple households, 2008 and 2012 (\% of couple households)

|  |  | 2008 |  |  |  | Neither employed |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Both | Man | Woman | Both | Man | Woman | 2008 | 2012 |
| BE | 59.7 | 21.0 | 6.2 | 62.6 | 18.7 | 7.3 | 13.1 | 11.3 |
| BG | 63.2 | 17.1 | 9.1 | 55.2 | 17.2 | 12.7 | 10.7 | 15.0 |
| CZ | 62.2 | 24.9 | 5.0 | 61.6 | 25.0 | 5.2 | 7.9 | 8.2 |
| DK |  |  |  | 72.5 | 13.5 | 7.8 |  | 6.2 |
| DE | 63.1 | 22.2 | 6.6 | 67.1 | 20.0 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 6.4 |
| EE | 66.0 | 22.1 | 7.7 | 62.4 | 22.1 | 9.6 | 4.2 | 5.9 |
| IE | 58.7 | 28.1 | 5.5 | 51.3 | 24.8 | 10.4 | 7.7 | 13.5 |
| EL | 49.3 | 36.1 | 4.8 | 39.9 | 32.4 | 9.5 | 9.8 | 18.2 |
| ES | 50.5 | 32.4 | 7.1 | 44.1 | 28.5 | 12.1 | 10.0 | 15.3 |
| FR | 61.1 | 19.1 | 8.6 | 61.0 | 19.3 | 8.8 | 11.2 | 10.8 |
| HR | 52.3 | 22.1 | 10.1 | 44.2 | 22.7 | 13.6 | 15.6 | 19.4 |
| IT | 45.8 | 34.6 | 5.9 | 44.9 | 33.7 | 7.6 | 13.6 | 13.9 |
| CY | 63.7 | 26.4 | 4.2 | 57.9 | 24.3 | 8.6 | 5.7 | 9.2 |
| LV | 65.7 | 18.9 | 9.9 | 57.9 | 20.4 | 12.4 | 5.5 | 9.3 |
| LT | 67.0 | 17.8 | 8.8 | 64.0 | 15.5 | 11.6 | 6.4 | 8.9 |
| LU | 56.4 | 27.1 | 6.6 | 60.0 | 23.6 | 7.8 | 9.9 | 8.7 |
| HU | 49.7 | 24.1 | 9.7 | 50.4 | 23.6 | 10.9 | 16.4 | 15.1 |
| MT | 28.7 | 51.5 | 2.9 | 39.2 | 43.8 | 3.2 | 16.9 | 13.7 |
| NL | 70.4 | 18.2 | 4.8 | 70.2 | 18.2 | 6.0 | 6.6 | 5.7 |
| AT | 64.5 | 20.0 | 6.8 | 67.0 | 17.1 | 7.4 | 8.7 | 8.5 |
| PL | 54.0 | 24.6 | 8.3 | 54.0 | 24.7 | 8.8 | 13.2 | 12.6 |
| PT | 63.0 | 21.9 | 7.4 | 56.4 | 20.8 | 11.5 | 7.8 | 11.3 |
| RO | 56.0 | 22.2 | 7.5 | 55.1 | 22.5 | 7.0 | 14.2 | 15.4 |
| SI | 67.7 | 12.6 | 8.3 | 62.7 | 14.8 | 9.9 | 11.4 | 12.7 |
| SK | 58.9 | 24.5 | 5.5 | 55.0 | 25.0 | 7.8 | 11.0 | 12.3 |
| FI | 67.8 | 15.9 | 9.6 | 66.2 | 16.1 | 10.4 | 6.6 | 7.2 |
| SE |  |  |  | 78.5 | 12.0 | 5.5 |  | 4.0 |
| UK | 67.5 | 19.8 | 4.9 | 66.6 | 19.9 | 5.6 | 7.8 | 7.8 |
| EU13 | 58.1 | 22.2 | 7.6 | 55.7 | 22.3 | 8.6 | 12.1 | 13.4 |
| EU15 | 59.1 | 24.6 | 6.6 | 58.4 | 23.2 | 8.0 | 9.7 | 10.3 |
| EU28 | 58.5 | 24.2 | 6.9 | 57.7 | 23.2 | 8.2 | 10.4 | 11.0 |

Note: EU13 excludes PL, EU15 excludes DE; EU28 excludes DK and SE
Source: Eurostat, LFS
In countries where there were large-scale job losses over the period, the shifts in the division of work, and the increase in jobless households, were much more substantial. In Greece, the reduction in couple households where both the man and woman were in work amounted to almost 10 percentage points over the four years 2008-2012 to only $40 \%$. There was accompanied by a decline in the proportion of those with only the man in work of almost 4 percentage points to just under a third, implying that in almost $28 \%$ of working-age couple households, the man was not working in 2012. The decline was offset to a small extent by an increase in the proportion of women in couple households being employed, from just under $5 \%$ to $9.5 \%$. This, however, means that in half of couple households women were not working. While, therefore, there was a shift of employment in the household towards women, it was not enough to compensate for the large decline in men working, so that in 2012, in 18\% of couple households no-one was employed (up from $10 \%$ in 2008).
This was equally the case in Spain, where the proportion of couple households with both partners working fell from $50.5 \%$ to $44 \%$ over the four years, while the
proportion of households with only men employed declined from $32.5 \%$ to $28.5 \%$. This 10 percentage point decline in couple households where men were in employment was offset in part by an increase in the households where women alone were in work by 5 percentage points from $7 \%$ to $12 \%$., but it still meant that the proportion of couple households where no-one was employed increased from 10\% to 15\%.
Much the same changes occurred in couple households in Ireland, where the proportion with men working declined by almost 11 percentage points while the proportion with only women working went up by 5 percentage points, so that in this case, the proportion living in jobless household increased by nearly 6 percentage points.

This pattern of change occurred in most Member States over the crisis period. The proportion of couple households in which both partners were employed declined in all but 8 of the 26 countries for which data are available, though the decline in two countries, France and the Netherlands was marginal. The 8 countries are ones in which employment increased rather than fell over this period.

The proportion of households where men only were in employment declined in 14 of the 26 countries and in most of the 12 in which it did not, it remained unchanged or virtually so. Nine of these 12 were EU13 countries which in most cases experienced a reduction in the proportion of households in which both partners were working. The proportion of households in which women only were employed increased over the period in all but two countries, Germany and Romania. In 7 of the countries - in Portugal, Bulgaria, Croatia and Cyprus, as Greece, Spain and Ireland, - the increase was over 3 percentage points.

## The increase in part-time working in couple households

Along with the decline in the employment of men, there has also been a shift from full-time to part-time jobs among those who are in work. This is reflected in the changes which have occurred in employment in couple households as well. First, focusing on those with only one person employed, there has been a widespread increase in the cases where the person concerned works employed part-time rather than full-time. In all but 6 of the 26 Member States for which data are available, the proportion of couple households in which only the man was employed but where he worked part-time rather than full-time increased between 2008 and 2012 (Table 3).

At the same time, in all but four countries, the proportion of couple households in which only the woman was employed but where she had a part-time job also rose.
The increase in part-time working in one-earner couple households was particularly marked in Ireland, Greece and Spain, where employment declined markedly over the period. In these countries especially, therefore, though also more generally, the shift from both people in couple households being employed to only one person being employed noted above understates the reduction in earnings from employment associated with this.

Turning to couple households in which both partners were employed, there was also a decline in the proportion of these where both were working full-time (of 1.5 percentage points in the EU15 (whether Germany is excluded or not) coupled with an increase of over 1 percentage point in those in which men were employed part-time (Table 4). There was a similar decline in the EU13 in households where both partners worked full-time, though this was accompanied as much by an increase in those where women were working part-time as an increase in those where men were.

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Table 3 Men and women aged 25-64 in couple households by full-time/part-time breakdown of cases where one person is employed, 2008 and 2012

|  | Woman not employed |  |  |  | Man not employed |  |  |  | Both employed |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2008 |  | 2012 |  | 2008 |  | 2012 |  |  |  |
|  | Man <br> working <br> f-time | Man <br> working p-time | f-time | Man <br> working p-time | Woman working f-time | Woman working p-time | Woman working f-time | Woman working p-time | 2008 | 2012 |
| BE | 18.7 | 2.4 | 16.8 | 2.1 | 3.2 | 3.4 | 3.6 | 4.3 | 59.7 | 62.6 |
| BG | 16.3 | 0.3 | 16.6 | 0.4 | 9.1 | 0.3 | 12.6 | 0.5 | 63.2 | 55.2 |
| CZ | 24.5 | 0.5 | 24.3 | 0.7 | 4.4 | 0.6 | 4.5 | 0.7 | 62.2 | 61.6 |
| DK |  |  | 11.8 | 1.7 |  |  | 4.7 | 3.2 |  | 72.5 |
| DE | 20.6 | 1.6 | 18.4 | 1.6 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 63.1 | 67.1 |
| EE | 21.4 | 0.7 | 21.7 | 0.7 | 7.0 | 0.7 | 8.4 | 1.1 | 66.0 | 62.4 |
| IE | 25.5 | 2.1 | 20.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 5.7 | 5.4 | 58.7 | 51.3 |
| EL | 34.6 | 1.5 | 29.6 | 2.8 | 3.9 | 0.9 | 7.1 | 2.4 | 49.3 | 39.9 |
| ES | 30.9 | 1.1 | 26.4 | 1.7 | 5.1 | 2.2 | 8.1 | 4.2 | 50.5 | 44.1 |
| FR | 17.7 | 1.3 | 17.8 | 1.6 | 5.6 | 3.0 | 5.6 | 3.2 | 61.1 | 61.0 |
| HR | 21.2 | 0.9 | 21.8 | 1.0 | 9.4 | 0.7 | 12.6 | 1.0 | 52.3 | 44.2 |
| IT | 32.3 | 2.3 | 30.9 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 2.3 | 4.2 | 3.4 | 45.8 | 44.9 |
| CY | 24.9 | 1.4 | 22.4 | 1.7 | 3.5 | 0.8 | 7.5 | 1.3 | 63.7 | 57.9 |
| LV | 18.1 | 0.6 | 19.3 | 1.3 | 9.2 | 1.0 | 10.7 | 1.8 | 65.7 | 57.9 |
| LT | 16.8 | 0.5 | 13.9 | 1.0 | 8.5 | 1.1 | 10.5 | 1.8 | 67.0 | 64.0 |
| LU | 27.7 | 0.3 | 22.7 | 0.9 | 3.9 | 2.7 | 4.8 | 3.0 | 56.4 | 60.0 |
| HU | 22.8 | 0.8 | 22.0 | 1.4 | 9.5 | 0.9 | 10.1 | 1.3 | 49.7 | 50.4 |
| MT | 48.9 | 2.1 | 41.0 | 2.8 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 1.3 | 28.7 | 39.2 |
| NL | 15.4 | 2.8 | 15.4 | 2.8 | 1.2 | 3.6 | 1.5 | 4.5 | 70.4 | 70.2 |
| AT | 18.9 | 1.2 | 15.8 | 1.3 | 3.9 | 3.0 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 64.5 | 67.0 |
| PL | 23.4 | 1.2 | 23.5 | 1.2 | 6.9 | 1.3 | 7.5 | 1.3 | 54.0 | 54.0 |
| PT | 21.0 | 0.9 | 18.5 | 1.8 | 5.9 | 1.5 | 9.9 | 1.9 | 63.0 | 56.4 |
| RO | 21.4 | 0.9 | 21.6 | 1.0 | 7.3 | 0.5 | 7.0 | 0.4 | 56.0 | 55.1 |
| SI | 11.8 | 0.7 | 14.2 | 0.6 | 7.5 | 0.8 | 9.0 | 0.9 | 67.7 | 62.7 |
| SK | 24.2 | 0.5 | 24.3 | 0.9 | 5.1 | 0.5 | 6.9 | 0.9 | 58.9 | 55.0 |
| FI | 14.8 | 1.3 | 14.8 | 1.5 | 7.9 | 2.0 | 8.4 | 2.3 | 67.8 | 66.2 |
| SE |  |  | 10.5 | 1.5 |  |  | 3.8 | 1.7 |  | 78.5 |
| UK | 17.2 | 2.4 | 16.7 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 2.7 | 67.5 | 66.6 |
| EU13 | 22.2 | 0.9 | 22.3 | 1.0 | 7.1 | 0.9 | 7.9 | 1.0 | 58.1 | 55.7 |
| EU15 | 22.7 | 1.8 | 20.7 | 2.2 | 3.9 | 2.7 | 4.7 | 3.3 | 59.1 | 58.4 |
| EU28 | 22.6 | 1.6 | 21.0 | 1.9 | 4.6 | 2.3 | 5.4 | 2.8 | 58.5 | 57.7 |

Note: EU13 excludes PL, EU15 excludes DE.
Source: Eurostat, LFS

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Table 4 Couple households with both partners 25-64 employed by full-time (ft), parttime (pt) breakdown (\% of couple households with both employed), 2008 and 2012

|  | Both ft | Man ft Woman pt | Man pt Woman ft | Both pt | Both ft | Man ft Woman pt | Man pt Woman ft | Both pt |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| BE | 44.5 | 46.3 | 3.7 | 5.6 | 46.3 | 46.2 | 3.8 | 6.2 |
| BG | 96.6 | 2.2 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 96.3 | 2.1 | 1.0 | 0.3 |
| CZ | 90.4 | 8.2 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 88.4 | 9.6 | 1.5 | 0.5 |
| DK |  |  |  |  | 60.3 | 33.5 | 4.6 | 2.9 |
| DE | 41.1 | 52.7 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 40.6 | 52.7 | 2.6 | 3.6 |
| EE | 88.4 | 8.7 | 2.5 | 0.4 | 84.2 | 11.5 | 2.8 | 0.7 |
| IE | 48.9 | 43.8 | 2.9 | 4.4 | 49.5 | 40.9 | 4.6 | 5.7 |
| EL | 74.3 | 17.6 | 3.3 | 4.8 | 72.4 | 18.4 | 3.5 | 4.8 |
| ES | 67.5 | 28.3 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 66.9 | 27.4 | 2.6 | 2.0 |
| FR | 63.0 | 30.7 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 64.3 | 30.2 | 3.9 | 2.7 |
| HR | 88.5 | 6.9 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 89.2 | 6.8 | 1.9 | 3.5 |
| IT | 54.9 | 38.6 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 52.9 | 38.9 | 2.9 | 3.9 |
| CY | 83.3 | 14.6 | 1.4 | 0.7 | 79.0 | 16.2 | 2.4 | 0.9 |
| LV | 87.8 | 9.1 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 82.2 | 12.1 | 4.7 | 2.4 |
| LT | 89.4 | 7.3 | 2.1 | 1.3 | 81.9 | 9.4 | 3.6 | 1.9 |
| LU | 51.7 | 46.1 | 0.9 | 1.3 | 53.5 | 45.1 | 2.2 | 2.1 |
| HU | 91.1 | 5.9 | 2.4 | 0.6 | 87.1 | 6.9 | 2.7 | 0.8 |
| MT | 45.5 | 47.8 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 52.7 | 43.3 | 1.6 | 3.4 |
| NL | 19.4 | 66.6 | 2.9 | 11.1 | 16.8 | 66.7 | 3.7 | 11.8 |
| AT | 48.1 | 47.1 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 44.1 | 48.3 | 2.9 | 3.2 |
| PL | 78.9 | 15.6 | 3.1 | 2.3 | 82.2 | 14.3 | 3.0 | 2.1 |
| PT | 83.8 | 12.3 | 2.2 | 1.8 | 84.0 | 10.3 | 2.5 | 1.7 |
| RO | 91.9 | 4.9 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 92.5 | 5.3 | 1.4 | 2.3 |
| SI | 91.2 | 5.8 | 2.4 | 0.5 | 87.8 | 8.3 | 2.8 | 1.0 |
| SK | 94.4 | 4.3 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 93.6 | 4.4 | 1.0 | 1.3 |
| FI | 78.8 | 14.7 | 4.3 | 2.2 | 76.7 | 15.7 | 4.8 | 2.4 |
| SE |  |  |  |  | 64.1 | 30.9 | 4.6 | 3.5 |
| UK | 49.6 | 43.7 | 3.0 | 3.7 | 47.5 | 43.8 | 3.7 | 4.4 |
| EU13 | 91.5 | 6.0 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 89.9 | 6.9 | 1.9 | 1.3 |
| EU15 | 56.3 | 37.0 | 3.0 | 3.7 | 54.7 | 37.3 | 3.7 | 4.3 |
| EU28 | 60.1 | 33.9 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 58.7 | 34.4 | 3.2 | 3.7 |

Note: EU13 excludes PL, EU15 excludes DE, EU28 excludes DK and SE
Source: Eurostat, LFS
This pattern was repeated in most of the countries. In other words, among couples households where both partners were employed, there was a decline in most cases in the relative number in which both were in full-time jobs (in 17 of the 26). In all of these cases, this was partly because of men as well as women moving into part-time jobs. The decline in the proportion of households where both partners were employed full-time was particularly large in Latvia (by 5.5 percentage points) and Lithuania ( 7.5 percentage points). In both countries, the counterpart was an increase of almost 3.5 percentage points in the proportion of men in such households working part-time.

To a significant extent, therefore, but particularly in these countries as well as in Ireland, Greece and Spain, where there has been an increase in single earners working part-time, the decline in employment in couple households understates the reduction in earnings from employment coming into the households. Moreover, this is due as much to men working part-tme rather than full-time as women doing so.

## Men's and women's income

The shifts in employment between men and women within households over the crisis period are reflected in counterpart shifts in the contribution of men and women to the income of households. The earnings of women have therefore tended to rise relative to those of men, though at the same time the crisis has led to a reduction in the share of household income coming from earnings as overall employment has declined and the contribution of social transfers has risen, though this is more evident in the EU15 countries than the EU13.
Although data on income at present extend only up to 2010, they at least indicate developments in the initial years of the crisis. Between 2007 and 2010, the share of net earnings from employment (i.e. after deducting income tax and social contributions) in the disposable income of 25-64 household declined by almost 2 percentage points in the EU15, excluding Germany, where the share increased by 1 percentage point (Figure 45). In the EU13, the share went up marginally, even if Poland, where it rose by 1 percentage point, is excluded. In the EU15, the only countries, apart from Germany, where the share of earnings increased were France, the Netherlands and Sweden. In Spain and Ireland, the share declined by around 6 percentage points, and in Greece, by 4 percentage points.

Figure 45 Share of earnings from employment in household disposable income, 2007 and 2010 (\%)


In the EU13, the share increased in 5 countries apart from Poland, including in Hungary and Bulgaria (in the last by 4 percentage points) despite a significant fall in employment in both cases, which to some extent reflects the limited scale of social transfers in these countries. It declined, however, in the other 6 countries (there are no data for Croatia), and by substantial amounts in the three Baltic States (by over 10 percentage points in Lithuania and by 7 percentage points in Estonia and Latvia) where employment fell markedly.
The contribution of women to earnings from employment increased in all Member States except three - the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary - in all of which their share of earnings in income rose over the period and in two of which (Slovakia and Hungary), the decline in their share was marginal (Figure 46). The increase in the contribution was particularly large in Lithuania (at around 6.5 percentage points) and was only slightly smaller in Latvia and Ireland (amounting to around 5.5 percentage points) and was also significant in Greece, Spain, Portugal and Estonia (over 3 percentage points in each case).

Figure 46 Women's earnings from employment as a share of household earnings from employment, 2007 and 2010 (\%)


## The risk of poverty of men and women

Although the employment of women has risen over the crisis period relative to men, it remains the case that there are more women of working age with low incomes in the EU than men. This is not the case, however, in the EU13 countries taken together. Here on average there are more men with income below $60 \%$ of the median, which is conventionally taken as the at-risk-of-poverty threshold, than men. The contrary is the case in the EU15, although the gap has tended to narrow over the crisis, at least over the early years. To see this, it is relevant to focus on men and women living alone, since when they live together in couple households their income is aggregated and they are each assumed to have the same amount. Most of the overall difference between the income of men and women, therefore, arises when they live alone ${ }^{5}$.

Focusing on those living alone also highlights the main reason why in the EU15 countries more women are at risk of poverty than men, which is the relatively low income on average of women living alone with children, if not in all countries in most of them. For women living alone without children, the proportion at risk of poverty is little different from that of men.

In the EU28 as a whole in 2010, some $15.5 \%$ of all women aged $25-64$ had an income below $60 \%$ of the median in the country in which they lived as against $14.8 \%$ of men. At the same time, $27 \%$ of those living alone had an income below this level as compared with $25 \%$ of men living alone (Figure 47). Among women living alone without a child, however, the proportion at risk of poverty ( $24 \%$ ) was less than for men living alone, hardly any of whom had children, while the proportion for women living alone with children was substantially larger than for men (some 9 percentage points more).

[^4]Figure 47 Men and women aged 25-64 living alone with income below $\mathbf{6 0 \%}$ of median (\% of those living alone)


In the EU15, the proportion of women living alone without children who were at risk of poverty was almost identical to that of men living alone ( $24.4 \%$ as against 24.3\%), while for women with children, the proportion was some 10 percentage points larger.

In the EU13, the at-risk-of-poverty rate for women living alone was much lower than of men ( $24.5 \%$ as opposed to $32 \%$ ) and the rate for women without children was lower still (less than 22\%), some 10 percentage points below the rate for men. In this case, the at-risk-of-poverty rate for women living alone with children was more similar to that for men, though slightly lower (just under 1 percentage points lower).
In the EU15, there was a minority of countries (5 of the 15), Ireland, Finland, Portugal, Denmark and Germany where there were more women than men living alone with income below the at-risk-of-poverty level. At the same time, there were only 4 countries (Belgium, Spain, Italy and Austria) where the proportion of women living alone without children who were at risk of poverty was larger than for men.
In the EU13, the proportion of women living alone at risk of poverty was smaller than for men in 9 of the 12 for which data are available, even including those with children. The only countries where it was not the case were the Czech Republic, Cyprus and Malta and in these countries, this is also the case if the comparison is confined to women without children. Cyprus is the only country apart from Bulgaria in which the at-risk-of-poverty rate among women with children is lower than that for women without children, while in Malta, the rate among women with children is particularly high (around $50 \%$ in 2010).

Over the initial years of the crisis period 2007-2010, the gap between the proportion of women living alone with income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold and the proportion of men narrowed in the EU15, from 5 percentage points to 3 (Figure 48).

Figure 48 Proportion of women aged 25-64 living alone with income below 60\% of the median less the proportion for men living alone, 2007 and 2010 (Percentage point differences)


Moreover, in three of the countries - Ireland, Portugal and Germany - the difference was reversed between these two years, with more women than men having an income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold in 2007. In one country, on the other hand, the Netherlands, the opposite happened with the proportion of women with income this low increasing relative to the proportion of men, though this was one of only 4 EU15 Member States where the latter occurred (Denmark, Sweden and Italy being the others),

In the EU13, the proportion of men with income below $60 \%$ of the median increased relative to that of women in all countries, except Slovenia, the increase being large enough in Romania and Bulgaria to raise the proportion above that of women in 2010.
A further insight into the changes over the period can be gained by examining the changes for women living alone with and without children separately. Overall in the EU15, the gap between the proportion of men living alone at risk of poverty and the proportion of women without children was reduced from around 1.5 percentage points in 2007 to virtually zero in 2010, while in the EU13, the gap which was already negative in 2007 widened by almost 4 percentage points (Figure 49).
Figure 49 Proportion of women aged 25-64 living alone without children with income below 60\% of the median less the proportion for men living alone, 2007 and 2010 (Percentage point differences)


There were only two EU15 Member States (Denmark and Italy), where the proportion of women living alone without children at risk of poverty increased over the period
relative to that of men living alone and only three EU13 countries (Hungary, Lithuania and Slovenia) where this happened.

At the same time, the at-risk-of-poverty rate among women living alone with children declined relative to that of women living alone without children (or increased by less). The overall difference in the EU which averaged over 12 percentage points in 2007 was therefore reduced to just under 10 percentage points in 2010 (Figure 50). There were 6 Member States, however (Demark, Italy, Spain, Greece, Sweden and the Netherlands) where the opposite happened.

Figure 50 Proportion of women aged 25-64 living alone with children with income below $\mathbf{6 0 \%}$ of the median less the proportion for women living alone without children, 2007 and 2010 (Percentage point differences)


In the EU13, there was less of a narrowing of the difference between the two rates and 5 countries (Slovenia, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia and Romania) in which the at-risk-of-poverty rate for women living alone with children increased relative to that for women without children over the period.

## Employment of men and women living alone

The widespread tendency for the relative number of men with income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold to increase relative to that of women over the initial years of the crisis period is the result to a large extent of the bigger reduction of employment among men. For those living alone, this has meant more of them with no income from employment coming into the household and becoming reliant largely on social transfers, which for many of them in many countries are not sufficient to raise their income above $60 \%$ of the median.

In the EU28, therefore, the proportion of men aged 25-64 living alone and not in employment increased by 2.5 percentage points between 2008 and 2010 (according to the LFS), while the proportion of women remained virtually unchanged. In the EU13, the proportion of men in this situation increased by slightly more (3 percentage points), though the proportion of women also increased if by less (by just over 1 percentage point).

Although as yet there are no data available on income for later years, the LFS provides details of household circumstances and, in particular, of the relative number of men and women living alone but not in work, and, accordingly, with no earnings from employment, which is a major factor underlying low income levels. In 2012, as in earlier years, there were more women than men in this position across the EU. While on average, there were some $28 \%$ men aged $25-64$ in the EU28 in 2012 who were living alone but not working, there were almost $34 \%$ of women. The difference was
much wider in the EU13 (46.5\% as against 33\%) than in the EU15 (31.5\% as against 27.5\%) (Figure 51). There were only 5 Member States in which there were more men living alone who were out of work than women - three in the EU13, Estonia and Lithuania, and three in the EU15, Ireland, Portugal and Finland. All these are countries in which the proportion of women with income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold was smaller than for men, as noted above.

Figure 51 Men and women aged 25-64 living alone not in work (\% of those living alone)


Between 2010 and 2012, the proportion of both men and women aged 25-64 in this situation fell slightly on average across the EU. In the EU15, both proportions fell by around 0.5 of a percentage point, though in the countries other than Germany, the proportion of men increased by around 0.5 of a percentage point while that of women declined by almost 1 percentage point. In the EU13, the proportion declined by just under 1 percentage for men on average but by just over 1.5 percentage points for women (Figure 52). This suggests that the difference between men and women in the relative number with income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold might have widened a little between these two years in the EU apart from Germany.
Figure 52 Change in proportion of men and women living alone who are not employed, 2010-2012 (Percentage point change)


In the EU15, except for Germany, there were only four Member States (Denmark, Austria, Sweden and the UK) in which the proportion of women living alone who were not working increased over these two years by more than the proportion of men. In Ireland, Spain and Portugal, in which the proportion of men out of work increased significantly, the gap widened appreciably. In the EU13, there were 6 countries - all
three Baltic States, Croatia, Slovakia and Cyprus - in which the proportion of women living alone who were not employed increased relative to men, or declined by less. The decline in the proportion of women in this position was particularly large in Slovenia and Malta, in the last, reflecting the substantial increase in the participation of women in the labour market which has occurred over recent years.

## Concluding points

The decline in employment or the slow rate of net job creation in nearly all parts of the EU over the crisis period has continued to affect men more than women. This has especially been the case in the EU15 countries, while in the EU13, there has been much less difference in the jobs going to men as opposed to women as employment has once again begun to increase. The difference in the experience of men and women in this regard has much to do with the pattern of sectoral developments and, in particular, with the ongoing decline in most of the EU15 countries in the numbers employed in manufacturing and construction where many more men than women tend to work.

The decline has been reinforced by the significant reduction in employment in the public sector which has occurred over the past few years which has tended to have been concentrated, on average, on men more than women, though not in all countries (in Spain, in particular). This is in stark contrast in the first part of the crisis period to the growth of public sector employment which offset, if only to a small extent, the large-scale job losses in other sectors and which tended to favour women more than men.

A major feature of employment developments has continued to be the growth of parttime working in the EU15, though less so in the EU13, where the relative increase in part-time jobs over the period of recession has begun to be reversed. This growth in the EU15 has been especially marked among men in the 25-64 age group and has continued as the crisis has gone on. Much of the increase seems to be involuntary in the sense that many of those employed in part-time jobs would prefer to be working full-time.

The same applies to those working in temporary jobs, the number of whom has also increased in many countries over the crisis and again particularly among men.
A marked feature too has been the reduction in employment among men with a low level of education attainment, which has been widespread across the EU. This is not the case for women, however, for whom in many countries those with low levels of education have experienced less of a decline in employment than those with higher levels.

The relative growth of women in work is reflected in the division of employment in households between men and women, with a shift away from the traditional male bread-winner model and increase in the number of couple households in which the woman is employed and the man not, especially in countries which have seen a big decline in employment. This has been accompanied by an increase in the households in which both the man and woman are working but in part-time jobs rather than fulltime one, as well as in those in which the woman is working full-time but the man part-time.
The changing division of employment between men and women is equally reflected in the increasing contribution of women to earnings, though in a context where in many countries, earnings represent a declining share of household disposable income. It is reflected as well in the relative number of men and women with low income, specifically below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold. The proportion of men living alone with low income has, therefore, tended to rise relative to that of women in most
countries as the proportion of them not working has increased. This rise has meant that at-risk-of-poverty rate among men living alone was much the same as that of women living alone with no children according to the latest data (for the 2010 income year), the main reason for more women of working age being at risk of poverty than men being the low income, on average, of those with children.
Although there are no data as yet available on income for more recent years, the data on the employment, or non-employment, of men and women by household circumstances suggest that the tendency for the number of men with low income to rise relative to the number of women has continued.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ See T. Ward and E. Ozdemir, Men and women in the crisis, Social Situation Observatory, Research Note No. 4, 2012

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ It should be noted that the change here is calculated on the basis of LFS data since the focus here is on men and women who are not separately distinguished in the national accounts, which is usually used to indicate changes in the employment. This in practice shows a bigger decline over both periods - of $3 \%$ over the first and $0.6 \%$ over the second, though there are some breaks in the data series (for Poland especially) which tend to push up the extent of the decline.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Full-time equivalents are calculated by weighting each part-time person employed by the ratio of average hours per week worked by those in part-time jobs to those worked by those in fulltime jobs.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ It should be noted that the analysis in this section is based on annual LFS data since this issue is not covered by the quarterly data

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ Although there are obviously cases where a number of men or a number of women share households, these tend to be comparatively few.

