



Key messages from the Peer Review on “The rise of precarious work (including bogus self-employment) – causes, challenges and policy options”

The Hague, The Netherlands, 19-20 April 2018



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Table of Contents

1	Introduction	6
1.1	Background and purpose of the Peer Review	6
2	European context	7
3	National labour market trends	9
3.1	Overview of the host country	9
3.2	Comparative assessment in the peer countries	9
4	Challenges faced by workers in flexible employment	11
4.1	Overview of the host country	11
4.2	Comparative assessment in peer countries	12
5	Policy measures	15
5.1	Overview of the host country	15
5.2	Comparative assessment in peer countries	15
6	Conclusions	18

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and purpose of the Peer Review

Within the framework of the Mutual Learning Programme (MLP) a Peer Review on "The rise of precarious work (including bogus self-employment) – causes, challenges and policy options" was held in The Hague (the Netherlands) on 19 and 20 April 2018.

The event was hosted by the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and brought together government representatives and independent experts from nine additional countries Belgium, Croatia, Estonia, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Sweden and Spain. Other participants included the European Commission and Eurofound.

In recent years, the Netherlands has seen a rapid growth in the number of workers in precarious work. Precarious workers are often found in atypical work arrangements or non-standard work contracts. To some extent, precarious working conditions also affect the increasing number of solo self-employed and false self-employed. A diversity of non-standard working arrangements was identified across the participating countries, including in relation to the type and level of non-standard work.

Non-standard employment, and to some extent bogus self-employment, is often precarious work where workers are trapped in involuntary temporary jobs, with little future perspectives. In addition, workers have higher risk of in-work poverty and long-term poverty, lack of sickness cover, little access to training and limited social protection.

The remainder of the report is structured as follows:

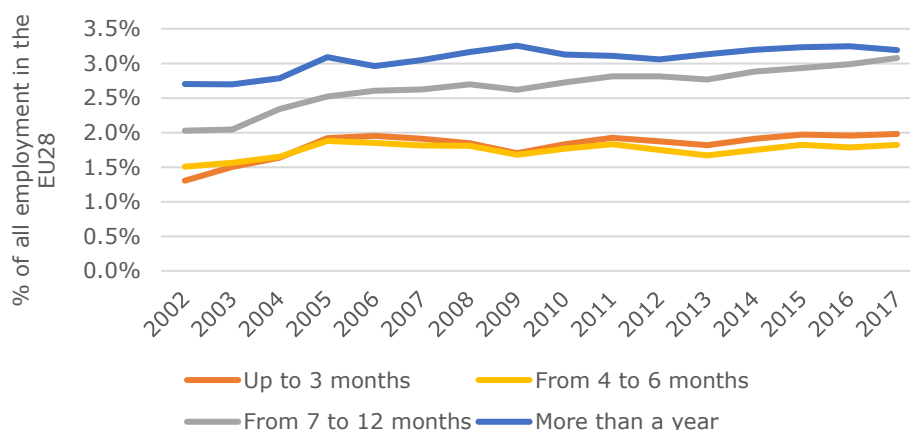
- Section 2 provides an overview of the European context on levels and trends of non-standard employment
- Section 3 gives an overview of national labour market trends on the host country and peer countries
- Section 4 presents the challenges precarious workers are facing and identified in the Peer Review
- Section 5 provides a summary of the main policy responses identified across the participating countries
- Section 6 discusses the main conclusions from the Peer Review

2 European context

Historically, formal full-time and permanent employment contracts have been the norm. However, over the last decades other forms of employment have been on the rise.

For example, in the EU28 the number of temporary contracts increased from almost 21 million in 2002 to just over 27 million in 2017. This also represents an increase in the share of temporary employment in total employment, from 10.3% in 2002 to 12.2% in 2017. The share of shorter-term temporary contracts increased at a higher rate than temporary contracts lasting for more than a year: contracts lasting up to 3 months and those lasting 7 to 12 months increased by more than 50% from 2002 to 2017 (from 1.3% to 2.0% of all employment and from 2.0% to 3.1% of all employment respectively). Temporary contracts lasting more than a year made up 2.7% of all employment in 2002 and 3.2% in 2017, an increase of just under 20%.

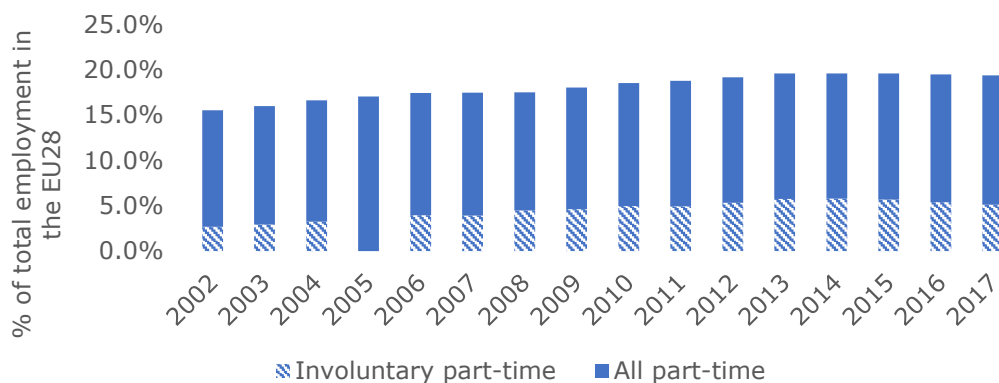
Figure 1. Percentage of temporary employment (by duration) of all employment in the EU28 (2002-2017, 15-64-year olds).



Source: Eurostat *lfsa_etgadc* and *lfsa_egan*

Across the EU28, the incidence of part-time work increased from 15.5% of all employment in 2002 to 19.4% in 2017. At the same time, the share of full-time work declined from 84.1% of all employment in 2002 to 80.6% in 2017. The share of involuntary part-time work has increased from 2.7% of all employment in 2002 to 5.1% in 2017, with a peak in 2014 at 5.8%. Since then it has been slowly declining.

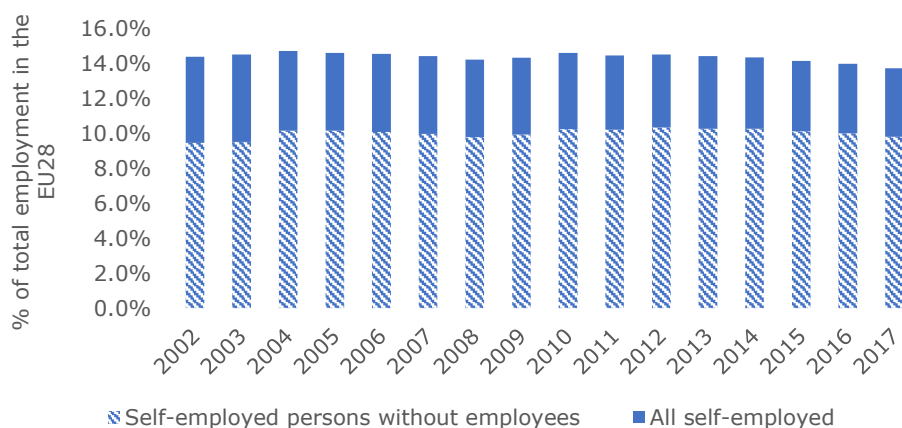
Figure 2. Percentage of part-time employment (of which involuntary) of all employment in the EU28 (2002 – 2017, 15-64-year olds)



Source: Eurostat *lfsa_epgaed* and *lfsa_eppgai*. Data on involuntary part-time is not available for 2005.

The share of employment by self-employed has seen a small decrease from 14.4% of all employment in 2002 to 13.7% in 2017, this is largely related to the declining trends in agriculture. However, over the same period the proportion of all self-employed without employees increased slightly from 9.5% of all employment in 2002 to 9.8% in 2017.

Figure 3. Percentage of self-employed (without employees) of all employment in the EU28 (2002-2017, 15-64-year olds)



Source: Eurostat *lfsa_esgan* and *lfsa_eagan*

Non-standard work in itself does not necessarily pose a problem. However, non-standard employment is often linked to precarious working conditions with low quality jobs and uncertain employment. For example, workers in different forms of non-standard employment (e.g. agency contracts, 'zero hour contracts') and self-employed are not – or only partially – covered by social security and collective bargaining arrangements designed to provide social protection to workers in standard employment. Consequently, there is a risk of greater labour segmentation as workers in precarious non-standard forms do not have access to the same rights (i.e. representation, health and safety) and provisions (pension, unemployment benefits, sickness benefits) as those in standard work.

3 National labour market trends

3.1 Overview of the host country

The Dutch labour market is characterised by a high degree of flexibility with a relatively high and increasing proportion of employees in temporary work and solo self-employment. Both are above the EU average. The use of flexible contracts are particularly common among young people (between 15 and 34 years old) and low educated workers, whilst highly educated workers are overrepresented in the group of solo self-employment.

The concept and phenomena of flexible employment are evolving and increasingly include workers who are engaged in different types of employment contracts simultaneously (referred as 'multiple', 'plural' or 'hybrid' employment). These workers have (at least) a second job, combining different forms of non-standard employment or combining dependent and independent forms of employment. This is particularly the case for workers with temporary contracts.

In the context of the Dutch labour market, the most important factors identified as drivers for the increase of flexible workers are globalisation, technological developments and institutional factors (e.g. labour market policies, regulations and the tax regime). The increasingly competitive environment as a consequence of globalisation has encouraged companies to use a more flexible workforce.

3.2 Comparative assessment in the peer countries

Levels and typologies of non-standard employment differ markedly across countries. Countries that are experiencing a high incidence of some forms of non-standard employment are Italy, Spain, Croatia and Sweden. Countries where non-standard forms of work are less common are Norway, Belgium, Ireland, Estonia and Latvia. While these latter countries do not experience high shares of non-standard work (compared to the EU average) concerns for workers in non-standard employment do still exist.

Italy has experienced a strong increase in part-time and short-term temporary work. However, the shares of these types of non-standard employment are below the EU average. By contrast, Italy experiences greater shares of self-employment than the Netherlands (and the EU). One in four workers in Italy are self-employed and most of them are solo self-employed. Involuntary self-employment due to lack of alternatives is also increasing.

Spain has a relatively low share of part-time employment but is characterised by a very high share of temporary work (four times higher than in the Netherlands). This has been linked, to some extent, to labour market policies aiming at increasing flexibility in the labour market to support job growth. As a result of the high share of temporary work, Spain has one of the highest shares of precarious employment in the EU. The Spanish rate of solo self-employment is slightly above EU average, but below the Dutch average.

In **Croatia**, temporary employment has been increasing while part-time work is rather uncommon and solo self-employment is in decline. The increase in temporary work can be explained by repeated deregulation of employment protection. Croatian labour market regulation is distinctive in its variety of possible legal options for temporary contracts: fixed-term employment contracts (general, temporary agency contracts and seasonal contracts) and several temporary work arrangements not relying upon the employment contract (workplace occupational training, daily voucher system for seasonal workers in agricultural sector, contract for service, author's contract, student contracts).

Following an increase in the 1990s, **Sweden** has a higher share of temporary employment than the EU average. This share has been stable for the last decade. The largest increase in temporary contracts occurred in employment on occasion and by the hour, two types of temporary work that pose a high risk of precarious employment. Non-standard employment in Sweden is more common among blue-collar workers, female workers and foreign-born workers. While incidence of (solo) self-employment has not increased significantly in Sweden, bogus self-employment is a concern. Migrants are disproportionately represented in bogus self-employment as they were initially recruited as temporary employees but end up in bogus self-employment or work for foreign companies that operate only temporarily in Sweden. Bogus self-employment in Sweden can particularly be found in particular sectors such as road haulage and construction.

Norway has not experienced any noteworthy increases in fixed-term contracts and solo self-employment. Nevertheless, the possible future increase of precarious work is in the national debate. This debate focuses in particular on the increase in temporary agency workers which can be largely explained by migrant workers from Central and East European countries. This group is particularly present in the construction and manufacturing sectors and it was identified in the Peer Review as at risk of bogus self-employment.

Although part-time work as a share of total employment has risen substantially and steadily in **Belgium**, involuntary part-time employment has declined. Similarly, while a significant number of Belgian workers are (solo) self-employed, either as their main occupation or as a second activity, growth has been weaker than in the Netherlands. Generally, Belgium experiences a lower incidence of precarious work compared to the Netherlands, but more people are not in work at all. One possible explanation for the lower incidence of precarious work is the strong social partner presence who are resistant against non-standard forms of work. In addition, mandatory social security contributions and collective labour agreements are made binding also for solo self-employed (in contrast to the Netherlands).

Ireland has not experienced marked changes in either temporary employment or (solo) self-employment. However, there is some variation at sectoral level (albeit moderate).

Similarly, the share of non-standard forms of employment in **Estonia** is lower than in a number of other EU countries, including in the Netherlands.

Temporary work and part-time employment in **Latvia** are not common. While the share of self-employment in Latvia has increased to 10% over the last years, this is still below the EU average. A matter of particular concern is the increasing phenomena of bogus self-employment with companies asking part-time employees to become self-employed to reduce tax payments.

4 Challenges faced by workers in flexible employment

Workers in non-standard work arrangements face multiple challenges such as higher risks of income inadequacy, long-term poverty, etc.

Whilst the picture for solo self-employed varies across countries, as well as across occupations (e.g. professionals in the IT sector versus self-employed in construction), concerns around social protection for this group of workers is on the rise. Countries have different regulations with regards to how social protection is covered (through contributions or tax) and whether these contributions are voluntary or not.

Other concerns relate to the continuity of employment and transition towards higher quality jobs. In many cases the intended stepping stone function of temporary employment towards permanent and better employment has been unsuccessful.

4.1 Overview of the host country

Workers in non-standard and flexible employment face multiple challenges:

4.1.1 Income adequacy

Workers in different types of non-standard and flexible employment earn substantially less than workers in permanent employment. Workers on short-term contracts or in different working arrangements with flexible hours (e.g. part-time arrangements, zero-hours contracts) earn the least.

The picture for solo self-employed varies significantly across occupational profiles and sectors when compared with employees: the lowest-paid solo self-employed earn less than the lowest-paid dependent employees, but the highest-paid solo self-employed earn more than the highest-paid dependent employees. For example, self-employed professionals in sectors such as IT are likely to earn more than employees. However, it needs to be taken into account that data on earnings of self-employed is less precise than that of employees and a large body of evidence suggests that self-employed significantly underreport their earnings.

Data shows that self-employed without employees are a group that is at risk of being in long-term low-income households. Similarly, workers in flexible employment are also at higher risk of experiencing material deprivation (defined as the inability to afford those consumption goods and activities that are typical in a society at a given point in time, irrespective of people's preferences with respect to these items).

The conceptualisation of in-work poverty becomes even more complex when taking into account more hybrid forms of flexible employment and multiple employment, as the analysis on main job does not accurately capture other jobs or other sources of income.

4.1.2 Social protection and social partners' representation

Solo self-employed are, more than those on temporary contracts, not covered under social protection systems in the Netherlands. Several benefits are contribution-based and self-employed are not obliged to pay in to this. As such, they do not have statutory access to unemployment and sickness benefits, and protection against poverty in old age. At a system level, this means that solo self-employed do not pay in to the system, although their unemployment, sickness and old age poverty will have to be covered.

Solo self-employed are also not covered by conventional collective bargaining and representation. Collective labour agreements, which set sector rules regarding working conditions, also have limited application to the solo self-employed.

4.1.3 Certainty of continuing work and participation in training

As previously mentioned, a high proportion of younger workers are in temporary contracts. This is not uncommon, as these types of contracts ideally perform a stepping

stone function into more permanent jobs. However, it has been found that the proportion of temporary jobs leading to a permanent job in the Netherlands is below the EU average. Young workers may become trapped in cycles of short-term employment which is more associated with precariousness.

In addition, flexible employees and solo self-employed are less likely to participate in training as employers have a lower propensity to invest in temporary staff. The lack of training, in the context of a long-life learning perspective, impacts on the workers' ability to maintain and develop skills needed in the labour market, thus increasing the risk of being trapped in precarious and low quality jobs.

4.2 Comparative assessment in peer countries

While the levels of non-standard employment and self-employment differ in the peer countries, workers in non-standard forms of employment face similar challenges. Income levels, social security and employment security are less favourable among temporary employed and solo self-employed than among permanent employees across all countries.

4.2.1 Income inadequacy

In **Estonia**, self-employed people have a high risk of poverty, both relative poverty (23.5% of self-employed and 7.8% wage employees; 2016 data) and absolute poverty (11.1% of self-employed and 1.0% waged employees). However, they are less likely to be in material deprivation (2.6% of self-employed and 8% waged employees).

While the level of solo self-employed in **Norway** has been stable, and the level of non-standard contracts is relatively low, the question of income adequacy is also on the agenda as the expectation is that there will be more "bad jobs" in the future, especially in the service sectors. This is a concern echoed by various other peer countries. As (potentially dependent) solo self-employed are at risk of low and fluctuating income, and social benefits are based on taxable incomes, this group may fall through the social security net.

A high level of inequality within the group of self-employed was found across countries. The gap between the lowest earning and the highest earning self-employed is very large. Research in **Ireland** suggests that where employment is involuntarily or undesirably insecure (for example bogus self-employment or non-standards contracts accepted by workers due to lack of other options) from the perspective of the worker, this causes higher risks of lower incomes, providing a possible explanation for the gap in earnings. This also applies to involuntary part-time work. For example, in **Spain** 61.9% of part-time work is involuntary (compared to 25.8% for the EU-28 and 8.7% for the Netherlands) and those with involuntary part-time contracts earn 18% less than those with open-ended contracts.

Relative poverty and subjective poverty are substantially higher among temporary employees in **Croatia**, which has one of the highest shares of this type of non-standard form of employment out of all employment. Material deprivation is higher for temporary employees than for those on regular contracts. In part this is due to seasonal nature of a substantial part of temporary employment in Croatia. The absence of minimum wage regulations for student employment, contract work and workplace training (although for the latter a minimum wage level was set in 2017) might contribute to in-work poverty of temporary employees. In addition, workers on fixed-term contracts do tend to have lower wages than their comparable peers.

4.2.2 Social protection

Concerns on the social protection for (solo) self-employed are shared across most countries.

In **Sweden**, self-employed persons registered for business tax must pay their own preliminary income tax and social security contributions. The social fees include health insurance, parental insurance, old age pension and survivors' pension, occupational injury insurance, and a labour market fee for unemployment benefits. Self-employed can also join special unemployment funds, or in case they are members of a trade union, the union's unemployment fund. On balance the social protection of self-employed is weaker than for employees.

In **Latvia**, shadow employment (employers evading social contributions) and the social protection coverage of employees are main concerns. In Latvia, unlike the Netherlands, the emphasis is on legislative measures to increase the payment of income tax and social contributions by employees and employers alike, reducing the share of shadow economy (where employers do not pay social contributions on salaries). The Latvian debate currently focuses on the social risks for persons who are not covered by social contributions and who may be denied access to state-funded health services.

In **Italy** the social protection coverage for the solo self-employed differs according to both the type of risk and the type of self-employment. The 2017 Jobs Act for autonomous workers has extended employment rights and social protection to self-employed workers without employees. Collective representation organisations are developing new forms of aggregation and services to give a voice to self-employed professionals and precarious work. The changing nature of work demands a rethinking of both the regulatory framework on employment relations and the welfare and social protection models in order to ensure basic employment and social protection rights to workers, in standard and non-standard forms of work, in a financially sustainable way. The transferability of social protection entitlements across different schemes and employment statuses and the transparency of social protection schemes and rights are other issues on the agenda.

While Dutch solo self-employed are typically not protected under labour law, and other peer countries cover (solo) self-employed to a lesser extent than wages workers, self-employed in **Belgium** are obliged to enrol in the social security schemes that exist for the self-employed, including health insurance. Hence, in contrast to the Netherlands, the self-employed are insured against social risks, be it at a lower level than employees. They also pay lower but compulsory social security contributions, and there is additional government funding. Generally, the Belgian social partners, and particularly the trade unions, have remained very conservative and reluctant when it comes to including new forms of work. In so far that atypical work exists, significant restrictions apply, especially aimed at maintaining minimum standards and ensuring equal treatment.

4.2.3 Certainty of continuing work and participation in training

In some peer countries there has been a decline in transition rates from temporary work to permanent work. This points to the fact that temporary work is not leading to more secure employment. Similar to the host country, lower participation rates in training for self-employed and temporary workers were also reported in other countries.

Data on transition rates from temporary to permanent positions in **Italy** show that temporary positions are more and more a "dead end", rather than a stepping stone towards more secure employment opportunities.

This "structural temporariness" also exists in **Sweden**, in both in low-skill and high-skill areas (e.g. in the higher education sector). Women with low educational attainment, and newly arrived immigrants, are over-represented among those workers with consistent history of temporary jobs hence in "structural temporariness".

Both in **Croatia** and **Spain**, workers with temporary, part-time and self-employed contracts do not participate in training as much as full-time employees, which undermines employability and increases the risk of job market exclusion.

5 Policy measures

Policy measures are used by governments to create a balance between flexibility and security and a balance between employees with permanent contracts and the diverse group of workers with flexible contracts. But also to prevent and combat false and dependent forms of self-employment. Policy measures differ across countries and depend on labour market trends and the proportion of the labour force working in non-standard working arrangements. In Italy, the Netherlands and Ireland, new legislation has been initiated to deal with the challenges faced.

5.1 Overview of the host country

Two Acts that have been implemented in recent years particularly address flexible employment relations. In July 2015 the Act on Work and Security (WWZ) was introduced. This act aimed, among other things, to establish a new balance between employees with permanent contracts and the very diverse group of workers on flexible contracts. The government introduced more restrictions on the use of flexible employment contracts. The legislator strengthened several conditions in the employers' use of fixed-term employment contracts. This by reducing the maximum period for successive fixed-term employment contracts with the same employer from three (1999) to two (2015) years with a maximum of three consecutive contracts (chain regulation). Also it was made more difficult to set aside rules on the basis of collective labour agreements (Broughton et al., 2016; Vonk and Jansen, 2017). However, the coalition agreement of the current government has announced a series of new measures, including an increase again of the period during which the chain regulation applies (back to three years). The idea is that employers will be less quick to discard temporary employees. Also, the coalition agreement announced the intention to restrict pay-rolling options (Vonk and Jansen, 2017).

With respect to the self-employed, in January 2016 the Act on Combating Sham Arrangements came into force. With this legislation, the following matters have been arranged:

1. In case of multiple customers/contractors the entire chain is liable to make the correct payment of the agreed wage (supply chain liability).
2. If requested, employers have to establish the identity of a worker within 48 hours and communicate this to the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (Inspectie SZW).
3. Payslips should be itemised, expense allowances cannot be at minimum wage and a minimum wage is not to be paid in cash.
4. The act aims to improve compliance with the collective labour agreement and enforcement (Vonk and Jansen, 2017, pp. 26).

5.2 Comparative assessment in peer countries

In **Belgium**, the Law of 1987 on temporary employment, makes a clear distinction between regular fixed-term contracts and temporary-agency-work employment. The law requires equal pay and working conditions for regular workers in the user firm and temporary-agency-work employment on assignment. Furthermore, the self-employed are obliged to enrol in the social security schemes that exist for the self-employed, including health insurance. The self-employed are insured against social risks, be it at a lower level than employees. They also pay lower but compulsory social security contributions, and there is additional government funding.

In **Croatia** bogus self-employment does not figure in policy discourse or legal terms (Vukorepa et al, 2017, Butković et al, 2016). Although some similar discussions were

held about boundaries between employment contracts, "contract for service" and "author's contract". However, two policy attempts were made in Croatia to explicitly address challenges of temporary employment. For those employing seasonal workers, there is an option, introduced via Labour Law in 2001, to pay minimal contributions throughout the year and thus "reserve" the worker for the following season. Also permanent seasonal worker can be eligible for an income support up to 6 months comparable to unemployment benefit for such workers. Furthermore in 2015, an attempt was made to decrease the high share of temporary employment by introducing a five-year waiver on health and unemployment contributions for workers under age 30 who enter the permanent employment.

In general, the social protection policy rules of non-standard employment, including self-employment are the same as for traditional workers in **Estonia** (Masso and Kadarik 2017). One exception: a sole proprietor is not required to pay unemployment insurance premiums for himself/herself and thus is not covered by unemployment insurance.

In **Ireland** there have not been significant increases in either temporary or self-employment. However, a policy has been drafted (has not yet been enacted by the Irish parliament yet) aimed at improving the predictability and security of employees on insecure contracts. In this new policy, it is stated that employers must give employees clear terms of employment within five days of their commencing employment, including details of pay and hours of work; zero hours contracts will be prohibited in most circumstances (genuine casual work, or where essential in respect of covering emergency situations or short-term absences being the exceptions); new minima payments must apply where employees are called in to work but sent home again without the work; a set of "banded hours" will categorise the hours an employee works more accurately than their contracts may state (to ease their access to credit, for example); a range of measures will be brought in to ensure employees who invoke their rights are not penalised.

An interesting recent development in **Italy** is the 2017 Act on smart working. Smart working is defined as a flexible way to perform salaried work without a fixed working time and a fixed workplace, with the use of technological devices. The Act requires for smart working to be agreed upon in writing by the employer and the employee and sets some labour protection rights in terms of working hours, wages and collective agreements. Given its recent introduction, it is too early to assess its implementation and effects. Regarding healthcare and long term care, accidents at work, invalidity and occupational injuries benefits, maternity cash benefits, social assistance benefits, the coverage and benefits for self-employed workers are in Italy similar to those of standard dependent workers.

At the moment, no specific future measures to reduce precariousness and to improve social guarantees for self-employed are envisaged in **Latvia**. This can change because currently there is a debate on the social risks for persons not covered by social contributions, who may be denied access. This might hypothetically include self-employed.

In **Norway**, a new and more flexible type of fixed-term contract was introduced in the Working Environment Act (AML) in 2015. Employers now have the opportunity to use a temporary employment contract for a period of until 12 months without giving any particular reason. The new type of fixed term contracts may only apply to a maximum of 15 per cent of the employees of the undertaking. If an employee is not offered continued employment, the employer may not use this particular paragraph for the same type of work. Finally, employees who have been temporarily employed for more than three years (at the same work place) shall be deemed to be permanently employed. To fight false self-employed and to protect migrant workers in general the Labour Inspectorate gained increased control.

In **Spain** the Royal Decree (11/2013), for the protection of part-time workers and other urgent measures in the economic and social order, introduced a new way of calculating

social security contributions in relation to old-age and survivors' pensions, as well as temporary incapacity, invalidity, maternity and paternity cash benefits (but not unemployment) for part-time workers. The Law on the Self-Employed Work Statute (20/2007) included voluntary insurance contributions to protect against occupational diseases and the risk of accidents at work. Also, it included voluntary insurance contributions to protect against the cessation of activity.

To reduce the risk of workers getting stuck in temporary employment, in **Sweden** a general fixed-term contract is turning into an open-ended contract. This happens when the aggregated length of employment in general fixed term employment is more than two years during a period when the employee has had fixed term employments with the same employer in the form of general fixed term employment, fixed term substitute or seasonal work and the employments have been successive. To prevent and combat false and dependent forms of self-employment, the government initiated inter-agency cooperation against "unhealthy competition" in 2015.

6 Conclusions

In recent years, Europe has experienced a remarkable increase in the incidence and number of workers in non-standard working arrangements, although with remarkable differences across countries. Some countries have also experienced a significant rise in solo self-employment.

Non-standard employment includes different and new forms of temporary work (e.g. temporary agency work, 'zero hour' contracts and 'if and when' contracts), as well as hybrid forms of working arrangements where workers are legally positioned between employees and self-employed (e.g. collaborators) and some forms of solo self-employment.

Aspects of precariousness are often found in relation to non-standard workers. This includes limited protection of workers in non-standard contracts and access to social security systems; high risk of permanence in temporary employment and involuntary forms of flexible working; greater in-work poverty and long-term poverty vis-à-vis standard forms of employment; little access to training and career progression opportunities. Similarly, in many countries the self-employed do not access sickness and disability cover and limited funds are saved in pension funds. In addition, workers with non-standard work arrangements and solo self-employed are often not covered by collective bargaining and do not have access to trade unions, thus further weakening their position in the labour market.

Multiple underlying causes have been identified as triggers for increased trends of non-standard employment and solo self-employment. Key factors included globalisation coupled with labour market reforms; a fast-changing world of work, new consumption models (e.g. online service platforms) and the digitalisation of work.

It clearly emerged from the Peer Review that the multifaceted issues connected to non-standard work arrangements require tailored and focussed policy responses. Notwithstanding the striking differences across European countries and the complexity of the phenomena of precarious work, common solutions and /or transferable lessons were identified:

- Universal access to social security systems regardless of the labour market position would provide workers with a minimum level of coverage, thus making the transition across different work arrangements and/or in and out of the labour market throughout their working life much smoother.
- National legal frameworks and policy measures should allow for a clear definition of work arrangements and workers' entitlement (for example in relation to the solo self-employment status, where often workers found themselves in a situation where all elements of subordination coexist without the protection guaranteed to employed workers).
- This should be combined with effective enforcement strategies to prevent misuse of policy instruments (e.g. vouchers) and non-standard work arrangements (e.g. zero-hour contracts, bogus self-employment).
- Innovative ways of representation of non-standard workers from social partners should also be discussed (an example included the quasi-unions in Italy). Social partners or new actors (e.g. municipalities) could also play a role in providing tailored services to non-standard workers (e.g. information, training).

