

Exploring Inequality in Europe

Diverging Income and Employment
Opportunities in the Crisis

Edited by

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5. Women as the relative winners of the eurozone crisis? Female employment opportunities between austerity, inclusion and dualization¹

Martin Heidenreich

The eurozone crisis resulted in a sharp increase in EU unemployment rates (March 2008: 6.7 per cent; March 2013: 11 per cent). This labour market crisis led to a double dualization; firstly between European countries (especially between Northern and Southern Europe), and secondly between different occupational groups, as younger people, migrants, temporary and low-skilled employees are mostly hidden by the crisis (cf. Chapter 4). Another social group that usually plays an essential role in secondary labour markets and is therefore often used as a buffer during cyclical downturns is women. Their unemployment rate also increased strongly (from 8.1 per cent to 11 per cent in the same period). Therefore, it can be expected that women are seriously and negatively affected by the eurozone crisis. This is the major thesis of a recent, comprehensive overview on the employment and social situation of women during this crisis:

Austerity is expected to have negative effects not only on demand for female labour but also on access to services that support women as carers, thereby often compelling them to substitute for cutbacks through increasing unpaid domestic labour . . . austerity undermines women's progress towards equality in paid work and economic independence and may provoke an ideological backlash favouring a return to traditional gender roles and backward-looking gender contracts. (Karamessini 2014: 4, 14)

However, other studies reach a much more positive conclusion. Ostner et al. (2013: 70), for example, state that 'Germany has for the most part moved away from the male breadwinner model and its underpinnings.' In a similar vein, Dingeldey (2015: 4) describes the diffusion of a modernized breadwinner model based on the 'combination of male standard employment relationship and female part-time employment' as a 'marriage of flexibility and security on the household level'.

In contrast to pessimistic expectations, I argue that women are on the one hand the relative winners of the eurozone crisis, since their relative employment opportunities have improved considerably during the crisis. Especially in the countries with the most traditional gender relations, namely in the Southern European countries, the crisis has contributed considerably to the erosion of the male breadwinner model because women are increasingly obliged to participate in the labour market. However, this does not imply that women will be employed under the same conditions as men in highly industrialized societies, i.e. enjoying stable jobs, with high, collectively-agreed remuneration and permanent and full-time contracts. New jobs are often part time or temporary and low paid. This can be seen as an indicator of gender inequality, as industrial jobs for low-skilled, often male employees are generally better paid and better protected. However, it is also an indicator of the transformation of the labour market and employment structures, especially in the service sector – a transformation which greatly advantages some women yet disadvantages others due to low-paid, instable and burdensome jobs. While men are often employed in shrinking sectors with stable employment relations and decent wages (e.g. construction and manufacturing), low-skilled women are often employed in growing sectors with low wages and atypical employment relations, for example in trade, hotels or food processing.

In the following section, the debate on the employment situation of European women during the financial, sovereign debt and economic crisis since 2008 is briefly reviewed. On this basis I propose three hypotheses (section 1). The austerity, inclusion and dualization theses are first discussed on the basis of aggregated outcome indicators at the level of the five classical employment regimes in Europe (section 2). As a next step, these hypotheses are re-specified for the micro-level and discussed in the light of micro-data on the flows from unemployment and inactivity to employment and on the composition of low-paid employees (section 3). The chapter concludes with a short summary (section 4).

5.1 FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BETWEEN AUSTERITY, INCLUSION AND DUALIZATION

The eurozone crisis has hit the Mediterranean countries especially, which are characterized by a high degree of familialism, rudimentary welfare and employment regimes (Ferrera 1996), and a high level of segmentation between labour market insiders and outsiders. Even if the crisis has resulted in ‘an important reduction in the level of security for labour market insiders both in employment and while unemployed’ (Moreira et al. 2015: 219),

it can be expected that women will have been particularly affected by the economic recession since 2008. As classical labour market outsiders (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Saint-Paul 1996), in times of crisis women might be relegated to their roles of wives, mothers and carers of their elderly parents (Karamessini 2014: 4; Broschinski 2015) – especially due to the austerity policies which have been imposed on the public sector in order to reduce the public debts of the EU Member States, and more particularly the countries of the eurozone that can no longer rely on monetary devaluation. *Formulated as a hypothesis: The austerity policies that followed the Great Recession and the eurozone crisis have stabilized classical male breadwinner models and resulted in the return of women to their roles within the family. A relative increase in female unemployment rates and a relative decrease in female employment rates can be expected – also due to major cuts in public administration, health, education and social services, which are important employment segments for women (H1).*

Alternatively, it can also be expected that the general pattern of increasing employment rates already observed before the crisis will continue. The trend towards dual-earner models will in particular continue due to women's increasing formal qualifications and labour market orientations and the related cultural changes towards more egalitarian gender models and more individualistic private living forms: '(T)he whole system shifts from a family wage economy to an individual wage economy' (Drobníč and Blossfeld 2001: 380). Paradoxically, gender segregated employment relations can also contribute to such an increase when a cyclical downswing mostly affects the classical employment domains of male employees, for example manufacturing jobs, and the concentration of women in personal and social services, for example education and public administration: 'Segregation may protect women against job loss by shielding them from competition from men' (Rubery and Rafferty 2013: 416). *Thus, it can be expected that educational expansion, changing gender models, increasing service sector employment and continuing gender segregation of the labour market will lead to higher female employment rates. This trend towards inclusive employment regimes will be reflected in high female employment and low unemployment rates (H2).*

However, a shift towards an inclusive employment regime might be associated with a further erosion of stable, well-paid and secure jobs. This has been described as a politically induced *dualization* which deepens the segmentation of the labour market, especially along qualification and occupational lines (Emmenegger et al. 2012; Schwander and Häusermann 2013). This dualization also has a gender dimension, since women both benefit and suffer disproportionately from the diffusion of precarious jobs. This has been demonstrated in the case of Germany, where Dingeldey (2015)

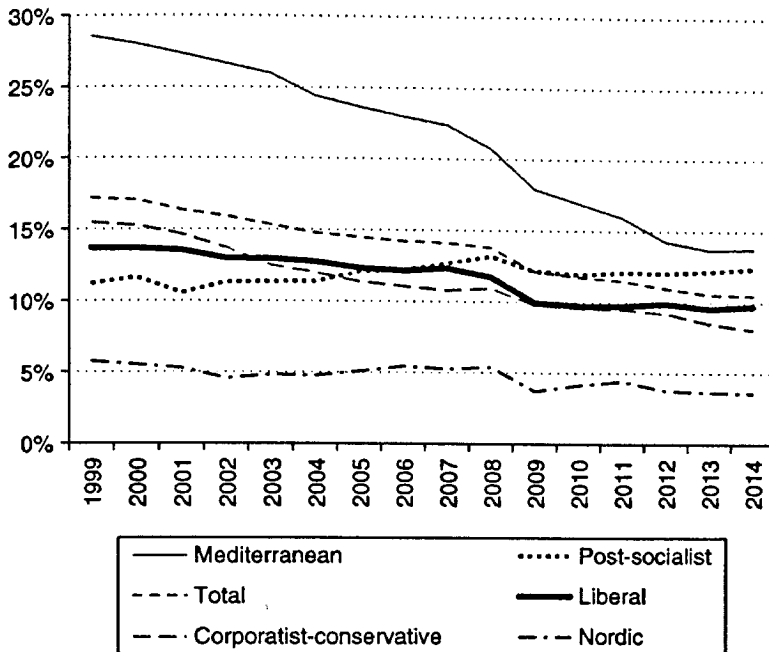
observed the emergence of the modernized dual breadwinner model characterized by 'a high level of flexible employment and a high incidence of low wage employment . . . high wage differentials between male and female dominated sectors and professions are accepted to support low-cost and low-wage employment in (social) services' (Dingeldey 2015: 18). The increasing labour market participation of women (often due to the creation of jobs in the service sector), may thus be linked to the creation of more flexible, non-standard employment relations characterized by low pay and higher uncertainty and instability (Blossfeld and Hofmeister 2006). A retrenchment of public services as a consequence of the austerity policies may also contribute to such a dualization: '(T)he deterioration of men's position during the first phase of the crisis may be reversed since the full implementation of austerity is likely to harm women's employment position relatively more' (Karamessini and Rubery 2014b: 16–17). *On the basis of this dualization and precarization debate, it can be expected that the increasing inclusion of women in the labour market is also linked to a dualization of their employment opportunities and conditions. Indicators would be a high share of highly qualified women (often in demanding service jobs) accompanied by a concentration of women in low-paid jobs and non-standard employment relations (H3).*

On the basis of these austerity, inclusion and dualization hypotheses, the patterns and evolutions of female employment and unemployment are discussed in the following section on the basis of aggregated data at the macro-level.

5.2 REGIME-SPECIFIC FEMALE EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS DURING THE EUROZONE CRISIS: AGGREGATED EVIDENCE

In this section, I will discuss the previously developed theses on the basis of aggregated, regime-specific indicators² in order to show the weak empirical evidence of the austerity thesis, the mixed evidence for the dualization thesis and the convincing evidence for the inclusion thesis.

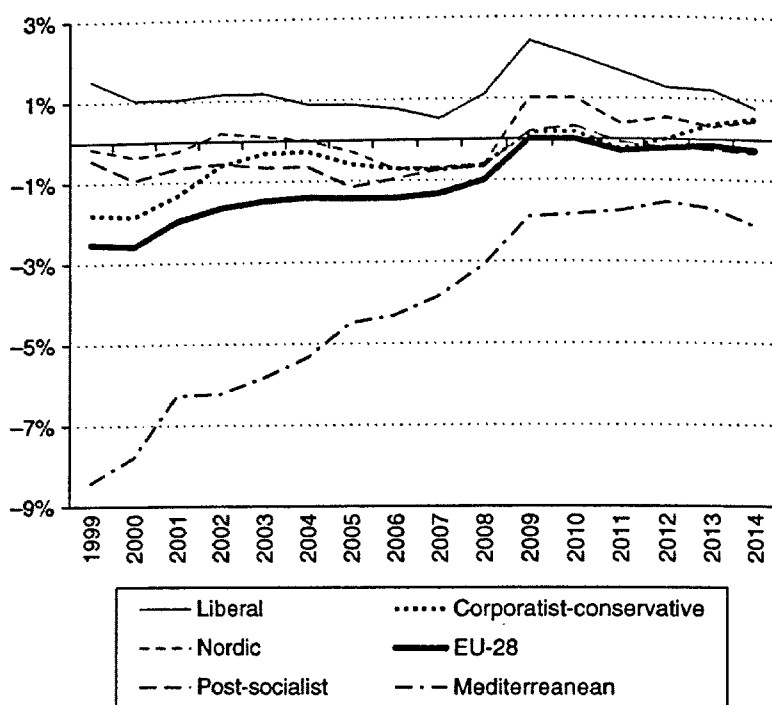
The first indicator which could be interpreted as supporting the austerity thesis would be the declining employment rate of women and the growing difference between the employment rates of men and women. In the EU, however, the employment rate of women increased between 2008 and 2014 – even though a clear decline of more than one percentage point could be observed in ten predominantly Mediterranean countries (BG, HR, PT, NL, IE, ES, SI, DK, CY and EL). However, especially in the Southern European countries, a declining difference between male and female employment rates can be observed, even though these countries are the most strongly hidden



Source: Eurostat, table [lfsa_ergan]; own elaborations.

Figure 5.1 *Difference between the male and female employment rate weighted by and in per cent of population from 15 to 64 years (1999–2014, EU-28)*

by austerity policies (Figure 5.1). These countries are characterized by more traditional gender relations (Ferrera 1996). The decreasing difference between male and female employment rates indicates a durable cultural and economic modernization, particularly of the Southern European countries. For example, in Spain this gap has been reduced from 31 per cent (1999) to 9.5 per cent (2014). Traditional gender relations and forms of labour market segmentation are thus not only eroded by the previously described secular trends (educational expansion, tertiarization, changing family values), but also by the crisis. Bettio and Verashchagina (2014) recall the ‘added worker effect’, i.e. the counter-cyclical employment strategies of women, who especially increase their employment offer in times of crisis in order to maintain household income or when the male breadwinner has lost his job. This does not imply that women are completely protected from the employment effects of the economic crisis which has hit the European countries since 2009. On the contrary, female employment rates are still lower in Southern

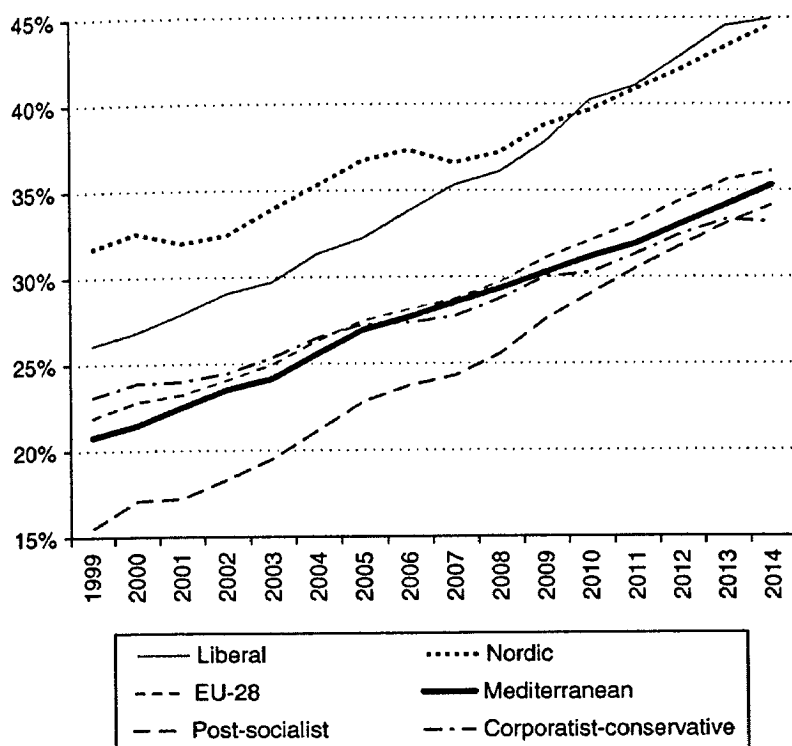


Source: Eurostat, table [lfsa_urgaed]; own elaborations.

Figure 5.2 Difference between the unemployment rates of men and women (as a percentage of the labour force, 1999–2014, EU-28)

Europe than in the rest of Europe (for example 46.8 per cent in Italy and 41.1 per cent in Greece in 2014 – in contrast to 59.5 per cent in the EU-28) and they have declined since 2008. But since the introduction of the euro and despite the eurozone crisis, female employment rates increased in, for example, Spain by 13 per cent and Italy by 8.7 per cent.

The gap between the gender-specific unemployment rates, which especially decreases in Southern Europe, shows a similar pattern (Figure 5.2). The continuing reduction of the employment and unemployment gaps between men and women indicates a secular cultural and institutional modernization process which is facilitating the inclusion of women into the labour market due to higher qualifications, a higher employment share of service activities and the evolution of gender roles and stereotypes. Rubery (2014: 32–33), for example, observes a ‘long-term and persistent change in both women’s aspirations and labour market activities and in the



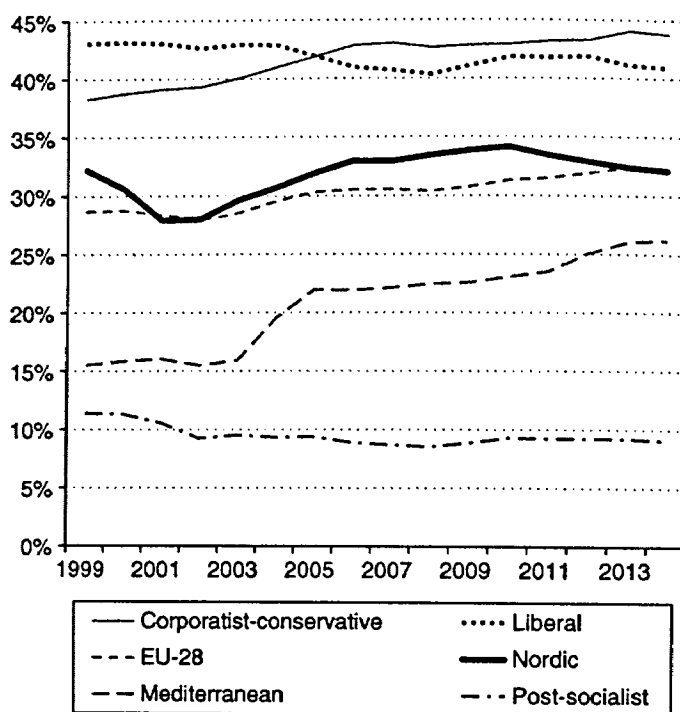
Source: Eurostat, table [lfsa_egised]; own elaborations.

Figure 5.3 Women with a tertiary education as a percentage of total female employment (15–64 years)

associated organization of the family economy and relations'. This indicates that the shift from a male breadwinner model to a dual-earner career of men and women has also continued during the eurozone crisis (cf. also Bettio and Verashchagina 2014: 70).

A major reason for the continuing inclusion of women in the labour market (especially in the Southern European countries most strongly hidden by the crisis) is the higher qualification of women. While in the EU-28, 30 per cent of male employees had a tertiary education in 2014, the corresponding share of women was 35.9 per cent. This share increased in all the European welfare regimes (Figure 5.3). However, this does not mean that all highly skilled women in Southern European countries find a job; in fact, their employment rate is also declining.

One indicator for the compensatory increase of the labour supply is an

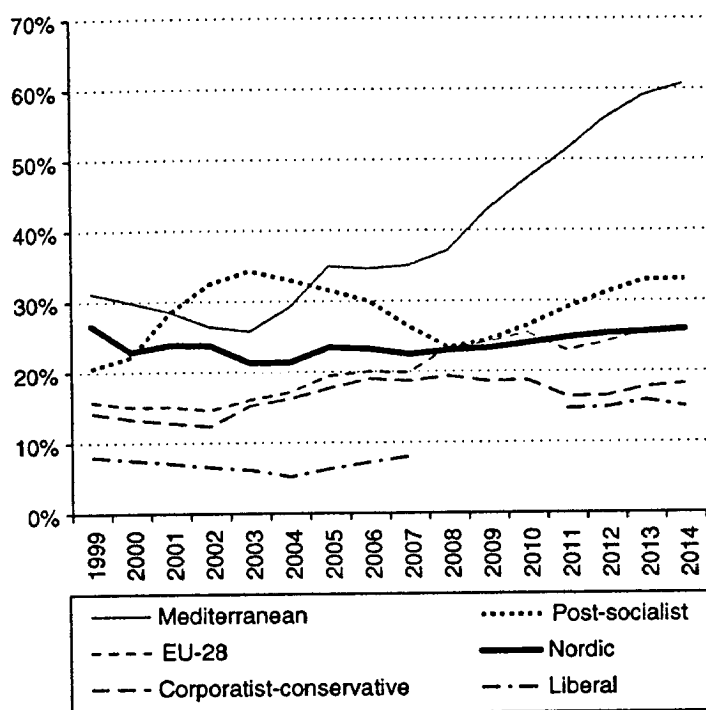


Note: Female part-time employment as percentage of the total female employment (15 to 64 years), weighted by the level of female employment.

Source: Eurostat, table [lfsa_eppga]; own elaborations.

Figure 5.4 *Female part-time employment (%; EU-28; 1999–2014)*

increasing share of female part-time employment especially in the countries which have been most strongly hit by the crisis. The ‘added worker thesis’, which predicts an increasing labour supply when the (usually male) head of a household loses his job (Bettio and Verashchagina 2014), can be especially observed in Southern European countries, where the share of female part-time workers is strongly increasing (Figure 5.4). At the same time, women in Southern Europe increasingly say that they are working part time because they are unable to find full-time work. This indicates both the economic necessity for the comprehensive inclusion of women in the labour market and the changing gender roles and expectations of women. More than 60 per cent of the Greek, Spanish and Italian women who are currently employed on a part-time basis are looking for a full-time job (Figure 5.5). The decreasing difference between the aspirations of men



Note: The data are weighted by number of female part-time employees. People working on an involuntary part-time basis are those who declare that they work part time because they are unable to find full-time work.

Source: Eurostat, table [lfsa_eppgai]; own elaborations.

Figure 5.5 *Involuntary female part-time employment as percentage of the total female part-time employment (1999–2014; EU-28)*

and women show that the shift from a male breadwinner model to a dual-earner career of men and women is especially continuing in the Southern European countries – despite the declining employment rates of women.

The continuing inclusion of women in the labour market is also the outcome of a sectoral shift towards service activities (Karamessini and Rubery 2014b: 21). Two of the most important sectors with declining employment – the manufacturing and construction industries – are dominated by male employees, while growing sectors are characterized by a high share of female employees. Women account for 47.7 per cent of employees in professional and administrative work, 72 per cent in education and 74.3 per cent in health and social work (Table 5.1). In the

Table 5.1 *Employment by sex and economic activity (2008–2014; EU-28)*

EU-28	Sectoral share in % of total employment		Employment change		Share of women in sectoral employment		Sectoral share % of male employment		Sectoral share in % of female employment	
	2008	2014	2008–2014		2008	2014	2008	2014	2008	2014
Year	2008	2014	2008–2014		2008	2014	2008	2014	2008	2014
Manufacturing, agriculture, mining, water, electricity	23.8	21.9	-4.1		31.1	29.8	29.8	28.4	16.5	14.2
Construction	8.4	6.8	-20.9		9.1	9.8	13.9	11.4	1.7	1.5
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	14.2	14.0	-3.9		49.6	49.3	13.0	13.2	15.7	15.0
Transportation, accommodation	9.5	9.7	0.0		37.3	37.5	10.8	11.3	7.8	7.9
Communication, finance, real estate	6.6	6.7	0.2		43.6	42.2	6.7	7.2	6.4	6.2
Professional, administrative and technical activities	8.3	9.5	11.5		48.4	47.7	7.8	9.2	8.9	9.8
Public administration, defence, social security, extraterritorial org.	7.6	7.7	-1.3		45.7	46.4	7.5	7.6	7.7	7.7
Education	7.0	7.6	6.0		71.4	72.0	3.6	4.0	11.1	11.9
Health, social work, entertainment, households, other	14.7	16.1	6.9		74.0	74.3	6.9	7.7	24.1	25.9
Total	100	100	-2.5		44.9	46.1	100	100	100	100

Source: Eurostat, table [lfsa_egan2], own elaborations.

case of public administration, Karamessini and Rubery (2014b) expect a shrinking share due to European-wide austerity policies. Empirically, however, the employment share of this sector in which 46.4 per cent of employees are women remains broadly stable, at least when all of the EU countries are viewed together (-1.3 per cent from 2008 to 2014). The most important sector in which a quarter of all employed women are working – health and social work – is in fact growing (6.9 per cent between 2008 and 2014). Approximately 35 per cent of all employed women in Scandinavia, 29 per cent in continental European and liberal countries, 24 per cent in Southern European countries and 15 per cent in Eastern European countries are working in this sector. This shows that women are not affected above average by the negative labour market effects of austerity policies.

Previous studies have demonstrated convincingly that the shift from a male breadwinner model to a dual-earner career of men and women is accompanied by gender-related segmentation of the labour market. Women are often employed in the secondary labour market, which might imply a concentration in low-paid and low-level jobs (Blossfeld and Hakim 1997; Blossfeld and Hofmeister 2006). This is still true. According to Eurostat [earn_ses_pub1s], 13.3 per cent of all male and 21 per cent of female employees earned two-thirds or less of the national median gross hourly earnings in 2010. This shows that despite the high qualification of women and their privileged access to expanding economic activities, women are still over-represented in low-wage jobs. The reasons for this puzzling phenomenon which is at the core of the dualization thesis cannot be discussed sufficiently on the basis of aggregated data. Therefore, in the following section this issue is analysed on the basis of micro-data.

In sum, women are increasingly included in the labour market. The declining gender gap between the employment and unemployment rates of men and women has continued during the current crisis (also due to the expansion of further education, increasing care facilities for children and elderly people and changing gender roles). This transformation into an inclusive employment regime has also been accelerated by the crisis in Southern Europe, which has been a laggard in the transformation from a male breadwinner to a dual-earner model. Rather than being simply a short-term reaction to increasing pressures to take up a job when another household member becomes unemployed, the increasing share of involuntary part-time workers in the Mediterranean countries may perhaps indicate a far-reaching transformation of gender relations, especially in Greece, Spain and Italy.

Up to now I have discussed the employment situation of women on the basis of the aggregated employment data provided by Eurostat in order to test the austerity, the inclusion and the dualization theses. However, such

an approach has three shortcomings. Firstly, the interaction of the different individual and job-related variables (age, citizenship and migration background, private living forms, level of education, sectoral employment, employment and contractual forms, wages, etc.) cannot be thoroughly analysed on the basis of aggregated data alone. For example, private living conditions, which shape the decisions to take up a job and/or to accept low wages and their interactions with other factors relating to the demand side of the labour market can hardly be analysed on the basis of aggregated data. Secondly, the reported employment figures for one year are the result of dynamic processes in which inactive and unemployed people take up a job ('inflows') while other people take up a new job ('mobility') or are dismissed and become unemployed or inactive ('outflows'). Thirdly, the relationship between aggregated supply and demand-side indicators and contextual factors is often analysed by correlation analyses or scatterplots on the macro-level. However, the interpretation of correlations between macro-data usually implies ecological fallacies, i.e. assumptions about causal relations on the individual or household level which cannot be deduced from correlations at the macro-level. Therefore, in the following I will discuss two questions on the basis of micro-data: Which previously unemployed or inactive women have decided and have been able to take up a new job before and during the financial and sovereign debt crisis? And which women have had to accept low-wage jobs?

5.3 EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN BEFORE AND DURING THE CRISIS

5.3.1 Hypotheses, Data and Methods

The employment situation of women is first of all determined by individual job searches and by organizational recruitment decisions, i.e. by the decisions of women to look for paid employment and by employers to offer them a job. An important indicator of these decisions is the flows from inactivity and unemployment to employment; another would be the flows from one job to another, which, however, cannot be directly measured on the basis of EU-SILC. The characteristics of the people who enter the employment system after having been unemployed or inactive are an indicator of the types of jobs in which women are interested and for which they can successfully apply. In addition, this reflects the recruitment criteria of employers. These movements from unemployment and inactivity to employment reflect very different situations. It might reflect the transition

from one job to another (interrupted by a short unemployment spell); it may be one phase in an unstable working life characterized by temporary jobs, seasonal work and self-employment; it may indicate the entrance of a previously inactive person into the labour market after school, the birth of a child or other forms of home work, or it may reflect the successful job search of an unemployed person. As a group of reference I chose employed women (and not inactive, unemployed or all women) because I am interested in the question of which women successfully enter the labour market – and not which women with which characteristics can be successfully activated for the labour market. In this way the characteristics of the employees who have successfully applied for a job can be established. In particular, their qualifications, a possible migration background and their private living situations (type of households, age of the youngest child) as indicators of possible care responsibilities and the characteristics of the jobs they attain (permanent or temporary, part or full time, occupational level, economic sector) are taken into account.

An essential dimension of these employment opportunities is the quality of the job. Even though this quality is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon, there is broad agreement that the level of remuneration is an essential criterion. Low wages are considered to be essential characteristics of bad jobs (Kalleberg 2011: 10). Therefore, in a second step, I analyse in more detail which women with which individual, household-related and occupational criteria influence the likelihood of receiving low pay.

Both the employment opportunities and the likelihood of having a low-paid job are determined by the characteristics of the employed women (demand side of the labour market) as well as by the particularities of the job (supply side of the labour market). By transferring the previously developed inclusion and dualization theses H2 and H3 to the micro-level, the following two hypotheses can be formulated: *Firstly, it can be expected that higher-skilled, native and healthy women in the core age group (25–54 years) with no young children have better employment and earnings opportunities than low-skilled, ill women with a migration background and burdensome care responsibilities. Single parents with younger children will be particularly handicapped (demand-side hypothesis H2'). Most of the jobs will be offered in administrative, social and personal services, which will also offer – with the exception of public services – the highest share of low-paid and atypical jobs for both high- and low-skilled women (supply-side hypothesis H3').*

In addition, the national context is important for shaping both the employment opportunities of women and their wage level. In the existing literature it has been pointed out that labour market regulations (Dingeldey 2015), equal pay and fair hiring regulations (Card et al. 2015),

unions, family and care policies (cf. Christofides et al. 2013) and more generally the level of social security – which may be threatened by austerity policies (Karamessini and Rubery 2014a) – are important determinants of female labour market opportunities. In order to specify the initially developed austerity thesis H1 for the micro-level, *it can be expected that high social expenditures, good childcare facilities and a low level of austerity will have a positive effect on the employment opportunities and a negative effect on the likelihood of being low paid (H1')*.

These three hypotheses will be discussed on the basis of the latest available version (August 2015) of the cross-sectional EU-SILC data 2006–2013 for at least 24 European countries.³ The impact of the three national context factors is taken into account on the basis of data provided by Eurostat (cf. Table 5.2). As the two dependent variables – the likelihood of unemployed and inactive women finding employment (in relation to all employed women) and the likelihood of employed women receiving low wages, i.e. wages lower than two-thirds of the average hourly earnings – are binary variables, a binary logistic regression is the suitable method of analysis (cf. Chapter 4 for more detail). Although the number of European countries for which relevant data are available is below 30 – the recommended minimum level for multi-level analysis (Bryan and Jenkins 2016: 18) – I will perform a multi-level logistic regression in order to exploit the potential of this method for analysing context effects. Similar to Chapter 4, the coefficients in the following tables are average marginal effects (AME) which express the average effect of the respective category of the independent variable on the dependent variable in comparison to the reference category (Mood 2010). Only in Table 5.4 are odds ratios used because they are more suited for dealing with the multiplicative logic of interaction effects (Buis 2010).

The first step looks at the characteristics of employed women who have successfully looked for a job in the previous year (Table 5.3), while the second step analyses the likelihood of having a low-paid job (Table 5.5) – both times in relation to all the employed women. In both cases the likelihood of getting a job or being unemployed is calculated on the basis of the years from 2006 to 2013, i.e. three years before and five years during the crisis. In addition, the models were also calculated for men (only for 2013; column 9) and for the six countries most strongly affected by the financial, economic and sovereign debt crisis (only for 2013; column 10). These ‘crisis countries’ (CC) are the five members of the eurozone that had to accept bailout programmes (Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain) and Italy. According to the IMF (2015), these countries have been characterized by high borrowing spreads during the European sovereign debt crisis. Following the suggestions of Bryan and Jenkins (2016),

Table 5.2 *The variables used, their operationalization and their expected and observed effects*

Hypothesis	Variable	Operationalization	Data Source	Expected		Observed	
				Em	Lo	Em	Lo
(dep.)	Entry into employment	Likelihood of inactive and unemployed women to find a new job: employed women who were unemployed or inactive for at least one month in the previous year (in relation to all currently employed women (1: previously unemployed or inactive; 0: employed 12 months in the previous year)	EU-SILC (p1030, p1031, p1080, p1090, p1073-p1076)				
(dep.)	Low pay	Two-thirds of the hourly median gross cash income for workers for which the number of hours usually worked per week is available (without apprentices, in relation to all employed women) (1: low pay; 0: higher wage).	EU-SILC (py010g, py010n, p1060, p1100, p1030, p1031, pe010)				
H2'	Age class	1: '15-24 years'; 2: '25 to 54 years' (ref. category); 3: '55 years and older'	EU-SILC (rx020)	+(1)	+(1)	+(1)	+(1)
H2'	Young child	0: 'No child'; 1: 'Younger than 7 years'	EU-SILC (rx020, rb210)	-	+	0	(+)
H2'	Household type	1: 'One person household'; 2: 'Adults, no children'; 3: 'Single parent household'; 4: 'Adults with children'; ref. category	EU-SILC (hx060)	-(3)	+(3)	0(3)	-(3)
	Unemployed in household	At least one unemployed person in household	EU-SILC (p1030, p1031)		+		+
H2'	Migration status	Foreign nationality or born abroad (0: domestic origin (ref. category); 1: foreign origin)	EU-SILC (pb210 (a))	-	+	0	+
H2'	Health	Self-perceived health (1: 'very good'; 2: 'good'; 3: 'fair'; 4: 'bad'; 5: 'very bad')	EU-SILC (ph010)	-	+	0	+

Table 5.2 (continued)

Hypothesis	Variable	Operationalization	Data Source	Expected		Observed	
				Em	Lo	Em	Lo
H2'	Educational level	Highest ISCED level attained (3: Tertiary education – levels 5–6; 2: Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education (3–4); 1: Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education (0–2; ref. category)	EU-SILC (pe040)	+(3)	–(3)	+(3)	–(3)
H3'	Occupational skill level (ISCO08)	1: 'simple and routine physical or manual tasks'; 2: 'operating machinery and electronic equipment; driving vehicles; maintenance and repair, manipulation, ordering and storage of information' (ref. category); 3: 'complex technical and practical tasks'; 4: 'problem-solving, decision-making, creativity' (ILO 2012: 12–13)	EU-SILC (p1050; p1051)	+(4)	–(4)	–(4)	–(4)
H3'	Economic activity	Economic activity of the local unit of the main job for respondents who are currently at work (NACE Rev. 1.1/2 since 2008). 1: 'manufacturing, agriculture, mining, water, electricity, construction' (ref.); 2: 'trade; accommodation and food service activities' 3: 'transportation and storage; information and communication' 4: 'finance and insurance; real estate, professional, scientific and technical, administrative and support services'; 5: 'public administration, education, health and social work; arts, entertainment and recreation'	EU-SILC (p1110, p1111)	+(5)	+(5)	–(5)	–(5)

H3'	Part-time employment	1: 'full-time job' (ref. category); 2: 'part-time job'	EU-SILC (p1030, p1031)	+	+	+	+
H3'	Type of contract	1: 'permanent job' (ref. category); 2: 'temporary job'	EU-SILC (p1140)	+	+	+	+
H1'	Social protection	National social protection expenditure includes social benefits, administration costs and other expenditure linked to social protection schemes (% of GDP) (contextual variable)	Eurostat (ESSPROS)	-	-	0	-
H1'	Fiscal austerity	Change of national primary public balance in comparison to previous year (in % of GDP)	Eurostat [gov_10a_main]	-	+	0	0
H1'	Family benefits in kind	Social protections expenditures for families and children in kind (in % of GDP)	Eurostat [spr_exp_fla]	+	-	0	0

Note: 'dep.' refers to the dependent variables. The expected and observed effects refer to the likelihood of finding an employment (column: em) respective of having a low wage (column: lo) – in both cases in relation to all employed women. '+' refers to an effect significantly different from zero, '-' refers to an effect significantly lower than zero, '0' to an effect that does not differ significantly from zero.

the last model was calculated as a logistic regression with cluster-robust standard errors.

5.3.2 Results

The models in Table 5.3 first of all show the clear *age* bias of employment opportunities. Younger women have a much higher likelihood of finding a job than older women – with the exception of 2009 and 2010 when production sharply declined in nearly all the EU countries. The ninth column indicates that this is not a gender-specific phenomenon; younger men also have much better employment opportunities than men in the core age groups. The comparison of models 8 and 10 shows that the (re-)employment opportunities of younger women are higher in the 28 EU countries than in the six crisis countries (10.8 in contrast to 6.5 percentage points), while the employment chances of *older women* are much lower in the EU-28 and in the crisis countries (–2.4 respective 3.5 percentage points). In comparison with the employment opportunities of *couples with children*, single women and adults without children (but surprisingly not single parents) have lower employment opportunities – an indicator of the strong economic necessity for this type of family to find a job. Single men (and the few male single parents) have better employment opportunities than single women. The employment opportunities in the countries most affected by the crisis are significantly worse for all household types beyond the classical constellation of couples with children – an indicator of the primacy of the male breadwinner model. Surprisingly, the employment opportunities of *migrants* are not worse than that of the native population – perhaps because migrants are prepared to accept all types of jobs or because their fluctuation is higher (I am observing flows, not stocks).

For *highly skilled women* it has been easier to find a new job in most of the years since the crisis began (with the exception of the years 2008 to 2010). The better employment opportunities of highly skilled women before and during the crisis reflect the dualization of the labour market, especially along educational lines (Emmenegger et al. 2012; Schwander and Häusermann 2013) (H3'). This effect is much stronger than the corresponding effects for men. This indicates a more meritocratic and thus more 'modern' occupational and qualification-related profile of women, who are mostly employed in service activities in which collective forms of employment status and income protection are less important. Surprisingly, medium-skilled women generally have worse employment opportunities than low-skilled women – perhaps an additional indicator of the dualization of female employment opportunities. This would also explain the relative difficulties of women in attaining positions with complex and

problem-solving tasks. Furthermore, due to the higher fluctuation, it is much easier to find simple jobs.

Another question is in which *industrial sectors* women find their new jobs. The answer is surprising: it is not the sectors with the highest share of female employees – community, social and personal services or trade, restaurants and hotels – in fact, the manufacturing and construction industries are the sectors in which women most easily find a new job. This result can also be confirmed by a more detailed sectoral disaggregation of these results (not shown here). Only agriculture, construction, accommodation and professional services offer relatively better employment opportunities for women (always in relation to the number of women already employed in the sectors). Given the considerable employment growth of personal and social services even during the crisis (cf. Table 5.1) this result is completely unexpected and hard to explain. A possible explanation could only be a high fluctuation of female employees in the manufacturing industry who are often assigned to unattractive, stressful and burdensome secondary-market jobs. In crisis countries, the employment opportunities of younger women in community, social and personal services are clearly lower than in the other EU countries – perhaps an indicator of the negative employment effects of austerity policies, as expected by Karamessini and Rubery (2014a).

With the exception of 2009 and 2010, women who were prepared to accept *temporary and part-time jobs* had much higher employment opportunities (16.2 respective 3.2 percentage points in comparison to women who received a permanent contract respective to a full-time job). The reverse side of the inclusion of women in the labour market seems to be the acceptance of *part-time or fixed-term contracts*. In sum, these results can be interpreted as a specification of the conditions under which women are successfully included in the labour market (H2’): it is in particular younger and highly-skilled women that find a new job (especially a part-time or temporary job for simple tasks in the manufacturing industry and also in hotels). These results do not differ fundamentally from the employment opportunities of men.

Social expenditures only had a positive effect in some years (2006, 2009 and 2012) and austerity policies have had no effect on the employment opportunities of women – a result which clearly contradicts H1’. Surprisingly, family benefits in kind, i.e. childcare, likewise have no impact on these opportunities.

In addition, interaction effects between the age and type of contract have been included in the models reported in Table 5.3 (cf. Table 5.4). One result is a negative relationship between young age and temporary contracts (with the exception of 2009 and 2010), showing the clear negative

Table 5.3 *Employment opportunities of women (and also men in 2013) previously unemployed or inactive (2006–2013; 24–28 European countries)*

Entry employment	2006 (1)	2007 (2)	2008 (3)	2009 (4)	2010 (5)	2011 (6)	2012 (7)	2013 (8)	2013 (men; 9)	2013 (CC; 10)
Age group (ref.: 25–54 years)										
15 to 24 years	0.127** (43.27)	0.121** (40.87)	0.122** (40.88)	0.006 (1.33)	0.001 (1.44)	0.110** (39.56)	0.108** (37.15)	0.108** (36.12)	0.087** (37.72)	0.065** (14.51)
55 years +	-0.031** (-4.63)	-0.036** (-6.87)	-0.026** (-6.10)	0.000 (-0.28)	-0.000 (-0.92)	-0.031** (-8.20)	-0.027** (-7.12)	-0.024** (-5.99)	-0.015** (-5.19)	-0.035** (-4.87)
Young child	0.031* (2.36)	0.012 (0.85)	0.046** (4.06)	0.001 (0.45)	0.000 (0.09)	0.018 (1.47)	0.009 (0.70)	-0.003 (-0.18)	-0.011 (-0.88)	-0.008 (-0.07)
Household type (ref.: adults with children)										
One-person	-0.014** (-3.25)	-0.013** (-3.13)	-0.024** (-5.59)	0.001 (1.58)	0.001 (1.21)	-0.027** (-7.06)	-0.027** (-7.01)	-0.019** (-5.11)	0.011** (3.42)	-0.022** (-2.94)
household	-0.025** (-9.80)	-0.025** (-9.98)	-0.027** (-10.86)	-0.000 (-0.22)	0.001* (2.21)	-0.029** (-12.54)	-0.028** (-12.10)	-0.026** (-11.37)	0.005** (2.65)	-0.013* (-2.34)
Adults, no child	0.004 (0.75)	-0.007 (-1.40)	-0.003 (-0.54)	-0.000 (-0.72)	0.000 (0.18)	-0.009* (-2.08)	-0.001 (-0.35)	0.000 (0.07)	0.018+ (1.79)	-0.015* (-2.27)
Single-parent	0.006 (0.75)	0.006 (1.49)	0.000 (0.09)	-0.000 (-0.00)	-0.000 (-0.68)	0.001 (0.26)	0.002 (0.49)	-0.006+ (-1.80)	0.005 (1.50)	0.003 (0.64)
Foreign nationality	-0.006 (-1.53)									
or born abroad	-0.001 (-0.43)	0.001 (0.77)	0.003* (1.96)	0.000 (1.57)	0.000 (0.41)	-0.001 (-0.82)	0.002 (1.63)	0.003* (2.11)	0.007** (5.08)	0.002 (0.34)
Health										

Table 5.3 (continued)

Entry employment	2006 (1)	2007 (2)	2008 (3)	2009 (4)	2010 (5)	2011 (6)	2012 (7)	2013 (8)	2013 (men; 9)	2013 (CC; 10)
Part-time employment	0.050** (18.68)	0.044** (16.62)	0.044** (16.30)	-0.000 (-0.44)	-0.000 (-0.32)	0.039** (15.74)	0.037** (15.16)	0.032** (13.23)	0.041** (13.17)	0.013** (2.88)
Temporary job	0.173** (66.81)	0.166** (65.64)	0.160** (61.28)	-0.000** (-3.21)	-0.002** (-5.75)	0.162** (67.90)	0.163** (68.30)	0.162** (67.08)	0.148** (64.86)	0.182** (35.56)
Social protection	-0.003* (-2.19)	-0.001 (-0.58)	-0.002 (-1.38)	-0.000+ (-1.71)	-0.000 (-1.11)	-0.002 (-1.20)	-0.003* (-2.17)	-0.002 (-1.06)	-0.000 (-0.31)	0.005 (1.30)
Austerity	0.006 (0.84)	-0.006 (-0.69)	-0.005 (-1.28)	-0.000 (-0.39)	-0.000 (-0.05)	0.001 (0.69)	-0.001 (-0.64)	-0.000 (0.18)	-0.001 (-0.25)	0.001 (1.02)
Family benefits in kind	0.035* (2.31)	0.006 (0.32)	0.023 (1.15)	0.001 (0.77)	0.001 (0.79)	0.016 (1.02)	0.025+ (1.72)	0.026 (1.51)	0.015 (0.92)	0.073 (1.21)
No.	70640	76088	71184	74278	79096	77157	77913	73920	73264	17159
Chi ²	8766	8492	7629	41	61	8370	8689	8138	8380	
Between-country variance	0.082	0.167	0.18	1.274	1.2	0.199	0.157	0.272	0.333	

Variance (total)	3.371	3.456	3.47	4.564	4.49	3.489	3.447	3.562	3.623
Intra-class correlation	0.024	0.048	0.052	0.279	0.267	0.057	0.046	0.076	0.092
McFadden	0.187	0.172	0.169	0.017	0.014	0.18	0.191	0.188	0.221
pseudo-R ²									0.245
AIC ('000)	44	46	42	3	4	42	41	39	34
BIC ('000)	44	46	42	4	4	43	42	39	34
Log-likelihood ('000)	-22	-23	-21	-2	-2	-21	-21	-19	-17
									-4340

Note: This table shows the results of different binary logistic regressions with the dependent dichotomous variables 'employed (after at least one month of inactivity or unemployment in the previous year' (yes or no). The included populations are the employed women in at first 24 and finally 28 European countries (AT, BE, BG, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EE, EL, ES, FI, FR, HR, HU, IE, IT, LT, LU, LV, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SE, SI, SK, UK). Data for Bulgaria, Romania, Malta and Croatia are gradually included. The coefficients are average marginal effects (cf. Mood 2010). Figures in parentheses: t-values. The nested structure of the data – individuals live in nation-states and are therefore exposed to similar institutional contexts and economic structures – are controlled by contextual factors. Cluster-robust standard errors have been calculated. Data in the last column (10) refer to the countries mostly affected by the crisis (CC: Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain). The AIC (Akaike information criterion) and the BIC (Bayes information criterion) are measures of the relative quality of the statistical models. Legend: + $p < .1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Source: Own calculations on the basis of EU-SILC UDB UDB_c13_ver 2013-2 from 1 August 2015 and previous years.

Table 5.4 Employment opportunities of women previously unemployed or inactive (2006–2013; 24–28 European countries): interaction effects

	2006 (1)	2007 (2)	2008 (3)	2009 (4)	2010 (5)	2011 (6)	2012 (7)	2013 (8)	2013 (men;9)	2013 (CC;10)
Women in public sector/austerity	1.04 (1.59)	1.00 (-0.04)	1.04* (2.38)	1.04 (0.52)	0.92 (-1.08)	1.00 (-0.44)	1.00 (-0.43)	0.96* (-2.52)	0.97 (-1.30)	0.75** (-2.61)
Young child/family benefits in kind	1.32 (0.60)	0.44 (-1.25)	0.69 (-0.87)	13.54 (0.57)	19.69 (0.96)	0.64 (-0.80)	0.83 (-0.29)	0.59 (-0.84)	0.48 (-1.03)	0.31 (-1.43)
Young/temporary contract	0.36** (-16.58)	0.40** (-14.35)	0.42** (-12.86)	0 (0.03)	1.40 (0.64)	0.35** (-14.87)	0.38** (-13.53)	0.35** (-13.52)	0.28** (-17.15)	0.36** (-12.60)
Old/temporary contract	0.88 (-1.10)	1.09 (0.77)	1.26* (2.21)	1.69 (0.69)	1.44 (0.73)	1.33** (2.72)	1.18+ (1.68)	1.03 (0.32)	1.17 (1.63)	1.07 (0.15)

Note: The coefficients in this table are odds ratios. Only the coefficients of the interaction terms are represented; the rest of the models is represented in Table 5.3 (which however uses AMEs). Figures in parentheses: t-values. Legend: + $p < .1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

impact of these combined indicators on employment opportunities. The interaction between the share of women employed in the public sector and austerity policies was only negative in 2013 (both in all 28 EU countries and in the countries mostly affected by the crisis). This can be seen as providing limited support for the austerity thesis (H1').

I will now discuss a specific feature of the jobs successfully applied for by women – low remuneration. The background is the well-known gender pay gap of 16.3 per cent (2013) between the average gross hourly earnings of male and female paid employees. This gap raises the question of what characteristics do the women exhibit who have to accept a low-paid job? And what are the characteristics of these jobs? These questions are discussed on the basis of the models in Table 5.5, which are nearly identical to the models in Table 5.3 (I only added an indicator of the presence of unemployed people in the household in order to take into account the related economic pressures).

The models in Table 5.5 show that low-paid women are mostly younger. The chance of *younger women* (and also men, as shown in the last column but one) being low paid is 14 percentage points higher than in the core age group. The previously formulated expectation that *women with younger children* (6 years and younger) are less mobile and less flexible and thus are obliged to accept lower wages can be confirmed for some years during (2009, 2011 and 2012) the crisis. The best earnings opportunities are enjoyed by singles and couples without children. In comparison with couples with children, *single parents* have a worse chance of avoiding low-paid jobs. *Foreigners, people with health restrictions, low-skilled employees with simple tasks, part-time workers and temporary workers have a significantly higher likelihood of being in a low-paid job.* These are clear indicators of the dualization of the labour markets on both the demand and the supply side. These results clearly show that better-paid jobs are characterized by more challenging tasks, requiring higher skills, and are held by native, healthy persons with full-time jobs and permanent contracts. Men with a low-skilled job have a lower chance of being low-paid than women in less demanding occupations. The skill premium for women, i.e. the likelihood of being low paid for women with qualified and simple tasks, is much higher than for men. These results clearly support the dualization thesis H3'.

Trade, restaurants and hotels are the sectors with the lowest wages. This is not only true for women but also for men. In comparison with the manufacturing industry, the percentage of low-paid women is clearly lower in transport, storage, communication and financial services. On average, the share of low-paid women in community, social and personal services is identical to or even lower than in manufacturing. A more detailed analysis

Table 5.5 Employed women's risk of being in a low-paid job (2006–2013; 24–28 European countries)

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2013 (men)	2013 (CC)
Age group (ref.: 25–54 years)										
15 to 24 years	0.14** (21.11)	0.15** (21.94)	0.16** (22.39)	0.16** (22.40)	0.14** (20.19)	0.16** (22.16)	0.15** (20.91)	0.14** (16.87)	0.14** (23.91)	0.20** (19.63)
55 years +	-0.02** (-3.24)	-0.02** (-3.05)	-0.01 (-1.24)	-0.03** (-5.21)	-0.02** (-3.69)	-0.03** (-4.87)	-0.02** (-4.51)	-0.01** (-3.42)	-0.02** (-4.13)	-0.05** (-6.27)
Young child	0.01 (0.37)	0.03 (1.51)	0.00 (0.03)	0.05* (2.44)	0.02 (1.31)	0.05* (2.50)	0.03+ (1.77)	0.02 (0.99)	0.07** (4.32)	-0.01 (-0.23)
Household type (ref.: Adults with children)										
One-person household	-0.04** (-6.38)	-0.05** (-7.44)	-0.05** (-8.19)	-0.05** (-7.97)	-0.04** (-6.34)	-0.04** (-7.04)	-0.03** (-5.65)	-0.03** (-5.63)	0.03** (6.50)	0.06** (5.82)
Adults, no child	-0.01* (-2.31)	-0.01** (-4.22)	-0.02** (-6.47)	-0.02** (-7.04)	-0.01** (-3.39)	-0.01** (-4.24)	-0.01** (-2.90)	-0.01** (-3.37)	0.02** (8.21)	0.03** (3.19)
Single-parent household	-0.01+ (-1.82)	-0.01 (-1.41)	-0.02** (-2.82)	-0.03** (-3.97)	-0.02* (-2.51)	-0.02* (-2.46)	-0.02** (-3.18)	-0.01* (-2.33)	-0.02 (-1.55)	0.05** (2.78)
Unemployed in household	0.03** (5.43)	0.03** (5.34)	0.02** (3.10)	0.03** (4.95)	0.03** (6.38)	0.02** (3.81)	0.01** (3.11)	0.01* (2.43)	0.02** (4.10)	0.03 (1.27)
Foreign nationality or born abroad	0.07** (12.16)	0.07** (12.65)	0.08** (13.68)	0.08** (14.65)	0.08** (15.22)	0.080** (15.56)	0.08** (16.24)	0.07** (14.14)	0.07** (14.23)	0.13** (5.27)
Health	0.02** (8.48)	0.01** (6.48)	0.02** (11.28)	0.02** (8.44)	0.01** (6.63)	0.02** (7.98)	0.01** (6.91)	0.01** (7.07)	0.01** (7.18)	-0.01 (-1.49)
Educational level (ref.: low)										
Medium	-0.06** (-13.68)	-0.07** (-14.74)	-0.06** (-13.22)	-0.07** (-14.97)	-0.07** (-15.66)	-0.06** (-13.74)	-0.06** (-12.62)	-0.05** (-10.66)	-0.05** (-12.75)	-0.05** (-6.08)
High	-0.12** (-19.91)	-0.13** (-22.78)	-0.12** (-19.87)	-0.13** (-21.76)	-0.13** (-23.12)	-0.13** (-22.50)	-0.12** (-21.96)	-0.11** (-19.76)	-0.08** (-15.77)	-0.07** (-4.99)

ISCO skill levels (ref.: Operating, information processing)										
Simple tasks	0.13** (22.41)	0.12** (21.48)	0.13** (21.75)	0.13** (22.51)	0.14** (23.66)	0.13** (23.17)	0.15** (24.28)	0.07** (13.48)	0.11** (5.13)	
Complex tasks	-0.13** (-26.30)	-0.15** (-30.78)	-0.14** (-30.45)	-0.13** (-29.35)	-0.13** (-29.53)	-0.14** (-30.29)	-0.13** (-28.33)	-0.07** (-17.94)	-0.09** (-6.65)	
Problem-solving, decision-making, creativity	-0.17** (-30.31)	-0.19** (-33.26)	-0.18** (-31.20)	-0.17** (-33.25)	-0.16** (-32.76)	-0.17** (-35.16)	-0.17** (-33.77)	-0.09** (-21.17)	-0.13** (-10.63)	
Part-time employment	0.03** (6.64)	0.03** (7.77)	0.02** (4.68)	0.02** (6.23)	0.02** (4.75)	0.02** (5.05)	0.03** (6.63)	0.07** (11.19)	0.04* (2.18)	
Temporary job	0.14** (27.67)	0.15** (30.01)	0.16** (29.69)	0.16** (30.11)	0.15** (30.49)	0.17** (33.13)	0.17** (32.44)	0.15** (30.99)	0.17** (8.96)	
Economic Activity (ref. Industry)	0.07** (13.92)	0.07** (15.04)	0.07** (15.40)	0.07** (14.22)	0.05** (11.96)	0.06** (13.30)	0.05** (11.36)	0.06** (15.54)	0.03+ (1.87)	
Trade, restaurants, hotels	-0.06** (-7.02)	-0.05** (-6.24)	-0.02** (-3.53)	-0.06** (-8.59)	-0.06** (-7.94)	-0.04** (-5.74)	-0.05** (-6.45)	-0.00 (-0.66)	-0.03 (-0.66)	
Transport, storage, communication	-0.03** (-5.37)	-0.04** (-6.67)	-0.03** (-4.83)	-0.02** (-4.80)	-0.02** (-2.98)	-0.01** (-2.60)	-0.01* (-2.42)	0.03** (5.96)	0.02 (1.11)	
Financial and business services	-0.03** (-7.65)	-0.02** (-5.05)	-0.01** (-2.69)	-0.02** (-5.45)	-0.01** (-2.39)	-0.01** (-2.61)	0.00 (0.72)	-0.01+ (-1.77)	0.03+ (1.91)	
Community, social and personal services	-0.01** (-3.11)	-0.01** (-3.03)	-0.01** (-3.28)	-0.01+ (-1.85)	-0.01* (-2.53)	-0.01** (-2.82)	-0.01** (-2.78)	-0.00* (-2.22)	0.00 (0.90)	
Social protection	-0.02+ (-1.83)	-0.00 (-0.33)	-0.00 (-0.49)	-0.003 (-0.51)	0.001 (0.34)	-0.00 (-1.00)	-0.00 (-0.23)	-0.01+ (-1.83)	-0.01 (-1.41)	
Austerity	-0.01 (-0.20)	-0.01 (-0.18)	0.04 (1.10)	0.003 (0.10)	0.009 (0.34)	-0.01 (-0.20)	0.01 (0.28)	0.01 (0.93)	0.09 (1.48)	
Family benefits in kind										

Table 5.5 (continued)

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2013 (men)	2013 (CC)
No.	61924	67131	62919	65787	67501	68257	68663	65275	64506	15407
Chi ²	7846	8819	8173	8646	8929	8873	9115	8404	5594	.
Between-country variance	0.138	0.146	0.18	0.169	0.204	0.185	0.194	0.209	0.12	
Variance (total)	3.428	3.435	3.47	3.458	3.494	3.475	3.484	3.499	3.409	
Intra-class correlation	0.04	0.042	0.052	0.049	0.058	0.053	0.056	0.06	0.035	
McFadden pseudo-R ²	0.159	0.161	0.16	0.164	0.171	0.169	0.174	0.167	0.134	0.146
AIC (*000)	55	62	57	59	58	58	59	56	43	13600
BIC (*000)	55	62	57	59	59	59	59	56	44	13600
Log-likelihood (*000)	-27	-31	-28	-29	-29	-29	-29	-28	-22	-6820

Note: See Table 5.3.

(not reproduced here) shows the heterogeneity of this sector: the share of low-paid jobs is clearly lower in public administration, but since 2012 it has been higher in education and in arts and entertainment. The share of low-paid jobs used to be lower in health and social work, but this has changed since 2009. In sum, the main explanation for the gender pay gap seems to be the high female employment share in trade and accommodation (Table 5.1) as well as the over-representation of women in part-time jobs (one-third of all female employees, but less than one-tenth of all male employees).

Finally, I will discuss the impact of the three contextual variables analysed. Contrary to the previous models shown in Table 5.3, a higher level of *social expenditures* significantly reduces the risk of having a low-paid job in all the years. A possible explanation could be the availability of publicly financed childcare facilities, which reduces the need to take up every offer of employment, even low-paid jobs. However, expenditures on family benefits in kind have no systematic impact on low-pay risks. Therefore, another explanation is more likely: higher social expenditures also mean higher social benefits for unemployed people and poor households. However, a higher minimum income increases the reservation wage, i.e. the lowest wage rate at which an employee is willing to take a job. Thus, higher social expenditures contribute indirectly to lower shares of low-paid jobs.

5.4 CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

The financial, economic and sovereign debt crisis has also had major effects on the employment and earnings conditions of women. On the basis of macro- and micro-data, it was discussed whether this crisis and the austerity policies have had a negative effect on the employment and wage conditions of women, especially in the countries most affected by the crisis (*austerity*), whether the *inclusion* of women in the labour market has continued and whether the *dualization* of the labour market also affects the employment and earnings situation of women and in which dimensions. These three hypotheses were discussed on the basis of aggregated and micro-data on the employment and remuneration opportunities of women in Europe. The austerity hypothesis can generally be refuted. However, when examined in detail, some observations also support this thesis – for example the deterioration in female employment opportunities in the social and personal services in the countries most affected by the crisis. Further examples are the interaction between the share of women employed in the public sector and austerity policies or the negative interaction between the share of women employed in the public sector and austerity policies in 2013.

Secondly, the evolution of more inclusive employment patterns has continued during the crisis – and women are the (relative) winners of this secular transformation. The gender gaps in employment and unemployment rates have continued to shrink, especially in the Southern European countries, which have been the bulwark of the male breadwinner model in Europe. Paradoxically, the high unemployment rates particularly in Southern Europe have contributed to the erosion of traditional gender relations because women are forced to take up a job – and not only a part-time job, as the high share of involuntary part-time work shows.

Thirdly, the employment profiles of women differ in some aspects from their male counterparts. Employed women are generally more highly qualified, mostly employed in the service sector and are over-represented in atypical and low-paid jobs. This highlights a dualized form of the labour market inclusion of women. On the one hand, highly-skilled women with flexible, often part-time jobs are particularly employed in educational, administrative and social services. On the other hand, younger, less skilled women with younger children are employed in trade, hotels or food processing where they have to accept low pay. In principle, this dualization between low- and high-skilled women can also be found in the case of men, but the differences between the extremes seem to be higher in the case of women. The low-skilled industrial jobs are better paid due to the strength of collective forms of interest representation in many European countries, and the prospects of highly-skilled women with complex tasks in the growing public, educational, health and social services are excellent – also in comparison to the declining industrial sectors and their male employees. These results show the fictitious basis of gender mainstreaming policies, which ignore the dualization of female as well as male employment and earnings opportunities.

NOTES

1. I thank Irene Dingeldey, Stefanie Kley, André Ortiz, Ilona Ostner and Norbert Petzold for insightful comments on earlier drafts and important substantial and methodological suggestions.
2. The five regimes distinguished are an enhanced version of the three employment and welfare regimes described by Esping-Andersen (1990; Gallie and Paugam 2000; Blossfeld and Hofmeister 2006). 1: 'Liberal' (UK, IE); 2: 'Corporatist-conservative' (AT, DE, FR, LU, NL) (ref. category); 3: 'Mediterranean' (ES, IT, MT, PT, CY, EL); 4: 'Post-socialist' (BG, CZ, EE, HR; HU, LT, LV, PL, RO, SI, SK); 5: 'Nordic countries' (DK, FI, SE).
3. Cf. Chapter 4 of this volume for a more detailed explanation of the EU-SILC dataset. In 2006, 24 countries (EU-28 minus Bulgaria, Croatia, Malta and Romania) were able to be included. Since 2007, the required data for Bulgaria and Romania have also been able to be added; since 2008, the data for Malta; and, since 2010, the data for Croatia.

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