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Multiple jobholding in Europe

Structure and dynamics

AIAS-HSI Working Paper Series

WP 10 - April 2020

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Structure and dynamics

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This research was financially supported by the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung.

Amsterdams Instituut voor Arbeidsstudies – Hugo Sinzheimer Instituut (AIAS-HSI), Universiteit van Amsterdam

Amsterdam, April 2020

April 2020
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Bibliographical information:
Conen, Wieteke (2020). Multiple jobholding in Europe. Structure and dynamics, *AIAS-HSI Working Paper 10.*
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ISSN online: 2590-0145

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1. Introduction

Pluriactivity, dual or multiple jobholding, plural or hybrid employment and moonlighting are perhaps the most commonly applied denominations used to gather under a plurality of paid activities workers may be conducting at or around the same time. For a long time, pluriactivity was quite common particularly in rural areas, where for instance small landowners often needed additional activities to survive (Rouault, 2002). Throughout the twentieth century, full-time regular dependent work increased significantly and went hand in hand with technical change favouring capital-intensive, large-scale production, the rise of the 'Fordist model' and a change in industrial organization in most countries (Supiot, 2001). Over the past decades, the nature and organisation of work transformed as a result of – amongst others – technological developments and globalisation and have led to more flexible and fragmented labour markets in many advanced economies. The upsurge of alternative arrangements, i.e. economic work under arrangements that differ from full-time regular employment (e.g. Kalleberg et al., 2003; Cappelli & Keller, 2013; Eurofound, 2017) and the blurring boundaries between dependent and independent employment (Vosko, 2006; Kautonen, 2010; Conen & Schippers eds., 2019) are likely to put pluriactivity in a renewed context and analytical position.

On the one hand, recent labour market developments are considered to provide opportunities for 'post-modern' employment forms to flourish, i.e. opportunity-driven pluriactivity originating from pull motives and typically in absence of financial needs. The *heterogeneity motive* stresses the importance of non-pecuniary benefits that pluriactivity may bring, such as increased satisfaction or well-being and the acquisition of skills. In line with Bell's (1976) optimistic analysis of the post-industrial society, Post-Fordist theory or mutual gain literature argues that new work systems have predominantly led to job enrichment and mutual improvements for both workers and employers (Handel, 2005; Greenan et al., 2013).

In contrast, these developments may also provide more threats for rather 'pre-modern' employment forms to return, i.e. necessity-driven pluriactivity originating from push motives and in essence often a survival strategy for low-income households. The *financial motive* stresses the importance of economic factors as the main driver behind the decision to engage in different paid activities. The critical view (termed Neo-Fordist theory), breathes Braverman's (1974) more pessimistic analysis of the post-industrial society and argues that recent changes in labour markets and work organizations have created greater work pressure, and that for many workers material conditions (such as pay and job security) have deteriorated (Handel, 2005; Kalleberg, 2009; Greenan et al., 2013). In these two views, labour market flexibility and fragmentation of work in relation to pluriactivity has a completely different meaning and implications for individuals. Subsequently, it also brings with it completely different messages for policymakers.

Earlier research largely examined broad profiles of multiple jobholders as well as motives, drivers and determinants of the decision to engage in multiple paid activities (e.g. Sussman, 1998; Averett, 2001; Partridge, 2002; Amuedo-Doreantes & Kimmel, 2009; Heineck, 2009; Wu et al., 2009; Dickey et al., 2010; Hipple, 2010; Hirsch et al, 2016; Bouwhuis et al., 2017a). Although sometimes framed within the literature on flexibilisation and new forms of employment, research is particularly limited in terms of the changing structures of pluriactivity and the role alternative work arrangements play in characterising multiple job holders and their motives to engage in pluriactivity.

A second line of research is preoccupied with the *implications, mobility and personal impact* of multiple jobholding to one's situation and employment biography. Research in this area is limited

and leads to mixed results (Campion et al., 2020), though in general multiple jobholding seems related to a higher risk of being in a precarious situation in terms of income and increased strain (Kimmel & Conway, 2001; Bamberry & Campbell, 2012; Panos et al., 2014; Sliter & Boyd, 2014), but not to long-term sickness absence (Bouwhuis et al, 2017b). Also in this line of research, the association between alternative work arrangements is under-researched. In addition, there is only limited insight into consequences in terms of quality of work and the impact of multiple jobholding in the career. How and for whom is pluriactivity related to positive and negative outcomes?

Finally, a *cross-national* perspective on pluriactivity is largely lacking, which is relevant for – amongst others – the robustness of findings and implications for policy makers.

Research is needed to advance our knowledge of the occurrence, variation and implications of pluriactivity. The research project 'Hybridisation of Work: Structure and Dynamics' started in 2018 to provide more evidence based insights with respect to current developments in what has been called "multiple", "plural" or "hybrid" forms of employment. The term 'hybridisation of work' was used to express the contemporary framing of this pluriactivity, as the research aims to bring in labour market flexibility, the blurring boundaries between dependent and independent work and fragmentation into the debate on multiple jobholders' motives, mobility and consequences. Central to the study are thus workers holding several dependent employment relationships (i.e. jobs) at the same time (e.g. fixed-term or permanent contracts, temporary employment agency work, zero-hour contracts), or combining dependent employment and self-employment activities. In that sense, it connects with the definition of multiple jobholding [MJH] as proposed by Campion et al (2020): "[*MJH is] the act of working more than one job simultaneously, including working for employers and self-employment, wherein all tasks, or sets of tasks, are performed in exchange for, or expectation of, compensation*". This definition includes a diversity of multiple work arrangements and allows to classify work by various economic work arrangements, including self-employment; in the study this definition is followed. The study seeks to provide more insight into where, when and how multiple jobholding has been changing in Europe over the past decades and aims to explore and explain quality of work and careers of multiple job holders.

The following research questions will be addressed:

1. How has the number and share of multiple jobholders evolved in Europe?
2. How can workers in different MJH forms be characterised in terms of individual and occupational features, earnings (at the individual and household level) and self-reported quality of work? Has this been changing over time?
3. How are MJH episodes embedded in the employment biography?

The research design is explorative and quantitative in nature. The importance of pluriactivity within the European labour market (research question 1) will be examined based on existing statistical data from Eurostat's Labour Force Survey and the European Working Conditions Surveys 2000-2015. Question 2 will be answered using statistics and multivariate analyses based on secondary data analyses of Eurostat's Labour Force Survey, EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (individual and household income) and the European Working Conditions Surveys (quality of work). The third question will be answered using existing longitudinal data from Germany (Socio-Economic Panel), Great Britain (British Household Panel Survey/ Understanding Society) and the Netherlands (Dutch National Bank Household Survey), covering the period 2002 to 2017.

2. Multiple jobholding: changes in size and structure

The changes that are taking place in today's labour markets are accompanied by changing employment patterns and a hybridisation of work in many European countries. The recent so-called "renaissance of self-employment", the emergence of "click-working" in the gig economy and an increase of a wide range of non-standard employment relations have been accompanied by what has been called "multiple", "plural" or "hybrid" forms of employment. This refers either to working in several dependent jobs at the same time or to a combination of dependent employment and self-employment simultaneously. In various countries there is a clear trend towards such increasing pluriactivity, but thus far little is known about its structure and consequences. How has the number and share of multiple jobholders evolved in Europe? And how can workers in different MJH forms be characterised in terms of individual and occupational features? In this chapter, we analyse a) the importance of pluriactivity within the European labour market and b) how patterns in terms of individual and occupational features of multiple jobholding have been changing in Europe during the 2000s. To that end, we analyse data from Eurostat's Labour Force Survey and the European Working Conditions Surveys.

2.1. In general: a significant and increasing characteristic

Multiple jobholding [MJH] is a significant characteristic of labour markets in many advanced economies, with on average 4 percent of the European workforce – approximately 9 million people - working multiple jobs in 2018 (Eurostat, 2019).

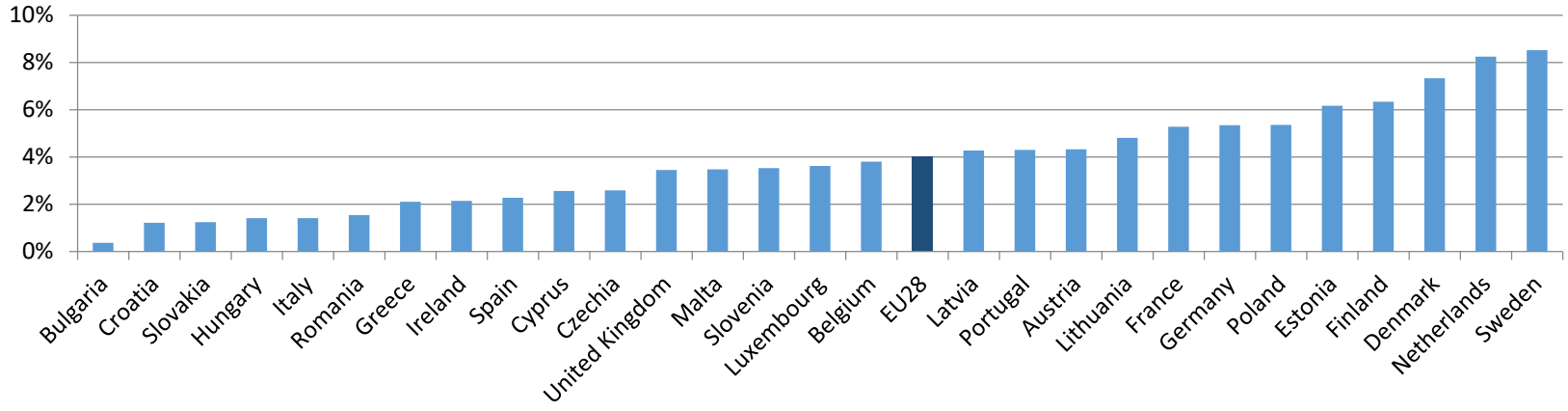
Panel *a* in Figure 2.1 shows that in 2018 European countries largely differ in the importance of MJH within their national workforces. In various Eastern European and Southern countries, MJH concerns up to around 2 per cent of the workforce, whereas MJH levels are up to 7 to 8 percent in various Nordic and continental European countries. Panel *b* in Figure 2.1 furthermore shows that even though the share of multiple jobholders in the EU has been relatively stable since the turn of the century, there are a lot of diverging developments behind this European average. A group of countries shows a steady decline in the share of multiple jobholders (including various Eastern European countries, Denmark, Austria and the UK), while a few countries show a substantial increase (such as Germany, Luxemburg and Finland).

Eurostat's labour force statistics asks whether persons have more than one job or business during the reference week. This has both a formal dimension and time aspect that may lead to underreporting of additional work that people may do from time to time (e.g. individuals may not perceive (irregular) odd jobs or short-term projects as another job or business) or from people active in more 'informal' employment activities (such as cleaning, babysitting or internet freelancing).

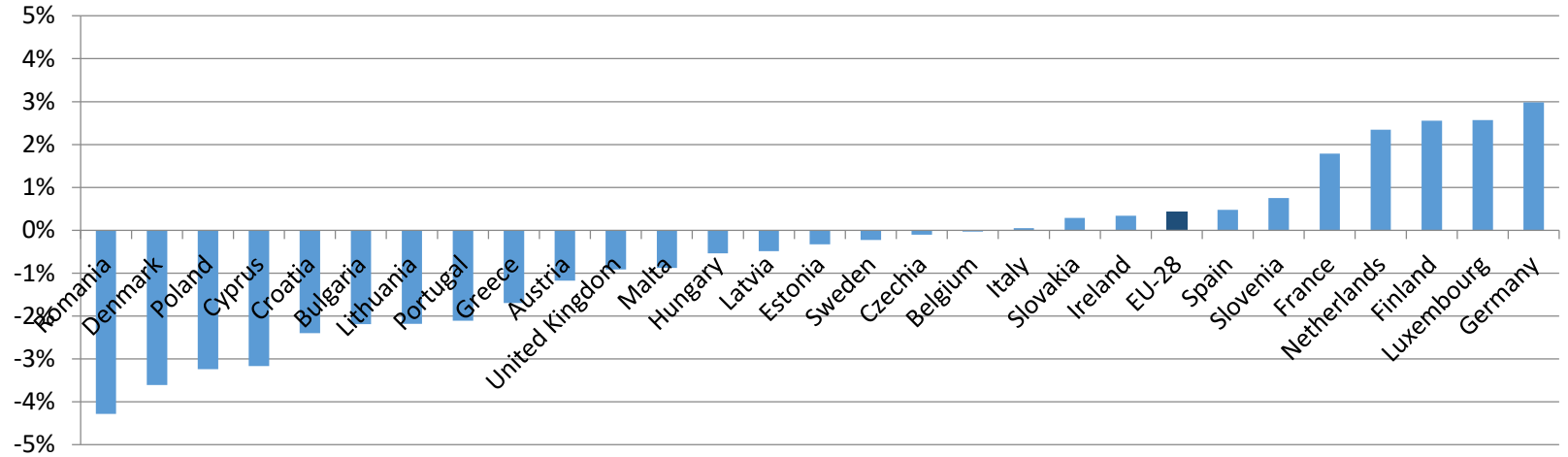
In the European Working Conditions Survey respondents have room to answer whether they have regular or occasional additional paid job(s). Figure 2.2 shows the results for 2015. Measured like this, on average 7.6 per cent of the European workforce working in multiple jobs, up to almost 19 per cent in Denmark. Moreover, panel *b* shows that in more countries MJH seems to be on the rise.

Figure 2.1 Multiple jobholding, share and developments in the EU-28, 2000-2018

Panel *a* MJH as a share of total employment, 2018



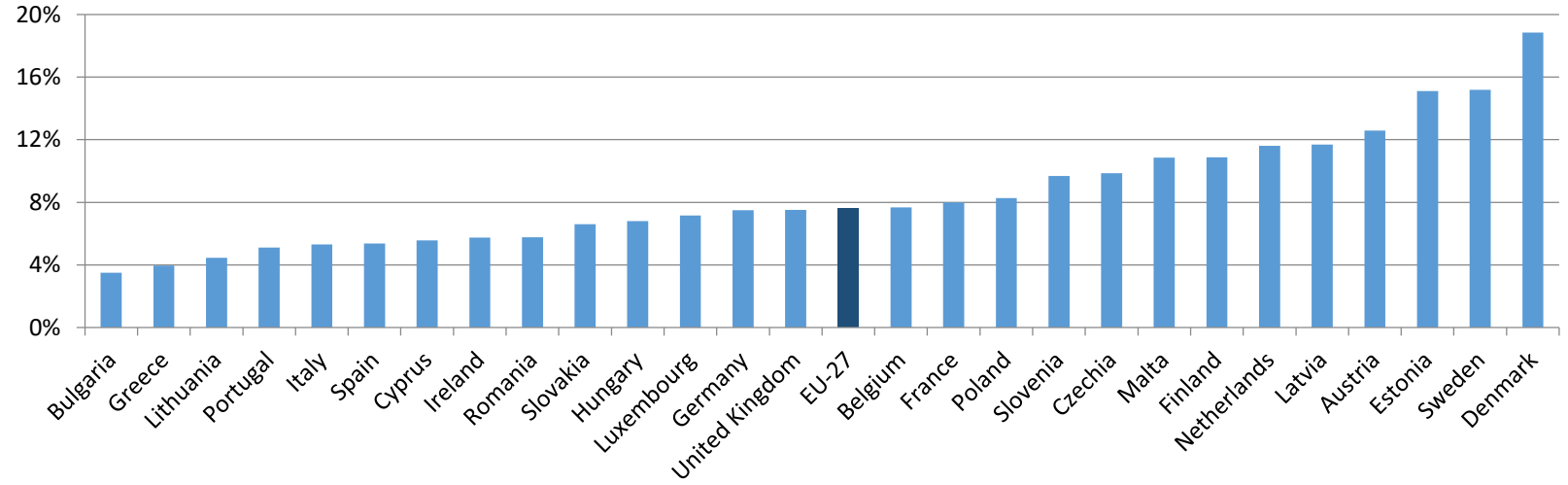
Panel *b* Developments in MJH as a share of total employment, 2000-2018



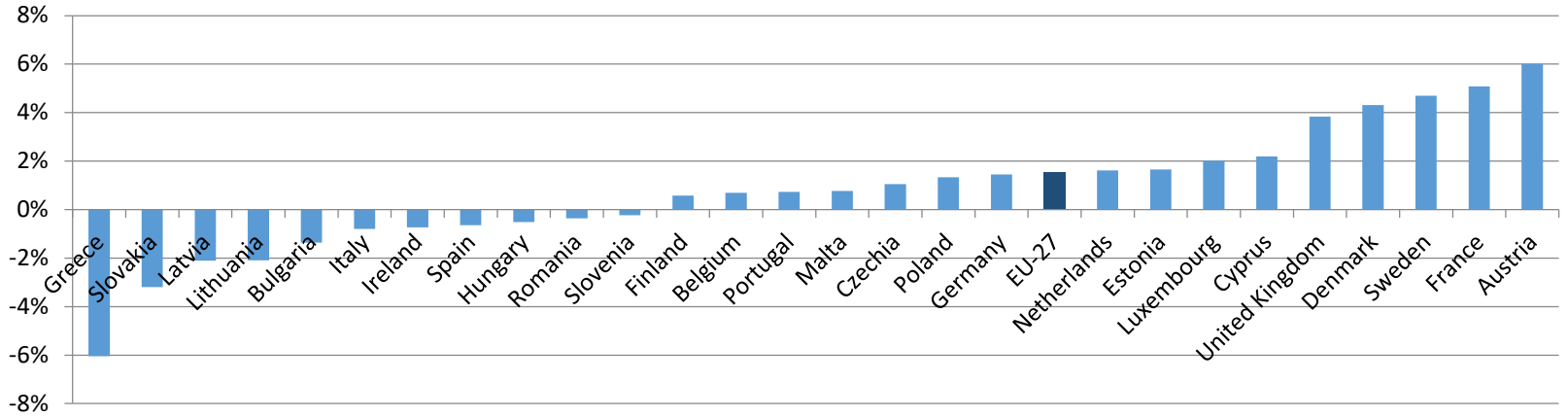
Source: Eurostat/ LFS, 2019

Figure 2.2 Multiple jobholding, share and developments in the EU-27, 2005-2015

Panel *a* MJH as a share of total employment, 2015



Panel *b* Developments in MJH as a share of total employment, 2005-2015



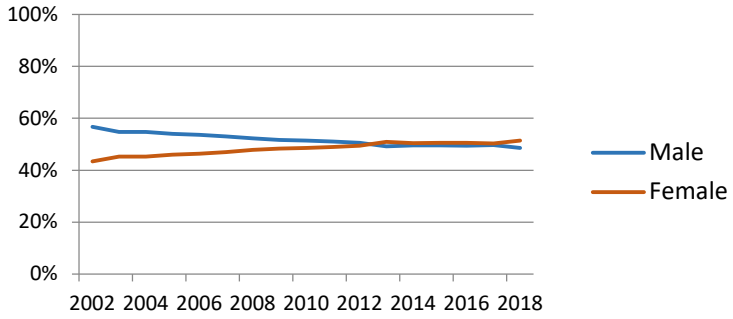
Source: EWCS, 2015

2.2. Profiling multiple jobholders

2.2.1. Individual characteristics

Table 2.1 shows several demographic and job characteristics for MJH and a comparison group of all workers in Europe. In 2018, MJH are more likely to be women, while the gender distribution has changed dramatically since the early 2000s – especially during the first decade (see Figure 2.3; more information per country can be found in Table 1 in Annex A). Around the turn of the century, almost 60 per cent of MJH were men, whereas by 2018 women slightly outnumbered men as MJH, despite making up just 46% of the employed. This is also reflected in a slightly higher MJH rate (not shown, 3.6 versus 4.5 per cent for men and women respectively).

Figure 2.3 **MJH is now more prevalent among women**



Source: Eurostat/ LFS, 2019

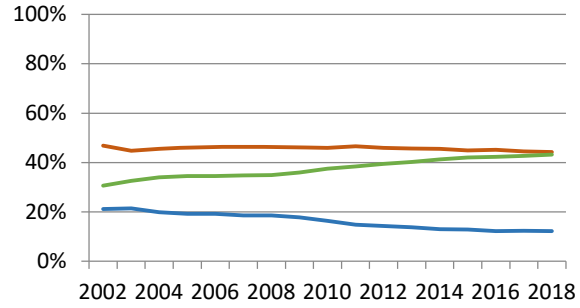
Table 2.1 Multiple jobholders and all workers, characteristics, 2018

Variable	Multiple jobholders	All workers
Gender		
Male	49%	54%
Female	51%	46%
Age		
18-29 years of age	16%	17%
30-49 years of age	52%	50%
50-64 years of age	30%	30%
> 65 years of age	2%	3%
Educational attainment level		
ISCED levels 0-2	12%	17%
ISCED levels 3-4	44%	48%
ISCED levels 5-8	43%	35%
Primary job occupation		
Managers	6%	6%
Professionals	28%	20%
Technicians and associate professionals	17%	16%
Clerical support workers	8%	10%
Service and sales workers	17%	17%
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	3%	3%
Craft and related trades workers	7%	11%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5%	7%
Elementary occupations	10%	9%

Source: Eurostat/ LFS, 2019

Table 2.1 furthermore shows that workers in mid-career (aged 30 to 49) have a relatively high MJH rate in 2018 and MJH is relatively prevalent among those with a high educational attainment level; a group that has increased vis-á-vis the other educational groups since the early 2000s (see Figure 2.4). This is also reflected in the occupational structure: the share of professionals holding multiple jobs is 28 per cent in 2018 and is relatively overrepresented as compared to all workers (Table 2.1). However, a substantial share of MJH is also working in elementary occupations.

Figure 2.4 **Increase high vis-á-vis other education levels**



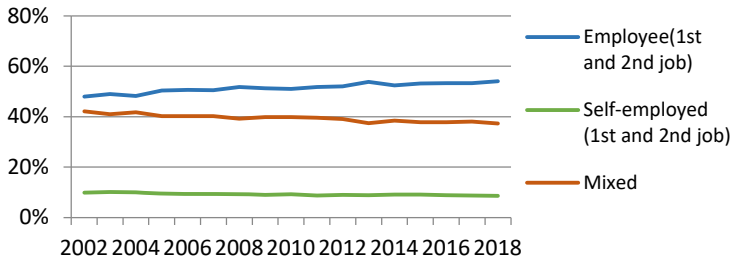
Source: Eurostat/ LFS, 2019

2.2.2. Characteristics of the employment situation

The rise of the gig economy and freelancing have contributed to the demise of the standard employment relation and an increase of a wide range of non-standard employment relations. Outsourcing, the hiring of temporary workers, pay-rolling and platforms have fragmented the workplace both for workers and employers. (How) have such developments affected the scope, structure and nature of pluriactivity?

The jobs held by MJH most commonly consist of multiple jobs as an employee. In 2018, 54 per cent of workers combined multiple jobs in paid employment and 37 per cent combined dependent employment and self-employment activities (Figure 2.5). The share of MJH combining several self-employment activities is fairly constant over time at around 10 per cent.

Figure 2.5 **More people combine multiple jobs in paid employment**



Source: Eurostat/ LFS, 2019

The increasing importance of labour market flexibilisation in MJH is shown in Tables 2.2 and 2.3, indicating that the increase in MJH has been particularly marked among workers in alternative arrangements. Table 2.2 shows the full-time/ part-time combinations of MJH; in this table a full-time job is considered to be working 36 hours per week or more. In 2002, most jobs held by MJH consisted of a full-time job and a part-time job (54 per cent, 66 per cent for male MJH), but across time the share of workers working multiple part-time jobs has been increasing substantially. In 2017, the majority of MJH is working in multiple part-time constellations and particularly high among female MJH and MJH holding more than one job in the same sector of industry. In Table 2.3, the findings indicate that the increase in MJH has been most pronounced among workers with flexible employment contracts or – according to the European Working Conditions Surveys – workers who indicate to have 'no' or 'another' employment contract (more information per country is included in Figure 2.6 and Table 2 in Annex A).

Table 2.2 Full-time/ part-time combinations of MJH, 2002 and 2017

	Multiple jobholders				
	(A)	(B)		(C)	
	Pooled	Male	Female	Different sector[1]	Same sector
Job composition, 2002					
Full-time + part-time	53.6	66.3	36.4	55.7	47.9
Multiple part-time	46.4	33.7	63.6	44.3	52.1
Job composition, 2017					
Full-time + part-time	45.8	60.5	30.3	47.3	41.5
Multiple part-time	54.2	39.5	69.7	52.7	58.5

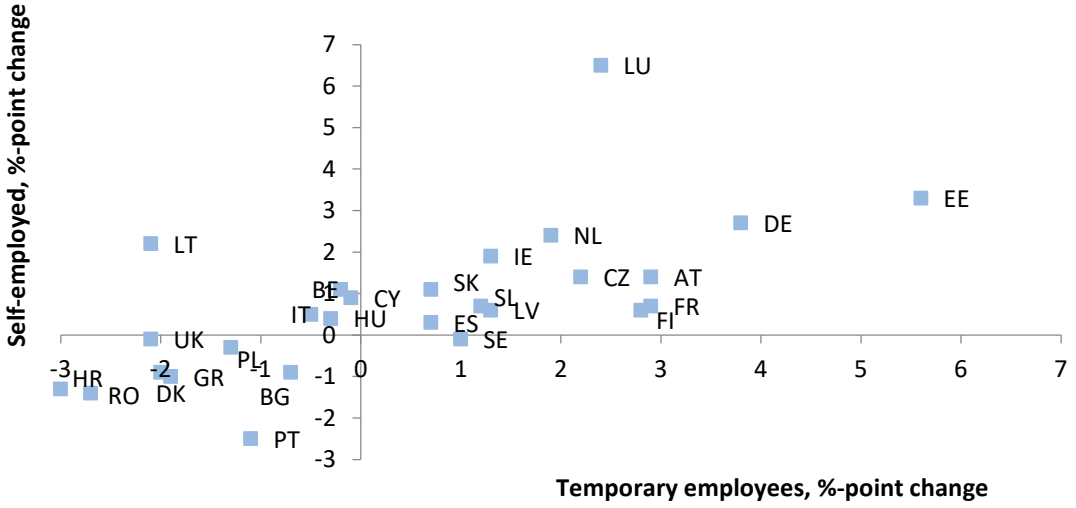
Source: Eurostat/ LFS microdata

Table 2.3 Multiple jobholders by type of employment contract in the main paid job, 2000-2015

	LFS				**EWCS**			
	2002	2007	2012	2017	2000	2005	2010	2015
Self-employed	**3.9**	**4.2**	**4.2**	**4.5**	**7.1**	**7.5**	**7.9**	**8.4**
Employees	**3.6**	**3.9**	**3.9**	**4.1**	**6.1**	**5.9**	**7.0**	**7.5**
Indefinite contract	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.9	5.6	5.5	6.3	6.6
Fixed term contract	3.7	4.4	4.5	5.2	8.6	8.9	9.5	10.7
Temporary employment agency contract		3.8	3.5	3.7	9.1	7.3	11.0	10.5
Other/ no contract					5.1	6.1	9.5	13.0

Sources: Eurostat/ LFS microdata and EWCS

Figure 2.6 Multiple jobholding as a share of total employment by employment contract in Europe (15-64 years of age), %-point change between 2002 and 2017



Sources: Eurostat/ LFS microdata and EWCS

[1] In the literature it has been suggested that multiple jobholders working in the same sector or occupation in their primary and secondary jobs have different characteristics (in terms of for instance motivation, income and tenure) than MJH working in different sectors and occupations (see e.g. Panos et al, 2014). If possible, the tables in this chapter include information on MJH working in the same/ different sectors of industry.

2.2.3. Job characteristics

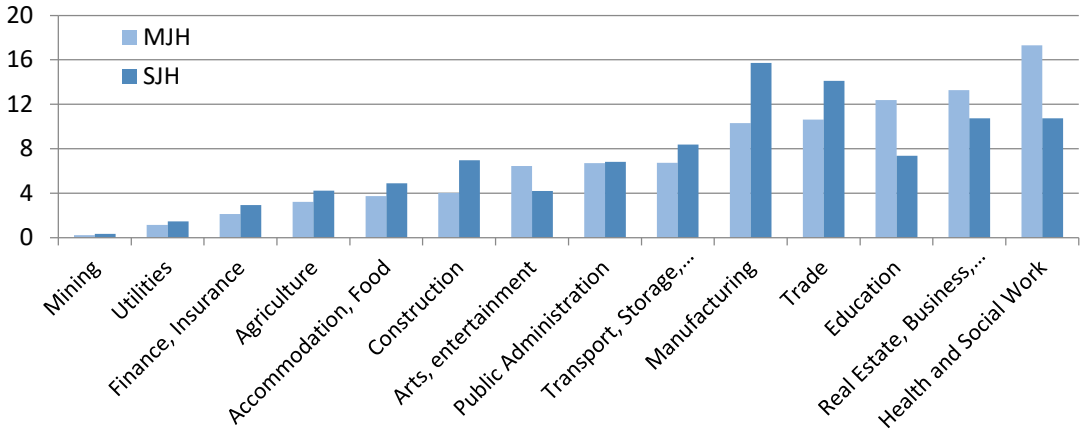
Sector of industry

In 2017, the sectors with relatively many workers holding multiple jobs were 'Health and Social Work' (17 per cent), Real estate, Business and Professional Activities' (13 per cent) and 'Education' (12 per cent) (see Figure 2.7, panel *a*). As shown in panel *b* in Figure 7, the first two sectors were also among the highest growth sectors for MJH, whereas the relative importance of 'Education' for multiple jobholding has declined slightly as compared to 2002. The share of MJH active in 'Manufacturing' has declined substantially since 2002 (-5 per cent), but nevertheless in 2017 still 10 per cent of MJH is active in this sector. Overall, the figure seems to indicate that MJH have increasingly become active in various forms of public and private sector services.

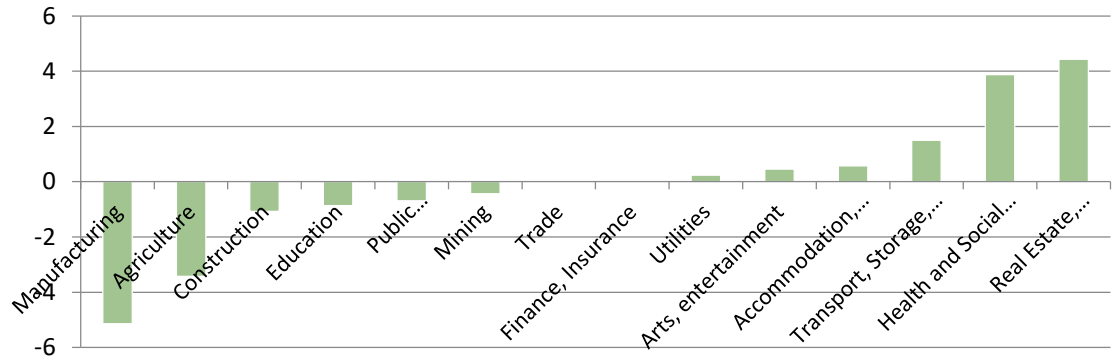
With respect to the second job, multiple jobholders whose main job was in 'Health and Social Work' and 'Education' were the most likely to hold their second job in the same industry as their first. By contrast, those whose main job was in 'Manufacturing' or 'Public Administration' seldom held their second job in that industry (analyses not shown).

Figure 2.7 MJH and SJH, distribution among sectors of industry* (EU-27), 2002-2017

Panel *a* Distribution among sectors of industry in 2017



Panel *b* Developments in the distribution among sectors of industry, 2002-2017



**Note:* sector refers to the main job

Source: Eurostat/ LFS microdata

Working hours

The (economic) literature on multiple jobholding typically has had a particular focus on the "hours constraint motive" (Wu et al., 2009; Panos et al., 2014) as a motive to hold more than one job, suggesting that "*an individual's willingness to take more than one job depends on whether they can work enough hours at their prevailing primary wage rate to satisfy their income goals. Therefore, individuals take a second job in addition to their main job because their employers do not, for various reasons, offer enough hours in the main job*" (Wu et al., 2009, pp. 2751-2). How many hours do MJH typically work in their main and other job(s)? When do they work? And do they wish to work more hours?

Table 2.4 Number of actual weekly hours of work in main paid job/ second job of MJH and SJH, 2002 and 2017

	(I) Employed			(II) Multiple jobholders			
	(A)	(B)		(C)		(D)	
	Total	MJH	SJH	Male	Female	Different sector	Same sector
Actual weekly hours of work, 2002							
In main job	37,6	34,3	37,7	38,3	28,7	34,6	33,4
In main and other jobs	38,0	45,0	37,7	50,1	38,2	45,5	43,5
Actual weekly hours of work, 2017							
In main job	36,4	31,9	36,6	36,2	27,3	32,2	31,0
In main and other jobs	36,8	41,0	36,6	46,2	35,5	41,2	40,6
Δ 2002 - 2017							
In main job	*-1,2*	*-2,4*	*-1,1*	*-2,1*	*-1,4*	*-2,4*	*-2,4*
In main and other jobs	*-1,2*	*-4,0*	*-1,1*	*-3,9*	*-2,7*	*-4,3*	*-2,9*

Source: Eurostat/ LFS microdata

Table 2.4 shows that in 2017, MJH worked an average 31.9 hours per week in the main job as compared to 36.6 hours for SJH, and an average of 41 hours in total. So, although their hours in the main job are indeed substantially lower than the average for SJH, MJH more than make up for the shortfall by taking on additional jobs. For both multiple and single jobholders the number of actual weekly hours of work has fallen during the 2000s; this decrease is stronger among MJH (- 4 hours). The table furthermore shows that female multiple jobholders work on average fewer hours per week than their male counterparts. In 2017, they averaged 35.5 hours at all jobs, compared with 46.2 for men. MJH working in different industries work slightly more hours than MJH whose main and second job are in the same industry.

As presented in Table 2.5, a considerable share of MJH works at so-called 'inconvenient hours' or 'unsocial hours' (according to the nomenclature by Eurostat), especially MJH who are self-employed in the main job. In 2017, 42-46 per cent of MJH worked 'usually' or 'sometimes' on Saturdays and in the evenings, 30 per cent of them worked on Sundays and 16 per cent of MJH worked at nights. This is substantially higher than for single jobholders. In the time period 2007-2017 the share of workers (both SJH and MJH) who worked at unsocial hours has mostly decreased, although the share of MJH working on Sundays has increased among those working on non-standard contracts in the main job.

Table 2.5 Share of workers working during unsocial hours, percentage 'usually' and 'sometimes', 2007-2017

	(I) Employed			(II) Multiple jobholders		
	(A)	(B)		(C)		
	Total	MJH	SJH	Indefinite contract	Non-standard contract	Self-employed
Working on Saturdays						
2007	48,9	52,3	48,8	47,0	50,7	76,3
2017	41,5	45,9	41,3	40,3	47,0	68,5
Δ 2007-2017	*-7,4*	*-6,4*	*-7,5*	*-6,7*	*-3,7*	*-7,8*
Working on Sundays						
2007	27,6	32,2	27,4	28,9	28,9	48,7
2017	24,4	29,6	24,2	26,1	29,9	43,9
Δ 2007-2017	-3,2	-2,6	-3,2	-2,8	1,0	-4,8
Working at nights						
2007	15,7	18,4	15,6	18,2	17,2	20,5
2017	13,3	15,5	13,2	15,0	14,8	18,5
Δ 2007-2017	-2,4	-2,9	-2,4	-3,2	-2,4	-2,0
Working in evenings						
2007	39,1	46,7	38,8	42,5	44,4	66,6
2017	34,1	42,1	33,7	38,0	40,9	60,9
Δ 2007-2017	-5,0	-4,6	-5,1	-4,5	-3,5	-5,7

Source: Eurostat/ LFS microdata

Table 2.6 shows that MJH relatively often wish to work more hours (15.6 per cent versus 9.3 per cent among SJH), although the share of MJH who wish to work more hours has decreased over time. Female MJH in particular relatively often wish to work more hours.

Table 2.6 Workers (MJH and SJH) wishing to work more hours, 2002 and 2017

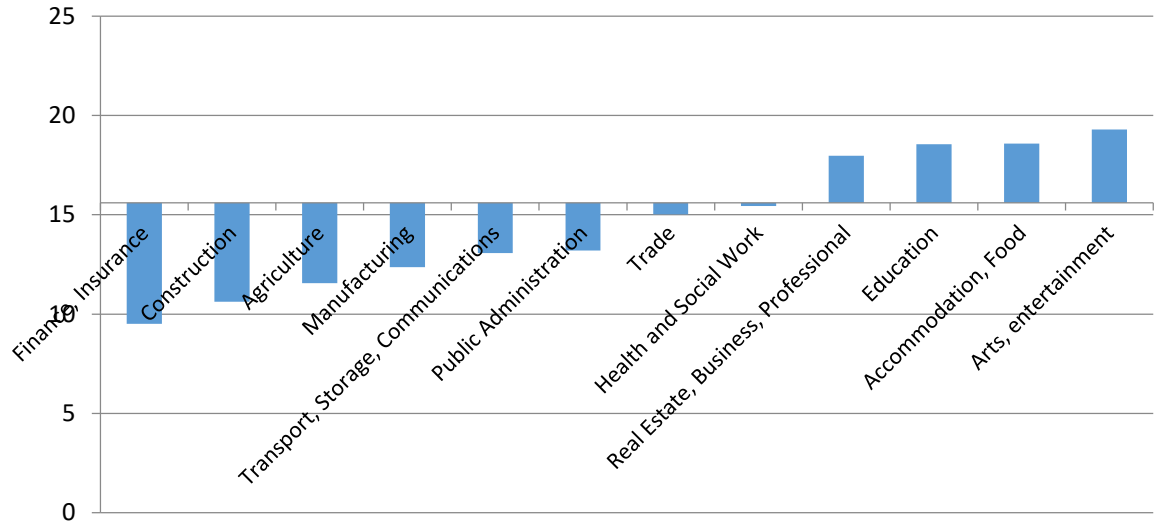
	(I) Employed			(II) Multiple jobholders			
	(A)	(B)		(C)		(D)	
	Total	MJH	SJH	Male	Female	Different sector	Same sector
Wishing to work more hours							
2002	10,2	17,4	9,9	13,1	20,3	17,3	17,7
2017	9,6	15,6	9,3	12,7	18,5	15,6	15,5
Δ 2002-2017	*-0,6*	*-1,8*	*-0,6*	*-0,4*	*-1,8*	*-1,6*	*-2,2*

Source: Eurostat/ LFS microdata

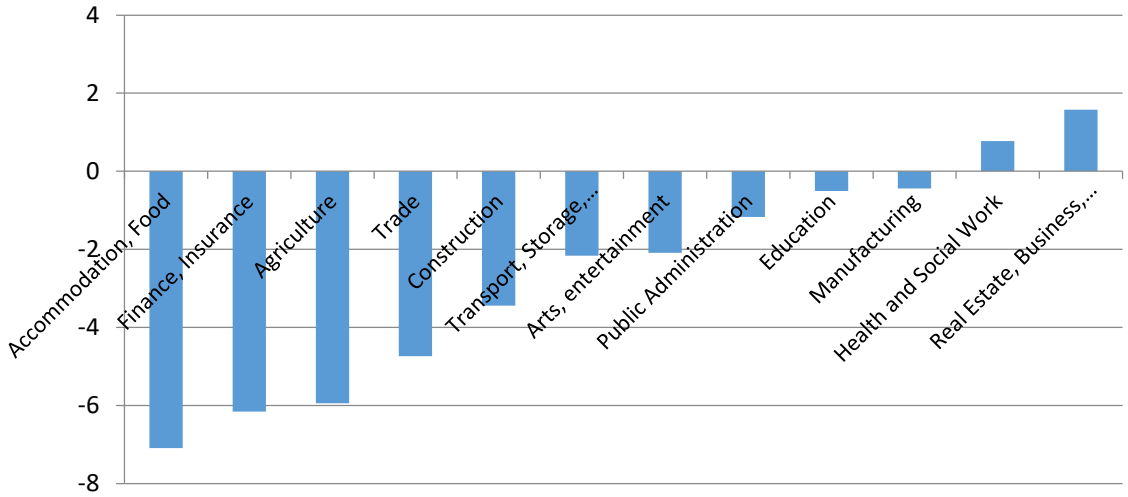
Although on average MJH may have experienced decreasing hours constraints over time, it is possible that 'beneath the surface' contrasting trends are – more or less - offsetting each other. Changes in the wish to work more hours may for instance have emerged or decreased in particular industries. Figure 2.8 provides more information on how the wish to work more hours differs in 2017 by sector of industry (panel *a*) and in which sectors the wish to work more hours has increased or decreased since 2002 (panel *b*). In panel *a* the horizontal axis crosses at 15.6, which is the average share of MJH wishing to work more hours in 2017 (see table 2.6). The bars show the differences for the different sectors as compared to this mean. The wish to work more hours is in 2017 thus particularly prevalent in 'Arts, entertainment', 'Accommodation and Food', 'Education' and 'Real Estate, Business and Professional Activities'; in these sectors of industry the wish to work more hours is 2-2,5 per cent above the average of 15.6.

Figure 2.8 Share of MJH wishing to work more hours, by sector of industry* (EU-27), 2002-2017

Panel *a* Share of MJH wishing to work more hours, by sectors of industry, 2017



Panel *b* Developments by sector of industry, 2002-2017



**Note:* sector refers to the main job

Source: Eurostat/ LFS microdata

Panel *b* illustrates the sectors of industry in which the wish to work more has increased or decreased since 2002. Although in most sectors the wish to work more hours has decreased over time, there have been opposing trends among workers in 'Real Estate, Business and Professional Activities' and 'Health and Social Work' (which are also the largest and fastest growing sectors with respect to multiple jobholding, see figure 7) .

Changes in the wish to work more hours may also differ between workers on permanent or flexible employment contracts. Table 2.7 shows that multiple jobholders with a non-standard employment contract in the main job substantially more often wish to work more hours than MJH with indefinite contracts or those who are self-employed in the main job. The table furthermore indicates that for all types of employment contracts the share of workers who wish to work more hours has decreased over time. These findings thus does not support the hypotheses that in general an hours constraint is increasingly inducing MJH on non-standard contracts to work in multiple jobs.

However, as was mentioned before, Eurostat's labour force statistics asks whether persons have more than one job or business during the reference week, which has both a formal dimension and time aspect that may lead to underreporting of additional work that people may do from time to time (e.g. individuals may not perceive (irregular) odd jobs or short-term projects as another job or business) or from people active in more 'informal' employment activities (such as cleaning, babysitting or internet freelancing). If in 'the new economy' particularly these types of pluriactivity would gain significance, developments in that respect are not likely to show up in the LFS statistics.

Table 2.7 Share of workers wishing to work more hours, by employment contract, 2002 and 2017

	(I) Employed			**(II) Multiple jobholders**		
	(A)	**(B)**		**(C)**		
	Total	**MJH**	**SJH**	**Indefinite contract**	**Non-standard contract**	**Self-employed**
Wishing to work more hours[1]						
2002	10,2	17,4	9,9	15,5	27,8	15,3
2017	9,6	15,6	9,3	14,4	24,6	12,3
Δ 2002-2017	*-0,6*	*-1,8*	*-0,6*	*-1,1*	*-3,2*	*-3,0*
Wishing to work more hours[2]						
2015	13,1	19,4	12,6	12,4	36,9	19,5

Source: [1]Eurostat/ LFS microdata; [2] EWCS 2015

3. Multiple job holders: free or precarious workers?[2]

Employment flexibility may enhance the efficient use of human resources from an organizational perspective (Davis-Blake & Uzzi, 1993; Kalleberg et al., 2003; Cappelli and Keller, 2013), but the consequences for the workforce, and particularly for those who are not considered 'core employees', may be less straightforward. In one strand of literature, the rise in non-standard work patterns is associated with new poverty and insecurity risks among the employed population (e.g. Crettaz, 2013; Broughton et al., 2016). Another body of work has a different perspective on flexible employment, suggesting that workers in the new economy are increasingly able to assert control over their working lives. The 'free worker' is increasingly able to choose his or her position in the labour market, and determine where, for whom and on what employment contract they are active (Guest et al., 2006). This positive discourse is also related to the literature concerned with the boundaryless career and career self-management (Sullivan, 1999; King, 2004).

Within this context, multiple jobholding has received relatively little attention to date. From the perspective of the worker, MJH has been viewed on the one hand as something engaged in by disadvantaged workers and acting as a means of tackling financial constraints and potentially forced upon by constraints of the labour market. Set against this, MJH may offer variety and act as a conduit for further career progression for the new "free" worker (Guest et al., 2006; Panos et al., 2014).

In this chapter we focus on vulnerability versus self-sufficiency of multiple jobholders in terms of their quality of work, and whether and how the quality of their work has changed over time. Central to this chapter is thus the second research question: *How can workers in different MJH forms be characterised in terms of earnings (at the individual and household level) and self-reported quality of work? Has this been changing over time?*

We analyse data from the EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) in relation to extrinsic factors (individual and household income). In addition, we analyse data from Eurostat's Labour Force Survey on working conditions and the European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS)[3] on four dimensions of quality of work: extrinsic rewards, intrinsic rewards, work strain and (general) working conditions. In the analyses, divisions between different forms of flexible employment are incorporated. In line with the notions of "linked lives" or "interwoven lives", we will not only study experiences in the work sphere, but also address aspects of the household context.

3.1. Quality of work: a multidimensional approach

Quality of work has been defined, conceptualised and examined in several ways, on the one hand using aggregate measures (such as job satisfaction or a job quality index), on the other hand adopting a multidimensional approach. Some concepts and typologies mainly encompass economic rewards such as earnings and fringe benefits, others also include aspects like autonomy and control over the labour process, degree of work uncertainty and employability factors (*cf.* Vosko, 2006; Brown et al.,

[2] Further analyses on the changing nature of MJH (Chapter 2) in relation to extrinsic rewards (section 3.1.1) will be published as Conen W.S. and P.T. de Beer (2021), When two (or more) is not equal to one: an analysis of the changing nature of multiple and single jobholding in Europe. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*. Further analyses on quality of work will be published as Piasna, A., Czarzasty, J. and M. Pedaci (2021), Quality of work among multiple jobholders in Europe. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*

[3] The European Working Conditions Surveys are sponsored and owned by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions and distributed by UK Data Archive, University of Essex. These institutions bear no responsibility for the present analysis and interpretation of the data.

2008; Fernández-Macías et al.,2014; Broughton et al., 2016; Parent-Thirion et al., 2016; Kalleberg, 2018; Conen & Schippers, 2019). Job quality as a whole is a complex concept to measure and there is not a single accepted definition or method in the literature. This study follows a multidimensional approach and addresses both (changes in) material conditions as reflected in the extrinsic dimension (such as earnings) as well as non-pecuniary aspects (such as autonomy, purpose, learning new skills, and work intensity).

3.1.1. Earnings and household income

Broad consensus exists that income is a fundamental dimension of quality of work. Over time, a large literature has emerged on various concepts (including earnings, in-work poverty, low-income households, material deprivation), covering different units of analysis (i.e. the job, individual or household level).

First, at the job level, Table 3.1 shows that MJH tend to have lower mean and median earnings in the main job than employees. However, when earnings from the main job are translated into earnings per hour, MJH seem to earn similar median and slightly higher mean earnings per hour than SJH. However, MJH on non-standard contracts earn significantly lower hourly and monthly wage in their primary job – regardless of how it was measured.

Moreover, "*because more and more individuals hold multiple jobs, and because people reproduce themselves in households, a focus on a main job does not capture fully the ways in which people piece together a living*" (Vosko, 2006). It thus seems important to take not only the job level, but also the individual and household level into account. The European Working Conditions Survey captures income adequacy by posing the question "*A household may have different sources of income and more than one household member may contribute to it. Thinking of your household's total monthly income, is your household able to make ends meet…?"* Table 3.1 shows that 12.8 percent of MJH report to face 'difficulty' or 'great difficulty' to make ends meet with the household's total monthly income. Up to 20.6 percent of MJH with a non-standard contract in the main job are found in such financially vulnerable households.

Table 3.1 Earnings and household income (in Euros), SJH and MJH

	(I) Paid workers		**(II) Multiple jobholders**		
Variable	MJH	SJH	Permanent contract	Non-standard contract	Self-employed
Labour income (main job)[a]					
Monthly earnings[b]	1352	1522**	1495	936**	1570
	[1188]	[1344]**	[1367]	[790]**	[1242]*
Earnings per hour	10.44	10.02*	10.71	8.99**	12.54**
	[8.56]	[8.60]	[9.11]	[7.17]**	[9.22]
Household income					
Financially vulnerable	12.8%	10.4%**	9.1%	20.6%**	14.7%**
Working partner	49.3%	53.5%**	55.5%	33.7%**	55.5%
N	*7,012*	*81,228*	*4,348*	*1,661*	*1,106*

Note: ** (*) = The asterisks denote significant differences at the 1% (5%) level for SJH compared to MJH (panel (I)) and MJH with a permanent contract in the main job compared to workers with a non-standard contract and self-employed workers (panel (II)).

[a] Medians in Brackets, [b] Question: "Please can you tell us how much are your NET monthly earnings from your main paid job?"

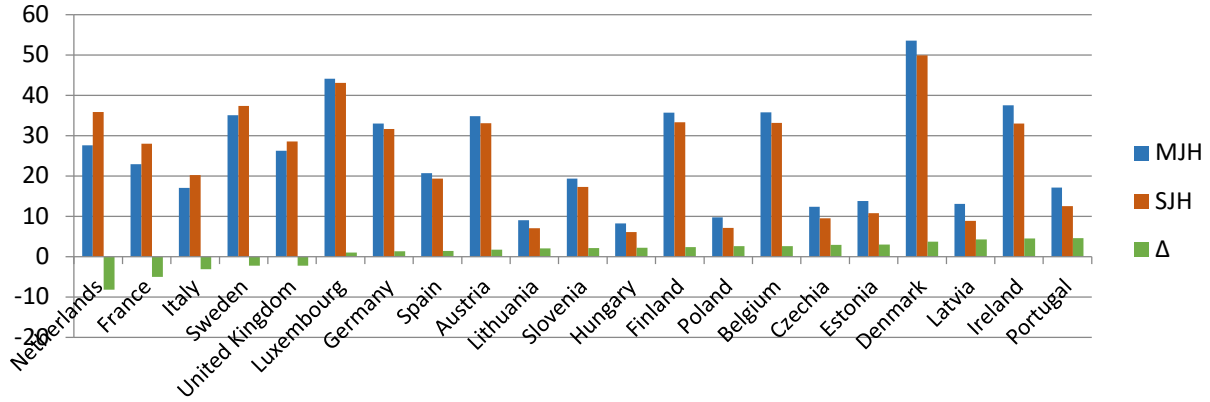
Source: European Working Conditions Survey

Figure 3.1 shows *total* mean gross earnings (x1000) among employees, i.e. not only for the main job (as in Table 3.1). Note that these figures are based on earnings from employees only, and do not include earnings from self-employment[4]. The results in panel *a* show that when earnings from the other job(s) are included, MJH earn higher mean gross earnings than SJH in the majority of EU countries. Exceptions are the Netherlands, France, Italy, Sweden and Luxembourg – in those countries working more than one job does on average not add up to an income that is higher than earnings of single jobholders.

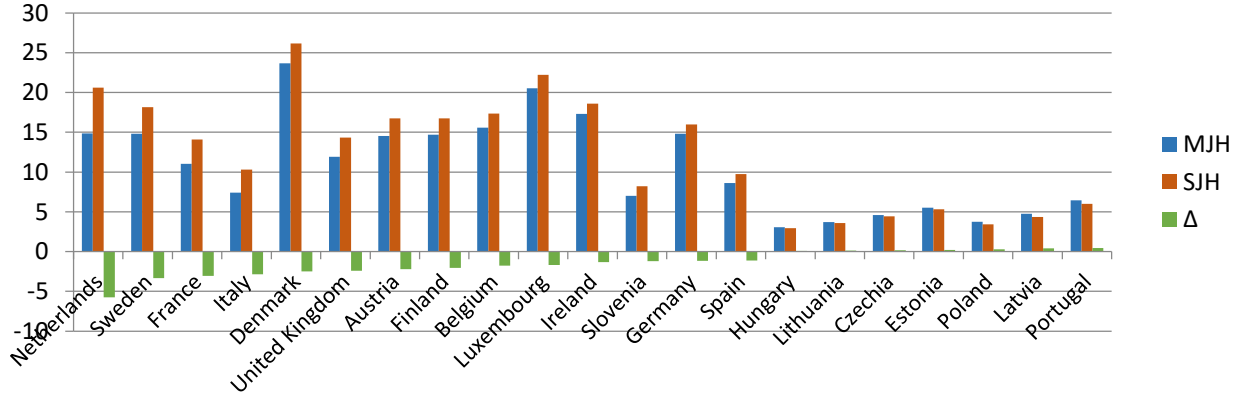
Chapter 2 showed that MJH tend to work more hours per week than SJH. Therefore, panel *b* presents the mean gross *hourly* earnings (x1000) among employees. Adjusted for working hours per month, the findings here show that MJH earn lower mean gross hourly earnings than SJH in the majority of EU countries.

Figure 3.1 Mean gross earnings among employees, by employment status, 18-64 years, 2016

Panel *a* Mean gross earnings (x1000) among workers, 2016



Panel *b* Mean gross hourly earnings among employees, 2016



Source: EU-SILC, 2016

[4] Self-employed are – unfortunately – left out of empirical analyses on earnings and income in a large majority of studies (e.g. Parker, 2004; Crettaz, 2013). One of the main reasons probably is that particular problems arise with income from self-employed, which is notoriously hard to measure and compare. These difficulties for instance stem from the lack of clear distinction between the (incorporated) business income and the personal or household consumption; because self-employed have incentives to define their income in a way that minimises taxation; because self-employed are – probably more often than among paid employees – not 'in it for the money'; and because self-employed have large variation in their income flows (in year *t* they may earn a negative income, whereas in year *t+1* they earn high profit). Nevertheless, some methods have been used to also compare payoff from self-employment. In general, all concepts and measurements have their own merits and drawbacks.

Earnings at the job level do not capture whether one's job is related to an overall precarious or self-sufficient household situation. In that light, the concept of equivalised disposable income [EDI] provides additional insights. EDI includes employees' and self-employed earnings (both positive and negative) and accounts for the composition of the household. Eurostat (2020) uses the following definition and calculation of equivalised disposable income:

The equivalised disposable income is the total income of a household, after tax and other deductions, that is available for spending or saving, divided by the number of household members converted into equalised adults; household members are equalised or made equivalent by weighting each according to their age, using the modified OECD equivalence scale.

The equivalised disposable income is calculated in three steps:

- *All monetary incomes received from any source by each member of a household are added up; these include income from work, investment and social benefits, plus any other household income; taxes and social contributions that have been paid, are deducted from this sum;*
- *In order to reflect differences in a household's size and composition, the total (net) household income is divided by the number of 'equivalent adults', using a standard (equivalence) scale: the modified OECD scale; this scale gives a weight to all members of the household (and then adds these up to arrive at the equivalised household size):*
    - *1.0 to the first adult;*
    - *0.5 to the second and each subsequent person aged 14 and over;*
    - *0.3 to each child aged under 14.*
- *Finally, the resulting figure is called the equivalised disposable income and is attributed equally to each member of the household.*

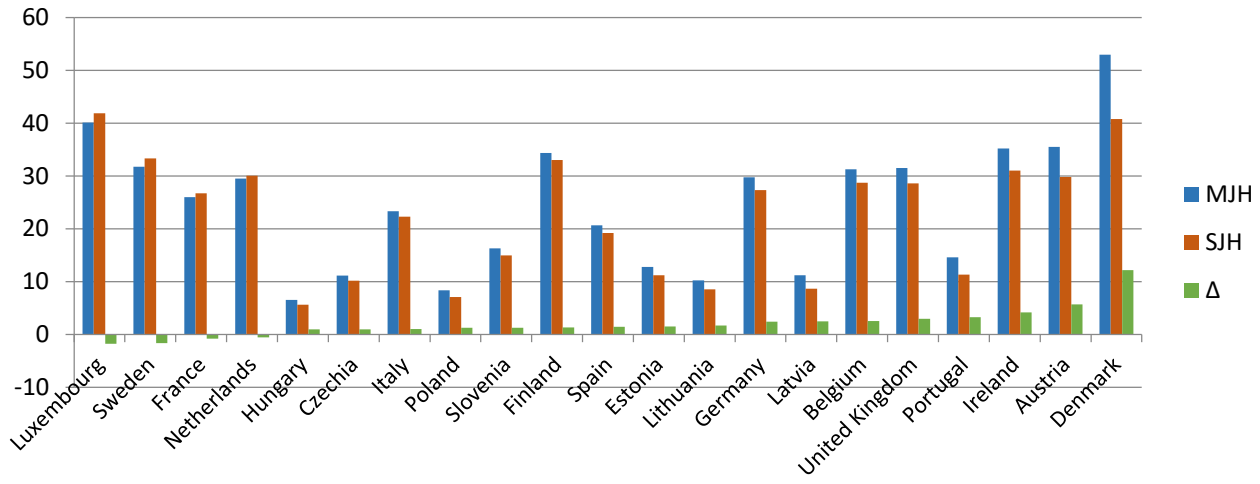
Source: Eurostat, 2020

Figure 3.2 shows the mean equivalised disposable income [EDI] among workers across European countries. In most countries, EDI is on average higher among MJH than SJH. Exceptions are Luxembourg, Sweden, France and the Netherlands – in those countries working more than one job does not translate into an income that is higher than incomes of SJH.

However, the mean EDI does not say much about the distribution of EDI and changes across time therein. Therefore, Figure 3.3 shows two measures of inequality, i.e. Gini coefficients and Mean Log Deviations [MLD]. Gini coefficients can have a value between 0 ('perfect equality'; everyone has the same income) and 1 ('perfect inequality'; one household has all the income and all other households have no income). The findings show that in various countries, including the UK, Austria, the Netherlands, Ireland and Sweden, inequality among MJH has increased between 2006 and 2016.

Whereas the Gini is relatively sensitive to changes in middle incomes, other inequality measure such as the Mean Log Deviation are relatively sensitive to extremes - particularly to changes in the lower incomes. Changes in the MLD thus may indicate a process of polarisation. The findings on MLD confirm the rising inequality among MJH between 2006 and 2016 in countries like the UK, Austria, and the Netherlands, but also Italy is included.

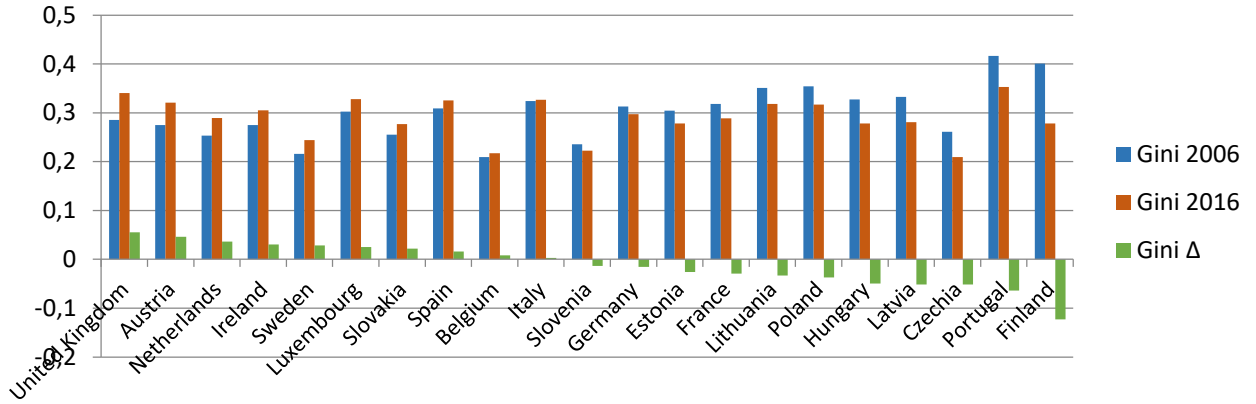
Figure 3.2 Mean equivalised disposable income among workers, by employment status, 18-64 years, 2016



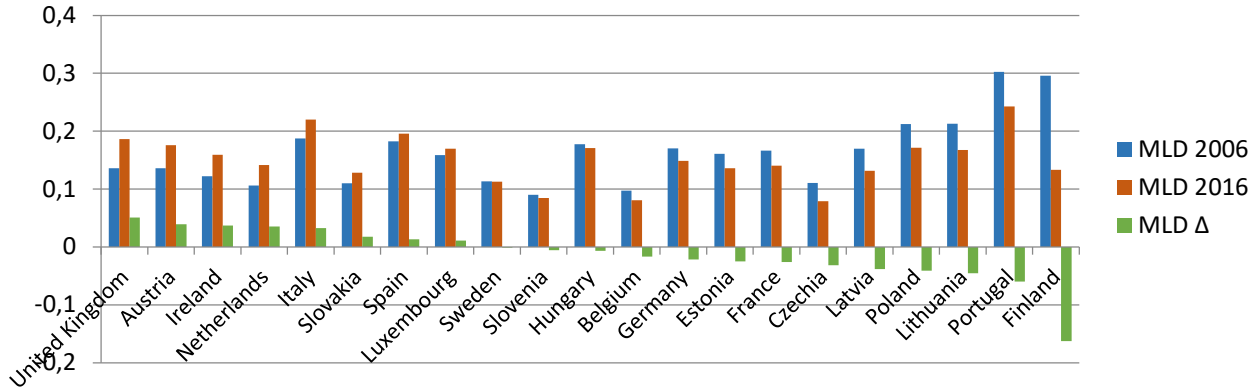
Source: EU-SILC, 2016

Figure 3.3 Developments in inequality in equivalised disposable income among MJH, Gini and Mean Log Deviation (MLD), 2006-2016

Panel *a* Developments in inequality in EDI among MJH, Gini coefficients



Panel *b* Developments in inequality in EDI among MJH, Mean Log Deviations



Source: EU-SILC, 2006 and 2016

Income adequacy and in-work poverty

Two measures to address income (in)adequacy at the household level are the ability to make ends meet (or the derived current household deprivation indicator) and the at-risk of poverty [AROP] indicator (see Table 3.2). The question on the ability to make ends meet avoids the use of income data and asks for a self-assessed evaluation of the financial situation. In the AROP indicator, people are considered at-risk of poverty when their annual equivalised household disposable income is below 60% of the national median.

Table 3.2 shows that on a scale from 1 (great difficulty to make ends meet) to 6 (very easily to make ends meet) MJH have on average a higher ability to make ends meet than SJH and this ability has increased between 2006 and 2016. Figure 3.4 looks in more detail at the lower end of the ability to make ends meet: the workers who indicate to have 'great difficulty' or 'difficulty' to make ends meet (a.k.a. the current household deprivation indicator). Panel *a* shows that in the majority of countries, MJH less often face difficulties to make ends meet, although in countries like the Netherlands, Denmark, United Kingdom and Sweden MJH more often than SJH face difficulties to make ends meet. Panel *b* shows that for various countries the share of MJH facing difficulties to make ends meet has increased between 2006 and 2016.

Whereas the (in)ability to make ends meet is a subjective measure on income (in)adequacy, the AROP is a more objective measure to capture a workers poverty risk. The lower part of Table 3.2 shows that the share of workers at-risk of poverty has increased between 2006 and 2016, both for SJH and MJH. Among MJH, the increase in AROP has been particularly marked among women and workers on non-standard employment contracts. Panel *a* in Figure 3.6 shows that particularly in countries like Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Sweden MJH have a relatively high risk of poverty when compared to SJH. The AROP has increased in various countries between 2006 and 2016 (see panel *b*).

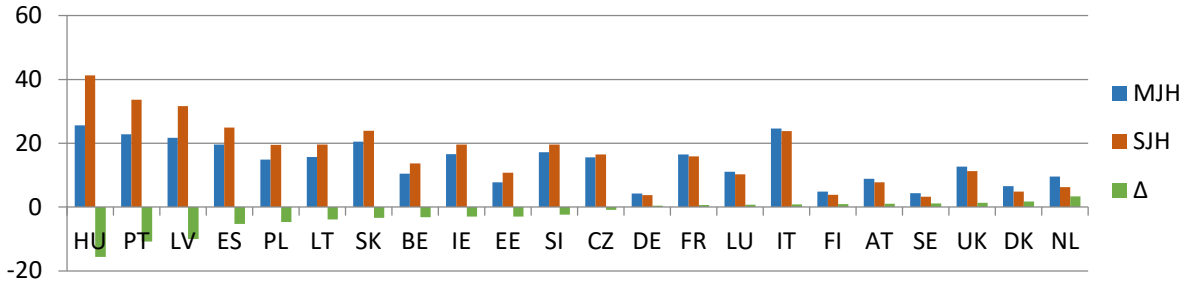
Table 3.2 Ability to make ends meet and at-risk of poverty, SJH and MJH, 2006 and 2016

	(I) Employed			**(II) Multiple jobholders**				
	(A)	**(B)**		**(C)**		**(D)**		
	Total	**MJH**	**SJH**	**Male**	**Female**	**Indefinite contract**	**Non-standard contract**	**Self-employed**
Ability to make ends meet (scale 1-6)								
2006	3,5	3,6	3,5	3,6	3,6	3,6	3,2	-
2016	3,5	3,8	3,5	3,9	3,8	3,8	3,6	3,8
Δ 2006-2016	*0,0*	*0,3*	*0,0*	*0,3*	*0,2*	*0,3*	*0,4*	-
At-risk of poverty (percentage)								
2006	8,5	7,9	8,5	8,5	7,1	5,1	15,3	-
2016	8,9	8,1	8,9	7,7	8,5	5,4	16,8	14,8
Δ 2006-2016	*0,4*	*0,2*	*0,4*	*-0,9*	*1,4*	*0,3*	*1,5*	-

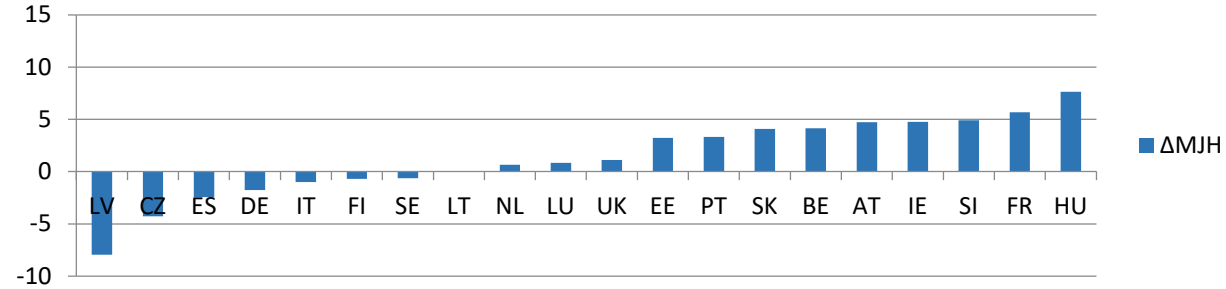
Source: EU-SILC, 2006 and 2016

Figure 3.4 Current household deprivation indicator (% with (great) difficulty), 18-64 years, 2006-2016

Panel *a* Current household deprivation indicator, by employment status, 2016



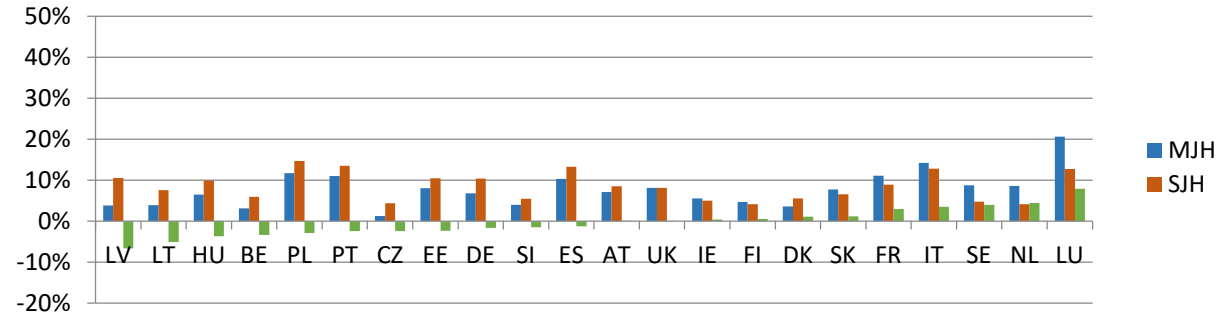
Panel *b* Developments in current household deprivation indicator, MJH, 2006-2016



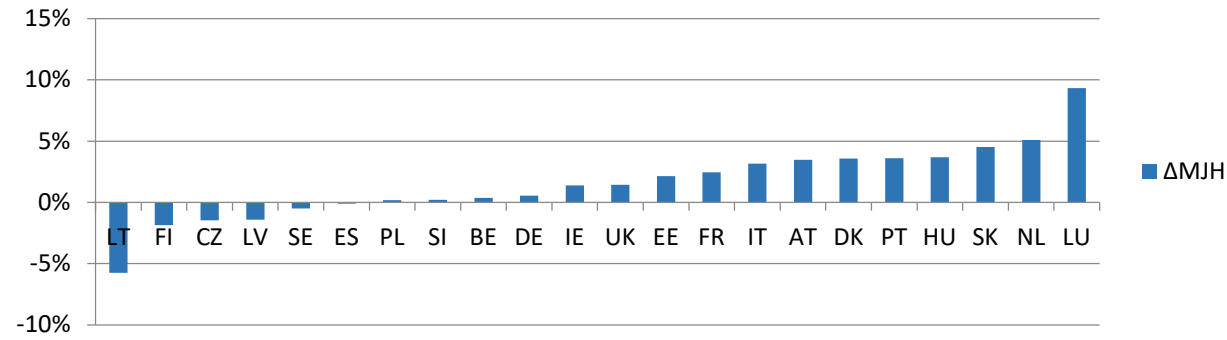
Source: EU-SILC, 2006 and 2016

Figure 3.5 At-risk of poverty rate among workers, 18-64 years, 2006-2016

Panel *a* At-risk of poverty rate among workers, by employment status, 2016



Panel *b* Developments in at-risk of poverty rate among MJH, 2006-2016



Source: EU-SILC, 2006 and 2016

Table 3.3 Explaining in-work poverty among MJH

	(I) Poverty indicator	(II) Household deprivation indicator	(III) Ability to make ends meet
	Odds ratio	*Odds ratio*	*Coefficient*
Work characteristics			
Weekly hours in primary job	0.97**	0.99**	0.01**
	(.004)	(.003)	(.001)
Weekly hours in other job(s)	1.01	1.01**	-.01**
	(.004)	(.003)	(.001)
Status in employment (primary job)			
Employee, permanent contract	*{Ref.}*	*{Ref.}*	*{Ref.}*
Employee, temporary contract	2.91**	1.54**	-0.19**
	(.342)	(.161)	(.040)
Self-employed, without personnel	2.67**	1.33**	-0.07*
	(.321)	(.142)	(.030)
Other	1.33	1.60	-0.04
	(.273)	(.267)	(.052)
Sector of industry (NACE)			
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	2.07**	0.88	-0.11*
	(.384)	(.142)	(.052)
Manufacturing and Utilities	*{Ref.}*	*{Ref.}*	*{Ref.}*
Construction	1.51*	1.30	-0.22**
	(.307)	(.207)	(.062)
Trade	1.49*	1.03	-0.09*
	(.216)	(.131)	(.049)
Transportation and Storage	0.85	0.96	-0.05
	(.216)	(.166)	(.065)
Accommodation and Food	1.91**	1.03	-0.16*
	(.414)	(.193)	(.074)
Information and Communication	1.04	0.78	0.05
	(.344)	(.192)	(.079)
Financial and Insurance	0.48	0.68	0.23**
	(.233)	(.208)	(.087)
Real estate, business, professional, administrative	1.49*	1.04	-0.04
	(.261)	(.139)	(.049)
Public administration	0.51**	0.79	0.05
	(.132)	(.120)	(.053)
Education	0.90	0.85	-0.02
	(.175)	(.114)	(.047)
Health and Social Work	0.93	0.874	0.05
	(.175)	(.115)	(.046)
Arts, entertainment, other services	1.62*	0.83	-0.07
	(.313)	(.133)	(.057)

Socio-demographic characteristics			
Age	1.05	1.11**	-0.06**
	(.027)	(.025)	(.007)
Age-squared/100	0.94*	0.89**	0.07**
	(.027)	(.022)	(.008)
Gender	1.03	1.40**	-0.15**
	(.096)	(.101)	(.025)
Educational level	0.99**	0.99**	0.01**
	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)
Country dummies	28 categories	28 categories	28 categories
N	9,113	9,113	9,113
Pseudo/ Adj R2	0.15	0.19	0.31

Source: EU-SILC, 2016

Connecting information as outlined in the previous, Table 3.3 shows the results of a logistic and OLS regression analyses to explain in-work poverty among multiple jobholders, adjusting for various work and socio-demographic characteristics.

The findings show that people who work more hours in the primary job have a lower in-work poverty risk/ higher ability to make ends meet. Contrastingly, working more hours in other job(s) is negatively related to the ability to make ends meet/ positively related to the risk at in-work poverty. Moreover, MJH who hold a temporary contract or are self-employed in the main job have a higher in-work poverty risk/ lower ability to make ends meet than employees holding a permanent contract in the main job. In-work poverty among MJH seems also more concentrated in particular sectors of industry: MJH in agriculture, construction, trade, accommodation and food and arts, entertainment and other services have a relatively high propensity to face in-work poverty, whereas MJH in public administration seem to have a relatively low in-work poverty risk. In-work poverty risk follows an inversed u-shape (i.e. in-work poverty first increases with age, but decreases at higher ages), female MJH seem to face a higher risk at in-work poverty and higher educated MJH have a lower risk at in-work poverty.

3.1.2. Beyond income: (other) extrinsic factors, intrinsic factors and work strain

The previous section has examined multiple jobholding in relation with earnings and income, extrinsic factors may also include for instance security and advancement opportunities, Moreover, beyond extrinsic rewards, MJH may also be related to various non-pecuniary rewards, such as skill and task variety and acquisition (Panos et al., 2014); autonomy (Fraser & Gold, 2001; Fenwick, 2006) and creation of meaning (Arora, 2013). Multiple jobholding may also be related to more strain, taking into account that MJH often work more and more unsocial hours than SJH. This may in turn relate to - for instance - sleeping fewer hours per night than SJH, higher risk of physical injury at work, work–family conflict and burnout (e.g. Marucci-Wellman et al., 2014, 2016). To test whether various dimensions of quality of work differ, both between MJH and SJH and within the group of MJH, we analysed data from the European Working Conditions Survey[5].

Table 3.4 shows how MJH and SJH value various dimensions of quality of work with respect to their main job. The table distinguishes between extrinsic factors, intrinsic factors, work strain and general working conditions (the various dimensions are specified further in the 1 on 'measuring quality of work'). Higher values indicate better job quality, except for work strain. The table shows that on average, SJH more often agree to get paid appropriately in their main job than MJH, they less often expect to lose their job in the next six months and they more often think their job offers good prospects for career advancement. In other words: SJH value the extrinsic rewards from their main job on average higher than MJH. SJH also more often have the feeling of doing useful work. However, MJH on average seem to experience more job challenge and skill acquisition as well as more autonomy in their main job. On average, SJH and MJH do not seem to differ in the work intensity or exposure to physical hazard (work strain) or working conditions in general.

Table 3.4 Quality of work among workers, mean differences, 2015

	(I) Paid workers		(II) Multiple jobholders		
Variable	MJH	SJH	Permanent contract	Non-standard contract	Self-employed
Extrinsic factors (scale 1-5)					
Paid appropriately	3.09	3.25**	3.09	3.09	3.10
Security	3.88	3.96**	4.20	3.12**	3.86**
Good prospects for advancement	2.81	2.97**	2.83	2.57**	3.02**
Intrinsic factors (scale 1-5)					
Job challenge and employability	3.38	3.33*	3.55	2.99**	3.35**
Autonomy	3.87	3.74**	3.85	3.54**	4.63**
Purpose	4.22	4.30**	4.29	4.00**	4.35
Work strain (scale 1-5)					
Intensity	2.55	2.55	2.57	2.49	2.61
Physical hazard	1.65	1.67	1.63	1.76**	1.59
General (scale 1-4)					
Working conditions	3.07	3.09	3.11	2.94**	3.15

Note: ** (*) = The asterisks denote significant differences at the 1% (5%) level for SJH compared to MJH (panel (I)) and MJH with a permanent contract in the main job compared to workers with a non-standard contract and self-employed workers (panel (II)).

Source: European Working Conditions Survey

[5] The EWCS is a questionnaire-based survey, based on interviews with approximately 1000 individuals in each EU country, providing unique and detailed information on work in Europe. The sample is representative for those aged 15 years and older who are in employment. In the empirical analysis we employ a sample of both males and females in paid employment, aged between 18 and 60 at the time of the interview. We apply weights for descriptive statistics when advisable according to data description. More details about EWCS and its methods are available online (https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/surveys/european-working-conditions-surveys/sixth-european-working-conditions-survey-2015).

Whereas the quality of work seems relatively low in terms of appropriate pay for MJH on various types of employment contracts, the other dimensions are particularly low for MJH working on non-standard contracts in the main job.

Measuring quality of work

Respondents were asked their views on a series of statements or questions concerning their main job:

- *Extrinsic factors* (single items): 'Pay' (item: considering all my efforts and achievements, I feel I get paid appropriately); 'security' (item: I might lose my job in the next 6 months); 'prospects (My job offers good prospects for career advancement) (strongly agree = 5 ... strongly disagree = 1)
- *Intrinsic factors* (indices): 'Job challenge and employability' (items: job involves solving unforeseen problems on your own, complex tasks, learning new things; over the past 12 months undergone training or on-the-job training); 'autonomy' (items: are you able to choose or change: your order of tasks, your methods of work, your speed or rate of work'); 'purpose' (have the feeling of doing useful work) (all transposed into Likert-type scales (range 1-5, low to high))
- *Work strain* (indices): 'Intensity' (items: job involves working at very high speed, working to tight deadlines, how often do you have to interrupt a task you are doing in order to take on an unforeseen task, pace of work is dependent on direct demands from people such as customers, passengers, pupils, patients, etc.); 'physical hazard' (items: are you exposed at work to: vibrations, noise, temperatures etc) (all transposed into Likert-type scales (range 1-5, low to high))
- *Overall working conditions* (single item): On the whole, are you very satisfied, satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with working conditions in your main paid job? (very satisfied = 4 … not at all satisfied = 1).

Table 3.4 shows the averages for the various dimensions on quality of work. The analyses in Table 3 in Annex A provide a more in-depth analyses and include control variables that have been shown by previous research to be related to differences in quality of work: gender, age, education, working hours, country, occupation and sector (e.g. Gallie, 2003; Handel, 2005; Davoine et al, 2008; Olsen et al, 2010; Green et al, 2013; Greenan et al, 2013; Lopes et al, 2014; Campion et al, 2020). The table presents the results from OLS for each of the quality of work aspects. The numbers in the first rows (SJH in the upper part and MJH with a permanent contract in the lower part) represent the average values for the reference category. The effects (b) can be read as the changes for MJH compared to SJH (upper part) or as the changes of MJH with a non-standard contract or who are self-employed in the main job compared to MJH with a permanent contract (lower part). For example, the main predicted value for feeling paid appropriately among MJH as compared to SJH is 3.0 (3.2-0.2). Higher values indicate better quality of work, except for strain (work intensity and physical hazard). The numbers in bold indicate the group with the highest quality of work on the various aspects.

The findings largely confirm the findings from Table 3.4 that SJH have a higher quality of work than MJH on extrinsic factors, feeling of purpose and on general working conditions (panel A). In panel B we add controls for sector and occupation. The main differences persist, but the extent to which MJH report autonomy is higher than SJH in panel A, but this is no longer significant in panel B. The lower

part of table 3 focuses on the subsample of MJH, providing a more diversified picture of MJH. These findings show that in 2015, MJH with a permanent contract and MJH who are self-employed in the main job have a relatively high quality of work as compared to MJH with a non-standard contract on all dimensions, except for work strain (panel A). MJH with a permanent contract in the primary job score particularly high on security and job challenge and employability, whereas MJH who are self-employed in the primary job more often report that they are paid appropriately, they have good prospects for career advancement , experience more autonomy and more often have the feeling of doing useful work. The similarities in panel A and B suggest that the occupational mix and sectors do not change the overall findings.

Table 3.5 shows developments in the valuation of various dimensions of quality of work for MJH and SJH over time. Positive relations indicate positive job quality trends, except for work strain. The effects can be read as changes compared to the first year (2000/2005). The table shows that for both SJH and MJH various dimensions have increased over time: workers increasingly indicate they are paid appropriately in the main job, they face good prospects for advancement, job challenge and employability has increased and working conditions in general. However, the intensity of work has also increased for both MJH and SJH.

Table 3.5 Developments in quality of work among workers

	(I) Paid workers		**(II) Multiple jobholders**		
Variable	MJH	SJH	Permanent contract	Non-standard contract	Self-employed
Extrinsic factors (scale 1-5)					
Paid appropriately	++	++	++	++	
Security					
Good prospects for advancement	++	++	++	++	++
Intrinsic factors (scale 1-5)					
Job challenge and employability	++	++	++	++	
Autonomy					++
Purpose					
Work strain (scale 1-5)					
Intensity	++	++			
Physical hazard					
General (scale 1-4)					
Working conditions	++	++	++		

Note: ++ (+) = The signs denote significant differences at the 1% (5%) level in 2015 compared to the first year (2000/2005)

Source: European Working Conditions Survey

The analyses in Table 4 in Annex A provide a more in-depth analyses and include control variables (similar to Table 3). The table presents the results from OLS for developments in each of the quality of work aspects. The numbers in the first rows (MJH in the upper part and MJH with a permanent contract in the lower part) represent the average values for the reference category. The effects (b) can be read as changes as compared to 2005. For example, the main predicted value for feeling paid appropriately among MJH in 2015 as compared to 2005 is 3.1 (2.9+0.2). Higher values indicate better quality of work, except for strain (work intensity and physical hazard). The numbers in bold indicate significant improvements/ deterioration. The findings largely confirm the findings from Table 3.5, and perhaps mostly reflect an effect of the economic climate on job quality. Furthermore, although there

are differences in quality of work between groups, changes in quality of work seem to follow similar trends and thus do not seem to show a clear convergence or divergence pattern.

Box 1 Quality of work in the second job

In existing administrative and survey data there is typically a broad range of items on the main job and often some additional information available on characteristics of the second job – such as actual or usual working hours per week, professional status or economic activity in the second job. Measurements of quality of work tend to assess quality *in the main job,* and there is only limited insight into the quality of the *second* job. In 2019, the Dutch Value of Work Monitor included a pilot for measuring quality of work in both the first and the second job. About 10 per cent of the Dutch workforce holds multiple jobs; the subgroup in this sample consists of N=230.

	(I) Employed		
	(A)	(B)	
	Pooled	MJH	SJH
Interesting work	83	79	84
Security	70	67	71
Procedural autonomy	70	66	71
Learning new things/ skills	68	60	69
Good pay	64	57	65

The table (left) shows that in general, 83 per cent of Dutch workers 'strongly agree' or agree' that their work is interesting, about 70 percent indicates their work offers enough security, they can decide themselves how to conduct their work or they regularly learn new things or skills in their work and 64 per cent indicates 'good pay' is an aspect that is applicable to the current job. For all job quality aspects, multiple jobholders score lower than their single jobholder counterparts.

Looking at the group of MJH in more detail (table below), the findings show that 64 per cent of MJH indicate both their first and the second job are interesting, 15 per cent thinks this only applies to the 1st job, 14 per cent only to the second job and 7 percent of MJH find neither their first nor their second job interesting.

	(II) Multiple jobholders			
	Main job: present		Main job: not present	
	Both	Only 1st job	Only 2nd job	None
Interesting work	64	15	14	7
Security	31	36	5	28
Procedural autonomy	44	22	25	9
Learning new things/ skills	43	17	18	22
Good pay	34	23	8	35

Aspects that are relatively often present only in the second job are 'procedural autonomy' (25 per cent of MJH) and 'learning new things/ skills' (18 per cent). I.e. these MJH do not experience autonomy or learning new things in their first job, but only in their second job. Furthermore, the table indicates that 35 per cent of MJH find that both jobs do not offer good pay, 28 per cent that both do not offer enough security, and 22 per cent of MJH do not learn new things or skills in either one of the jobs.

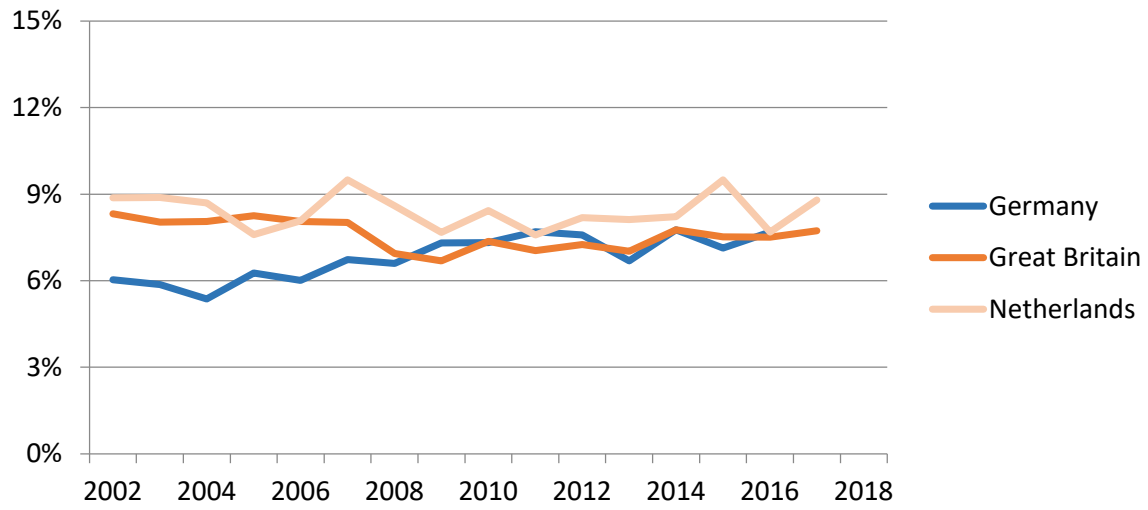
4. Multiple jobholding in the employment biography: transitions and effects[6]

Quantitative empirical research on implications, mobility and personal impact of multiple jobholding to one's situation and employment biography is limited (Campion et al., 2020). This chapter examines how multiple work arrangements are embedded in the employment biography and analyses its impact on subsequent job outcomes. We bring labour market flexibility explicitly in and analyse panel data from three European countries (Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands). Central to this chapter is the third research question: *How are MJH episodes embedded in the employment biography?* We focus not only on financial implications, but also on the impact on workers' satisfaction with work and the relation between MJH and well-being.

To that end, we use 16 waves of panel data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP), the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS)/ Understanding Society and the Dutch National Bank Household Survey (DHS) (2002 to 2017). Figure 4.1 plots rates of multiple jobholding by year. The rates are between 5.4 per cent and 9.5 per cent, particularly for Germany increasing in the first half of the panel. On average, 7 to 8 percent of the employed samples is occupied in more than one job.

The three surveys contain information at the individual level and provide detailed information on work-related aspects, income and socio-demographic variables in Germany, Great-Britain and the Netherlands. Variables on income, satisfaction and background variables are of a similar nature in the three surveys, making it possible to make meaningful comparisons of the results. All surveys identify individuals who hold more than one job. In our empirical analyses we employ a sample of individuals in paid employment, aged 18 years and older at the time of the interview.

Figure 4.1 The incidence of multiple jobholding

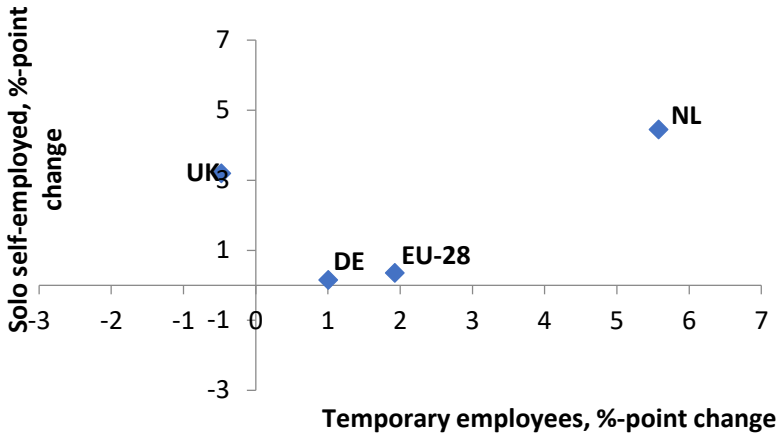


Sources: GSOEP (Germany), BHPS/ Understanding Society (Great Britain) and DHS (the Netherlands), 2002-2017

[6] The data preparation, analyses, tables and graphs in this chapter were developed in cooperation with Jonas Stein; I am most grateful for the time and effort he dedicated to this. Further analyses on how multiple work arrangements are embedded in the employment biography and the implications for individual workers in terms of subsequent job outcomes will be published as Conen W.S. and J. Stein (2021), A panel study on the consequences of multiple jobholding in Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, 2002-2017. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*.

All three countries are witnessing changing employment patterns and flexibilisation of the labour market, although to different degrees and in different forms. Over the past decades, the Netherlands has transformed into one of the most flexible labour markets in Europe. Since the 2000s the Dutch labour market has experienced a particularly strong increase in solo self-employment, but also temporary employment (including on-call work and temporary agency work) and multiple jobholding have increased considerably (see e.g. Conen, 2018). Great Britain has also witnessed a clear increase in terms of solo self-employment (for the second time, to relatively high levels) (see e.g. Meager, 2019), but less so among temporary employees. Germany has experienced a relatively moderate increase as compared to the other two countries (see also Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Developments in flexible work arrangements and solo self-employment as a share of total employment in Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and EU-28, 15-64 years, 2002-2017



Source: Eurostat, 2019

Table 4.1 presents summary statistics and mean differences for multiple and single jobholders in the three samples. In the Netherlands, MJH earn significantly lower (hourly or monthly) wages in their jobs and have on average lower net household incomes. Dutch MJH also report relatively low levels of wellbeing as compared to SJH. These patterns are the reverse in Germany and Great Britain.

In all countries, MJH work fewer hours on average in their primary job. In total however, including the average hours worked in the additional job(s), MJH work more hours per week in all three countries. MJH is more prevalent among workers holding a temporary employment contract, and in Great Britain and the Netherlands self-employed also are more likely to hold multiple jobs. In Germany and Great Britain, MJH are relatively highly educated, younger and more often female as compared to the Dutch sample. In all countries, MJH are relatively often single or single parents.

Table 4.1 Outcome variables and work characteristics of multiple and single jobholders (Percentages and Means with SDs in Parentheses, Medians in Brackets for selected variables)

	(I) Germany		(II) Great Britain		(III) Netherlands	
	MJH	SJH	MJH	SJH	MJH	SJH
Outcome variables						
Monthly earnings (gross)	3221**	2902	2103**	1923	2645	2965**
	[2650]	[2450]	[1641]	[1583]	[2500]	[2716]
	(2535)	(2333)	(1860)	(1454)	(2183)	(2127)
Hourly wage	19.4**	16.7	14.7**	13.4	17.8	22.1**
	[16.6]	[14.4]	[10.6]	[10.4]	[15.7]	[19.7]
	(12.7)	(13.5)	(22.8)	(35.2)	(14.7)	(17.7)
Satisfaction with work	3.59*	3.57	3.83	3.82	3.99	4.01
	(0.99)	(0.98)	(0.99)	(0.97)	(0.83)	(0.79)
Well-being/ happiness	3.66*	3.64	3.53	3.52	4.02	4.08**
	(0.81)	(0.79)	(0.69)	(0.69)	(0.66)	(0.64)
Net household income	42.2**	40.8	45.3**	40.3	33.9	35.8*
(x 1000)	(27.2)	(50.3)	(75.3)	(43.2)	(20.5)	(27.4)
Work characteristics						
Weekly hours						
In primary job	33.12	39.77**	29.8	34.1**	30.2	33.7**
	(13.2)	(11.5)	(12.7)	(11.0)	(11.25)	(9.17)
In additional job(s)	6.09	-	5.9	-	10.1	-
	(5.93)	-	(5.9)	-	(9.08)	-
Employment contract (in main job) (Pct.)						
Permanent contract	81.4	81.5	76.6	83.9**	72.1	84.0**
Temporary contract	11.8**	8.5	7.5**	4.5	14.5**	8.6
Self-employed	6.7	10.0**	15.9**	11.6	13.4**	7.4
N	*12,077*	*154,655*	*16,329*	*197,899*	*1,519*	*16,545*
Multiple jobholders	7.3%		7.6%		8.4%	

Note: ** (*) = The asterisks denote significant differences at the 1% (5%) level for SJH compared to MJH.

Source: Own calculations, based on GSOEP, BHPS/ Understanding Society and DHS

4.1. Holding multiple jobs

Who are the multiple jobholders? In Table 4.2, we estimate the likelihood of individuals to engage in multiple jobholding. Apart from the term that accounts for state dependence ($MJH_{(t-1)}$), the specification controls for socio-demographic and work characteristics. Characteristics of the second or other jobs were omitted because they are not observed for single jobholders. The table reports the estimated probit coefficients, followed by their *t* statistic in parentheses. Analyses were run separately for the period 2002-2009 and 2010-2017 to test whether determinants of the decision to work in multiple jobs differ between the two periods.

Table 4.2 Multiple jobholding probit equation, 2002-2009 and 2010-2017
(Coefficients and Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses)

	(I) Germany		**(II) Great Britain**		**(III) Netherlands**	
	2002-2009	2010-2017	2002-2009	2010-2017	2002-2009	2010-2017
Work characteristics						
Weekly hrs in primary job (log)	-0.676**	-0.667**	-0.393**	-0.347**	-0.483**	-0.334**
	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.012)	(0.055)	(0.045)
Employment contract (main job)						
Permanent contract	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}
Temporary contract	0.141**	0.127**	0.232**	0.145**	0.312**	0.247**
	(0.032)	(0.023)	(0.041)	(0.022)	(0.076)	(0.067)
Self-employed	-0.192**	-0.103**	0.181**	0.165**	0.354**	0.193**
	(0.038)	(0.031)	(0.033)	(0.018)	(0.075)	(0.070)
HH income, last year (log)	0.041	0.053**	0.009	0.181**	-0.133**	-0.073
	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.049)	(0.038)
State dependence						
SJH, last year	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}	{Ref.}
MJH, last year	2.273**	2.126**	2.018**	1.826**	2.143**	2.141**
	(0.035)	(0.026)	(0.033)	(0.020)	(0.068)	(0.068)
Pseudo R^2	0.289		0.208		0.255	
No. of observations	166,580		214,228		18,064	
No. of individuals	35,803		49,267		5,305	

Notes. *Significant at $p < .05$; ** significant at $p < .01$. The models control for: gender, age, education, household composition, year, primary job occupation, region (11 to 16 categories)

Source: Own calculations, based on GSOEP, BHPS/ Understanding Society and DHS

The results confirm the importance of hours-constraint in the decision to work in multiple jobs. The number of hours in the primary job has a negative and significant effect on the decision to hold multiple jobs. Or, in other words, individuals who work fewer hours in their primary job are more likely to engage in multiple jobholding. Workers with temporary contracts (DE, GB and NL) and self-employed workers (GB and NL) have a higher probability to hold multiple jobs than workers holding a permanent contract in the main job. The importance of financial motives seems particularly prevalent in the Netherlands in the period 2002-2009; there is a negative relation between an individuals' household income in the last year and the probability of holding multiple jobs in year *t*, i.e. during the period 2002-2009 Dutch individuals living in a household with a lower net household income had a higher probability of being MJH one year later. The estimated model includes a control for the MJH status of individuals in the previous year, which has a positive and statistically significant effect on holding multiple jobs in the current period. This finding seems to suggest that the incidence of multiple jobholding is more than a short-term individual response to for instance a financial shock or ad-hoc opportunity.

How stable is multiple jobholding in the three countries? Table 4.3 shows the yearly transition rates from multiple jobholding into other labour market states for all states between 2002-2009 and 2010-2017. The table thus shows the employment states of MJH in the subsequent wave, representing stability and possible exit from MJH. The findings show that in Germany, 57-58 per cent of those who were MJH were also MJH after one year, 37-38 per cent held a single job one year later, and 4-6 per cent became unemployed or inactive. In Great Britain, the results show a relatively high transition rate between multiple and single jobholding. In the Netherlands, a relatively high percentage of MJH is still MJH one year later (i.e. relative high stability). However, particularly in the period 2010-2017, there is also a relatively high outflow into unemployment or inactivity among Dutch MJH. In all three countries, 90 per cent of SJH is still SJH one year later, 3 per cent made the transition into MJH and 7 per cent into unemployment or inactivity.

Table 4.3 Yearly transition rates from multiple jobholding; data for Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands (in %), 2002-2009 and 2010-2017

	MJH*(t)*:			**SJH*(t)*:**		
	Position after one year (*t*+1)			**Position after one year (*t*+1)**		
	$MJH_{(t+1)}$	$SJH_{(t+1)}$	$Other_{(t+1)}$	$MJH_{(t+1)}$	$SJH_{(t+1)}$	$Other_{(t+1)}$
Germany						
2002-2009	57	37	6	3	90	7
2010-2017	58	38	4	3	90	7
Great Britain						
2002-2009	55	40	5	3	90	7
2010-2017	50	45	5	4	89	7
Netherlands						
2002-2009	63	31	6	3	90	7
2010-2017	60	30	10	3	90	7

Note: Individuals have multiple jobs at time *t*.

Source: Own calculations, based on GSOEP, BHPS/ Understanding Society and DHS

4.2. Labour income

In section 3.1.1 we used cross-sectional microdata to gain insight into income from labour and how this relates to household income and poverty measures. In this section, panel data is used to obtain additional information on the *distribution* of earnings (at the country level), to *explain* pecuniary rewards (for whom is multiple jobholding positively/ negatively related to labour income) and the effects of *transitions* (when and for whom is multiple jobholding related to upward wage mobility).

Table 4.4 shows the results of the gross hourly earnings of MJH compared to earnings from SJH, as well as the change in hourly wage around entry. Rows do not only contain the mean wage, but also show the wage distribution, which provides information on the spread of wages. Percentile wages, including the 10th, 25th, 50th (median), 75th, and 90th percentiles, indicate how much wages vary.

Table 4.4 Hourly wage (gross, in Euro), MJH and SJH

Germany	10%	25%	Median	75%	90%	Mean
Current hourly wage						
SJH	7.4	10.3	14.4	19.9	27.6	16.7
MJH	9.3	12.4	16.6	23.0	31.6	19.4
Permanent contract	10.1	13.0	17.2	23.3	31.6	19.7
Other (flexible) contract[a]	6.7	9.8	13.8	20.6	30.8	17.9
Δ Hourly wage						
Δ Hourly wage around entry	-2.3	0.1	2.1	4.8	9.6	3.1
Δ Hourly wage around exit	-8.0	-3.6	-1.0	0.9	3.6	-1.9
Great Britain	**10%**	**25%**	**Median**	**75%**	**90%**	**Mean**
Current hourly wage						
SJH	5.4	7.3	10.4	15.9	23.0	13.4
MJH	5.3	7.3	10.6	16.5	25.1	14.7
Permanent contract	5.8	7.6	10.7	16.3	23.4	14.1
Other (flexible) contract[a]	3.5	6.1	10.2	17.8	34.7	16.7
Δ Hourly wage						
Δ Hourly wage around entry	-4.1	-1.1	0.7	3.2	8.2	1.9
Δ Hourly wage around exit	-7.4	-2.4	0.3	1.8	4.8	-1.1
Netherlands	**10%**	**25%**	**Median**	**75%**	**90%**	**Mean**
Current hourly wage						
SJH	11.1	15.0	19.7	26.0	34.6	22.1
MJH	5.4	10.4	15.7	22.5	30.5	17.8
Permanent contract	8.5	11.9	17.5	23.9	31.7	19.3
Other (flexible) contract[a]	3.6	5.6	10.7	16.4	25.0	12.8
Δ Hourly wage						
Δ Hourly wage around entry	-15.3	-4.8	-0.4	0.6	3.7	-4.5
Δ Hourly wage around exit	-6.6	0.3	2.6	7.1	12.3	3.2

[a] *Note:* In earlier tables the distinction was made between 'non-standard contracts' and 'self-employed'; because of the paucity of data on specific groups these are grouped together here under the heading 'other (flexible) contract' and compared to the MJH with permanent contracts in the main job.

Source: Own calculations, based on GSOEP, BHPS/ Understanding Society and DHS

The findings show that in Germany MJH have higher median and average hourly earnings than workers in single jobs. The findings for the Netherlands show a reversed picture (MJH have both lower median and average hourly earnings), with the UK 'in between'. In all countries, MJH on other/ flexible contracts have relatively low median earnings. In Germany and the Netherlands, MJH on other/ flexible contracts also have relatively low mean hourly earnings, but in Great Britain MJH with high hourly wages push the mean upward; this is probably related to self-employed MJH with high incomes from labour driving up the average.

The distribution of hourly earnings from MJH is thus different from the distribution among SJH. In Germany a substantial share of MJH has higher hourly earnings than their SJH colleagues, whereas in the Netherlands a substantial share of MJH has lower hourly earnings than their SJH colleagues. Furthermore, individuals' hourly income around entry (from SJH into MJH) shows that the majority of individuals in Germany on an hourly base earn more in their MJH jobs than in their previous SJH job, i.e. as an MJH they earn more than *themselves in a single job*[7]. When German workers exit MJH into a single job, the majority earns less on an hourly base than they did in the previous MJH job. For Dutch workers, entry into MJH is for most workers accompanied by a deterioration of hourly wage, whereas an exit into a single job is accompanied by an increase of hourly wage. Further analyses seem to indicate that in the Netherlands downward wage mobility is particularly related to workers with medium educational attainment levels.[8]

Table 4.5 shows the median gross hourly income from MJH and SJH for various individual characteristics. As with SJH, the findings show that women in MJH earn less than men. In general, MJH from all educational attainment levels and age groups have a higher median hourly income than SJH in Germany, relatively similar median hourly income in Great Britain and lower median hourly income in the Netherlands. Note that in all countries MJH with a medium educational attainment level earn less than those with low educational attainment levels. Part-time MJH have a lower median hourly income than SJH.

Table 4.5 Median hourly wage (gross, in Euro), by characteristics of MJH and SJH

	Germany		Great Britain		Netherlands	
	MJH	SJH	MJH	SJH	MJH	SJH
Gender						
Males	19.0	15.8	11.7	11.5	16.9	21.2
Females	14.8	13.0	9.8	9.6	13.4	18.0
Educational attainment level						
ISCED 0-2	14.9	12.8	9.0	9.1	13.5	16.2
ISCED 3-4	13.1	10.9	7.8	7.7	13.1	17.5
ISCED 5-6	21.5	18.9	13.9	14.4	19.9	22.8
Age						
<30 years of age	12.0	10.6	8.2	8.3	10.5	14.4
30-49 years of age	16.7	14.5	11.5	11.5	15.6	19.5
50+ years of age	19.0	15.8	11.5	10.5	17.2	21.0
Working hours						
32 hours or more	17.0	14.8	10.9	11.5	16.4	20.3
Less than 32 hours	15.7	12.6	10.1	8.4	13.7	17.5

Source: Own calculations, based on GSOEP, BHPS/ Understanding Society and DHS

[7] Of course this depends on the number of hours MJH work; these findings refer to gross hourly incomes

[8] Further analyses will be published as Conen W.S. and J. Stein (2021), A panel study on the consequences of multiple jobholding in Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, 2002-2017. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*.

4.3. Satisfaction and well-being

Besides income, the panel data offer possibilities to gain more insight into non-pecuniary job outcomes and changes therein (both around entry and while being a multiple jobholder). As outcome variables this section focuses on *satisfaction with work* and *well-being/ happiness.*

Job satisfaction or satisfaction with work are summary measures containing information about how workers perceive their work life and how they feel about and evaluate their jobs. As such, these constructs have a cognitive dimension and hold an evaluative judgement about one or several aspects of a job. Within the three surveys, satisfaction with work was measured as:

- DE: "How satisfied are you today with the following areas of your life? – Your job" (10 point scale)
- GB: "All things considered, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your present job?" (7 point scale)
- NL: "How satisfied are you all in all with your current work?" (5 point scale)

Multiple jobholding may also be related to more strain, work-family conflict, or other health-depriving effects, taking into account that MJH often work more and more unsocial hours than SJH (e.g. Marucci-Wellman et al., 2014, 2016). Indicators on wellbeing/ happiness were used to test whether MJH relates to a more positive or negative overall evaluation. This was measured as:

- DE: "Finally, we would like to ask you about your satisfaction with your life in general. How satisfied are you with your life, all things considered?" (10 point scale)
- GB: "Using the same scale how dissatisfied or satisfied are you with your life overall?" (7 point scale)
- NL: "All in all, to what extent do you consider yourself [gelukkig]?" (5 point scale)

Note that in the Dutch questionnaire respondents are not asked for their satisfaction with life, but how 'gelukkig' they are. This Dutch word has been translated with 'happiness', but that does not exactly seem to cover its meaning.

Table 4.6 Satisfaction with work and wellbeing/happiness, MJH and SJH, 2002-2017

Panel *a* Satisfaction with work

	Germany	Great Britain	Netherlands
Current employment status			
SJH	3.57	3.82	4.01
MJH	3.59	3.83	3.99
Difference between SJH and MJH	0.02*	0.01	-0.02
MJH – employment contract			
Permanent contract	3.58	3.80	3.99
Temporary contract	3.58	3.77	3.85
Self-employed	3.68	4.05	4.17
Difference between permanent and temporary contract	0.00	-0.03	-0.14**
Difference between permanent contract and self-employed	0.10**	0.25**	0.18**
Δ Satisfaction with work			
Δ Satisfaction around entry (between *t-1* and *t)*	-0.01	-0.01	0.00
Δ Satisfaction during MJH (between *t* and *t+2)*	-0.04*	-0.01	-0.04

Note: *Significant at * significant at $p < .05$; ** significant at $p < .01$.

Panel *b* Wellbeing/ happiness

	Germany	Great Britain	Netherlands
Current employment status			
SJH	3.64	3.52	4.08
MJH	3.66	3.53	4.02
Difference between SJH and MJH	0.02*	0.01	-0.06**
MJH – employment contract			
Permanent contract	3.67	3.53	4.02
Temporary contract	3.60	3.46	4.02
Self-employed	3.69	3.59	4.05
Difference between permanent and temporary contract	-0.07**	-0.07**	0.00
Difference between permanent contract and self-employed	0.02	0.06**	0.03
Δ Wellbeing/happiness			
Δ Wellbeing/happiness around entry (between *t-1* and *t)*	0.01	0.02	-0.02
Δ Wellbeing/happiness during MJH (between *t* and *t+2)*	-0.01	-0.02	0.02

Note: *Significant at * significant at $p < .05$; ** significant at $p < .01$.

Source: Own calculations, based on GSOEP, BHPS/ Understanding Society and DHS

Table 4.6 shows relatively high levels of both satisfaction with work (panel *a*) and wellbeing (panel *b*) among German MJH. Levels of satisfaction with work and well-being are typically relatively high for MJH who are self-employed in the main job and relatively low for MJH holding a temporary contract in the main job. The results furthermore show that entry into MJH from a single job does not significantly affect satisfaction with work or wellbeing. In Germany, holding multiple jobs for a longer period of time (between *t* and *t+2 years*) seems to deteriorate satisfaction with work. Further analyses seem to indicate that wellbeing particularly seems to decrease for workers who make the transition into MJH while having children (both single parents and with partner).[9]

[9] Further analyses will be published as Conen W.S. and J. Stein (2021), A panel study on the consequences of multiple jobholding in Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, 2002-2017. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*.

5. Conclusion, discussion and implications

In this report the findings are documented from an explorative and quantitative study on workers holding more than one job (simultaneously) in Europe since the 2000s. In the context of this study, multiple jobholding refers both to workers holding several dependent employment relationships (i.e. jobs) at the same time (e.g. fixed-term or permanent contracts, temporary employment agency work, zero-hour contracts), or combining dependent employment and self-employment activities. In that sense, it connects with the definition of multiple jobholding [MJH] as proposed by Campion et al (2020): "[*MJH is] the act of working more than one job simultaneously, including working for employers and self-employment, wherein all tasks, or sets of tasks, are performed in exchange for, or expectation of, compensation*".

The study sought to provide more insight into where, when and how multiple jobholding has been changing in Europe over the past decades, to explore and explain quality of work and shed more light on careers of multiple job holders. The study furthermore explicitly wanted to express a contemporary framing of this multiple jobholding in an increasingly flexible and fragmented world of work, i.e.: the research aims to bring in labour market flexibility and fragmentation into the debate on multiple jobholders' motives, mobility and job outcomes.

To that end, secondary data analyses were performed on data from Eurostat's Labour Force Survey, EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions and the European Working Conditions Surveys. Furthermore, we analysed existing longitudinal data from Germany (Socio-Economic Panel), Great Britain (British Household Panel Survey/ Understanding Society) and the Netherlands (Dutch National Bank Household Survey) for the period 2002 to 2017.In this chapter, the results will be summarized (5.1) and directions for future research will be discussed (5.2).

5.1. Summary of the results

How has the number and the share of multiple jobholders [MJH] evolved in Europe? How can MJH be characterized in terms of individual and occupational features, earnings (at the individual and household level) and self-reported quality of work? And to what extent have these characteristics been changing over time?

Chapter 2 takes an initial step towards the examination of characteristics and changes over time in multiple jobholding in Europe during the 2000s. This chapter is based on Eurostat's Labour Force Survey and the European Working Conditions Surveys and shows that the scope, structure and nature of multiple jobholding in Europe indeed has been changing since the 2000s. In terms of scope, the findings indicate that MJH is a significant and increasing characteristic in many European labour markets, with a relatively high prevalence in various Nordic and continental European countries. Furthermore, the chapter indicates clear changes in individual and occupational characteristics, such as a shift towards a relatively high prevalence of MJH among women, the combination of jobs increasingly consists of workers combining multiple jobs in paid employment, particularly on flexible contracts and increasingly consists of multiple part-time combinations (instead of full-time plus part-time). The findings furthermore indicate that working hours among MJH are decreasing, along with the wish to work more hours, although particularly in specific (growing) sectors MJH wish to work more hours.

Whereas Chapter 2 focuses on occupational features of MJH in structural terms, Chapter 3 analyses occupational features in terms of quality of work, including earnings (at the individual and household level) and non-pecuniary aspects. For this chapter we used data from the EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions [EU-SILC] and the European Working Conditions Surveys. The findings indicate that on an aggregate level the quality of work is relatively low for MJH as compared to SJH in terms of extrinsic factors, particularly at the individual level: in the majority of EU countries MJH earn lower mean gross hourly earnings than SJH and less often agree that they get paid appropriately in their main job. This seems particularly true for MJH on non-standard employment contracts. However, at a majority of MJH seem to find themselves in a relatively self-sufficient *household* situation. In most European countries, equivalised disposable household income is on average higher among MJH than among SJH, the ability to make ends meet slightly higher and the at-risk of poverty rate lower. However, these averages hide underlying variation, and the findings in this chapter indicate that in-work poverty is significantly more prevalent among MJH with temporary contracts in the main job and in specific sectors of industry. Moreover, in some countries MJH also seem to (increasingly) find themselves in a more vulnerable household situation, with relatively low levels of equivalised disposable household incomes among MJH as compared to SJH, increasing inequalities (in terms of Gini coefficients and MLD), and relatively high and increasing in-work poverty indictors for MJH. Countries that relatively often appear in these statistics are for instance France, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

In the second part of Chapter 3 quality of work is further disentangled by adopting a multidimensional approach, and distinguishing between extrinsic factors (pay, security and prospects), intrinsic factors (job challenge and employability, autonomy and purpose), work strain (intensity and physical hazard) and general working conditions. The findings show that MJH value the extrinsic rewards from their main job on average lower than SJH, and less often have the feeling of doing useful work. However, MJH on average seem to experience more job challenge and skill acquisition as well as more autonomy in their main job. However, apart from 'pay', the relatively low scores among MJH on the various dimensions of quality of work are largely induced by the low valuations on these aspects among MJH on non-standard contracts. The analyses on changes in the quality of work across time show that for both SJH and MJH workers report increasing quality of work on the dimensions of pay, prospects, job challenge and employability and working conditions (in general). However, the intensity of work has also increase for both MJH and SJH. Furthermore, changes in quality of work seem to follow similar trends and thus do not seem to show clear convergence or divergence patterns.

Research on implications, mobility and personal impact of multiple jobholding to one's situation and employment biography is scarce . Chapter 4 analyses the embeddedness of MJH in the employment biography of German, British and Dutch MJH based on individual-level panel data. For this chapter we used panel data from the German Socio-Economic Panel, the British Household Panel Survey/ Understanding Society and the Dutch National Bank Household Survey for the period 2002 to 2017.

The findings show that MJH with fewer hours in the primary job and workers on flexible contracts are more likely to engage in MJH in all three countries. The importance of financial motives seems particularly prevalent in the Netherlands, where in the period 2002-2009 Dutch workers in a household with a lower net household income had a higher probability of being MJH one year later. Moreover, the hourly wage among Dutch MJH is relatively low as compared to SJH (particularly among MJH on flexible contracts). Particularly among workers with medium educational attainment levels MJH is related to downward wage mobility in the Netherlands. Besides labour income, the panel data offers the possibility to gain more insight into non-pecuniary job outcomes and changes

therein; in this study we focused on *satisfaction with work* and *well-being/happiness.* The findings show relatively high levels of both satisfaction with work and wellbeing among German MJH. Both indicators are typically relatively high for MJH who are self-employed in the main job and relatively low for MJH working on temporary contracts in the main job. Wellbeing particularly seems to decrease for workers who make the transition into MJH while having children (both single parents and with partner).

5.2. Directions for future research

Perhaps one of the most pressing conclusions one has to draw after conducting this explorative study, is that it is very hard to draw firm conclusions on multiple jobholding and its consequences in terms of job outcomes based on existing data sources. Surveys like LFS and even EWCS are likely to underestimate the share of MJH within national workforces, and it does not seem unlikely that these sources may particularly underestimate the more 'precarious' forms of MJH. As outlined in Chapter 2, Eurostat's labour force statistics asks whether persons have more than one job or business during the reference week. This has both a formal dimension and time aspect that may lead to underreporting of additional work that people may do from time to time (e.g. individuals may not perceive (irregular) odd jobs or short-term projects as another job or business) or from people active in more 'informal' employment activities (such as cleaning, babysitting or internet freelancing). In the European Working Conditions Survey respondents have room to answer whether they have regular or occasional additional paid job(s), but still particularly countries with larger informal economies are likely to underreport. Moreover, EWCS and the panel data have some other shortcomings, for instance due to relatively low numbers of MJH in the population/ samples and panel attrition it is often difficult to disentangle the impact of various variables on MJH or job outcomes or follow MJH over time. The current study indicates that on average, developments in quality of work largely seem to be in line with a more positive, Post-Fordist or mutual gains view. However, it remains largely unclear whether there has been any polarization or precarisation within the group of MJH, largely because of low sample sizes and the nature of available variables. Finally, in all sources used, quality of work only concerns the quality of work in the main job (and thus not on the second or other jobs), making it especially hard to draft an adequate picture on the quality of work among MJH. Box 1 in Chapter 3 indicates it is relevant to know more about the features of the other job(s).

All in all, using existing data sources places clear restrictions on analysing MJH. Virtually all avenues for future research would benefit from improving existing data sources and setting up new data collections on MJH. Improving existing data sources could for instance be translated into 1) adding extra questions on additional (odd) jobs (i.e. more adequately measuring the scope), 2) incorporating questions on the quality of work of at least the second job and 3) an assessment of working life as a whole (not only the main job) (i.e. more adequately measuring quality). Quantitative new data collections on MJH might benefit from making use of new digitized forms of data collection (instead of more 'traditional forms' such as surveys or diaries). Another route could be to set up a survey in which MJH are the explicit focus of interest, and SJH only function as a control group (as opposed to starting from a representative sample, in which case you end up with too few cases to analyse characteristics, attitudes and behaviour among MJH). Besides the advantage of a more substantial sample size, it offers the possibility to link features of MJH to for instance welfare state attitudes (see Box 2). Finally, qualitative new data collections may provide more insight into underlying mechanisms and decision-making processes.

In addition, one avenue we have not yet explored in this study is the use of registers or administrative data and use sequence analyses for employment pathway analyses. As outlined before, this study aimed to examine transitions and transition sequences for MJH in the employment biography. However, although the panel data have rich and international-comparative characteristics, the data are not suitable for following individual MJH for long periods of time, due to amongst others relatively low numbers of MJH in the population/ sample and panel attrition. However, following MJH over a longer period of time would have provided more opportunities to achieve a more thorough understanding of what is driving and shaping MJH and its consequences for the employment biography.

Finally, the findings in this study underscore the idea that flexibilisation and fragmentation in the labour market play an important role in MJH and, perhaps related to these developments, changes in the prevalence and nature of MJH seem strongly *nationally* confined. Future research may want to take country differences explicitly into account or focus on 'case studies' of countries exhibiting particular features of MJH.

Box 2 MJH and the welfare state

In 2019, the Dutch Value of Work Monitor included a module to measure welfare state attitudes. About 10 per cent of the Dutch workforce holds multiple jobs; the subgroup in this sample consists of N=230. The tables shows that Dutch MJH have a higher perceived risk for sustenance problems as compared to SJH (upper table) and MJH would like to increase spending relatively often on schooling and poverty reduction.

Perceived risk for sustenance problems

How likely do you think it is that you … ('Likely' %)	MJH	SJH
Will not get the health care you need in case you get ill?	25	27
Will not manage a month on sick leave without serious economic consequences?	24	18
Have to abstain from visiting a doctor because you cannot afford it?	14	11
Will become unemployed within the next two years?	18	13
Have to move from your current accommodation within the next few years because you cannot afford it?	8	6
Receive a public pension that will not give you an acceptable living standard as pensioner?	50	41

Attitudes to public expenditure

Answers to the question: 'Taxes are used for different purposes. Do you think that the amount of tax money used for the following purposes should be increased, remain the same or decreased?'

Wanting to increase spending (+) (%) / Wanting to decrease it (-) (%)	MJH	SJH
Schooling	+71	+66
	-0	-3
Health care	+66	+63
	-5	-4
Support for elderly (persons, care for the elderly)	+54	+55
	-6	-4
Poverty reduction	+46	+37
	-11	-10
Labour market (creation of jobs, quality of work, activation policies)	+29	+28
	-19	-14
Housing allowances	+21	+13
	-23	-25
Support for families with children (child allowances, child care)	+17	+17
	-20	-25

Acknowledgements

This study is based on data from Eurostat, Labour Force Survey 2002-2017 and European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions 2006-2016. In addition, this study is based on data from the European Working Conditions Surveys, which are sponsored and owned by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions and distributed by UK Data Archive, University of Essex. The responsibility for all conclusions drawn from the data lies entirely with the author. Furthermore, in this paper use is made of data of the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP) from the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), Berlin; the British Household Panel Survey and Understanding Society, made available through the ESRC Data Archive, and the Dutch National Bank Household Surveys. Neither the original collectors of the data nor the archives bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here.

I would like to thank the advisory board members and project members of the research network "Hybrid work" for their constructive suggestions: Hans Pongratz from the University of Munich (Germany), Gunter Haake from Ver.di (Germany), Jos Sanders from the HAN University of Applied Sciences (the Netherlands), Pim Paulusma and Irene van Hest from the Federation of Dutch Trade Unions [FNV] (the Netherlands), Jacqueline O'Reilly from the University of Sussex (UK), Florian Burger from the AK Vienna Federal Chamber of Labour (Austria), Agnieszka Piasna from the European Trade Union Institute (Belgium), Marcello Pedaci from the University of Teramo (Italy), Mikkel Mailand and Trine Larsen from the University of Copenhagen (Denmark), Gijsbert Vonk from the University of Groningen (the Netherlands) and Jan Czarzasty from the University of Warsaw (Poland). I also wish to thank participants who gave helpful feedback and suggestions on various previous versions and aspects of the study during presentations at seminars and conferences. I am extremely grateful to the Hans-Bockler-Stiftung for its financial support. A special thanks to Jonas Stein for working together on the analyses of the panel data. And last but not least, I wish to thank Karin Schulze Buschoff and Paul de Beer for providing continuous support and giving guidance in the preparation of this study and setting up (spin-off) outputs. It is a pleasure working with you all.

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Annex A Statistics and further analyses

Table 1 Multiple jobholding by gender in Europe (15-64 years of age): share of MJH, 2002 – 2018, percentages

	Women			Men		
	2002	2010	2018	2002	2010	2018
Belgium	34,1	43,1	47,3	65,9	56,9	52,7
Bulgaria	46,7	54,7	43,9	53,3	45,3	56,1
Czechia	34,7	38,5	45,2	65,3	61,5	54,8
Denmark	41,2	47,1	49,7	58,8	52,9	50,3
Germany	40,2	50,7	52,3	59,8	49,3	47,7
Estonia	43,0	63,6	56,3	57,0	36,4	43,7
Ireland	24,8	32,4	37,2	75,2	67,6	62,6
Greece	20,5	26,5	28,6	79,5	73,5	71,2
Spain	32,8	49,2	52,7	67,3	50,8	47,3
France	56,3	64,7	61,7	43,7	35,3	38,3
Croatia	33,6	37,0	42,2	66,4	63,3	57,8
Italy	26,7	42,5	47,0	73,3	57,5	53,0
Cyprus	15,4	31,4	42,0	85,2	68,6	58,0
Latvia	54,4	62,1	52,8	45,6	37,9	47,2
Lithuania	55,8	55,0	53,7	44,2	45,0	46,3
Luxembourg	52,6	61,2	57,4	47,4	38,8	41,6
Hungary	37,9	41,4	40,1	62,1	58,6	60,1
Malta	:	20,3	24,7	:	79,7	75,3
Netherlands	46,4	53,5	53,6	53,6	46,4	46,4
Austria	35,3	45,1	47,3	64,7	54,9	52,7
Poland	36,0	35,6	35,9	64,0	64,4	64,1
Portugal	33,1	38,4	45,7	66,9	61,6	54,3
Romania	36,8	34,0	38,4	63,2	66,0	61,6
Slovenia	39,3	34,0	37,1	61,2	66,0	62,9
Slovakia	45,4	50,5	50,8	54,6	49,5	49,2
Finland	42,1	47,9	49,9	57,9	52,0	50,1
Sweden	45,7	45,5	47,5	54,3	54,6	52,5
United Kingdom	59,6	59,0	58,6	40,4	41,0	41,4
EU28	**43,3**	**48,6**	**51,4**	**56,7**	**51,4**	**48,6**

Source: Eurostat/ LFS, 2020

Table 2 Multiple jobholding as a share of total employment by employment contract in Europe (15-64 years of age)

	2002			2017		
	Employees, indefinite	Employees, temporary	Self-employed	Employees, indefinite	Employees, temporary	Self-employed
Belgium	3,3	4,4	3,6	4,5	4,2	4,7
Bulgaria	0,7	1,0	1,0	0,4	0,3	0,1
Czechia	2,5	1,8	2,2	2,8	4,0	3,6
Denmark	10,1	14,0	10,7	7,8	12,0	9,8
Germany	2,2	1,8	3,0	5,4	5,6	5,7
Estonia	4,8	0,0	2,3	5,6	5,6	5,6
Ireland	1,5	2,0	4,0	2,3	3,3	5,9
Greece	2,0	4,0	4,5	1,3	2,1	3,5
Spain	1,5	1,5	2,9	2,4	2,2	3,2
France	3,1	3,9	5,0	4,2	6,8	5,7
Croatia	4,1	4,0	2,0	1,1	1,0	0,7
Italy	1,0	2,1	1,7	1,2	1,6	2,2
Cyprus	5,3	2,7	4,8	3,2	2,6	5,7
Latvia	8,1	2,5	5,8	4,3	3,8	6,4
Lithuania	8,2	5,3	1,3	5,3	3,2	3,5
Luxembourg	1,0	1,1	2,0	3,6	3,5	8,5
Hungary	1,7	0,8	1,8	1,5	0,5	2,2
Netherlands	4,9	8,3	9,2	6,4	10,2	11,6
Austria	3,5	2,4	6,3	4,4	5,3	7,7
Poland	9,9	6,1	5,5	6,0	4,8	5,2
Portugal	6,7	5,3	7,6	4,1	4,2	5,1
Romania	6,2	5,9	2,2	1,8	3,2	0,8
Slovenia	2,3	2,8	1,5	3,8	4,0	2,2
Slovakia	0,8	0,5	0,6	1,2	1,2	1,7
Finland	3,2	4,8	7,1	5,6	7,6	7,7
Sweden	9,1	9,7	11,4	8,0	10,7	11,3
United Kingdom	3,8	7,6	5,1	3,5	5,5	5,0
EU27	**3,6**	**3,7**	**3,9**	**3,9**	**4,9**	**4,5**

Source: Eurostat/ LFS microdata, 2020

Table 3 Quality of work and multiple jobholding by economic work arrangement (OLS)

	Extrinsic factors			***Intrinsic factors***			***Work strain***		***General***	
	Pay b	Security b	Prospects b	Challenge b	Autonomy b	Purpose b	Intensity b	Physical b	Conditions b	N
(I) Paid workers										
Multiple jobholding (main explanatory variable)										31,372
Panel A										
SJH	**3.2**	**3.9**	**3.0**	3.3	3.7	**4.3**	2.5	1.7	**3.1**	
Δ MJH	- 0.2**	- 0.1**	- 0.2**	0.0	**0.1***	- 0.1*	0.0	0.0	- 0.1**	
Panel B										
SJH	**3.2**	**3.9**	**3.0**	3.3	3.7	**4.3**	2.5	1.7	**3.1**	
Δ MJH	- 0.1**	- 0.1**	- 0.2**	0.0	0.0	- 0.1*	0.0	0.0	- 0.1**	
(II) Multiple jobholders										
Employment contract in main job										2,515
Panel A										
Permanent contract	3.1	**4.1**	2.9	**3.6**	3.9	4.3	2.6	1.7	3.1	
Δ Non-standard contract	- 0.1	- 0.8**	- 0.2**	- 0.4**	- 0.1**	- 0.2**	- 0.1	0.0	- 0.1**	
Δ Self-employed	**0.3****	- 0.1	**0.5****	- 0.3**	**0.7****	**0.1****	0.0	0.0	0.1	
Panel B										
Permanent contract	3.1	**4.1**	2.9	**3.6**	3.9	4.3	2.6	1.7	3.1	
Δ Non-standard contract	- 0.1	- 0.8**	- 0.1*	- 0.3**	- 0.2**	- 0.2**	- 0.1	0.0	- 0.1**	
Δ Self-employed	**0.2***	- 0.2*	**0.4****	- 0.3**	**0.6****	**0.1***	0.0	0.0	0.1	

Note: The models in panel A control for: gender, age, education, working hours and country. The models in panel B control in addition for sector (eleven categories) and occupation (ten categories). Numbers in bold indicate the economic work arrangement having the highest job quality on each aspect.
**p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Source: European Working Conditions Survey

Table 4 Differences in quality of work over time (OLS)

	Extrinsic factors			*Intrinsic factors*			*Work strain*		*General*	
	Pay b	Security b	Prospects b	Challenge b	Autonomy b	Purpose b	Intensity b	Physical b	Conditions b	N
(I) Paid workers										
MJH										7,012
2005	2.9	3.9	2.7	3.4	3.9	4.3	2.6	1.7	3.0	
Δ2010	0.1	- **0.3****	0.1*	0.0	0.0	0.0	- **0.1***	0.0	**0.1****	
Δ2015	**0.2****	- 0.1	**0.3****	**0.1***	0.0	0.0	- 0.1	0.0	**0.1****	
SJH										81,228
2005	3.0	3.9	2.7	3.2	3.7	4.3	2.5	1.7	3.0	
Δ2010	0.0	- **0.3****	**0.1****	0.0	0.0	0.0	- **0.1****	0.0	**0.1****	
Δ2015	**0.2****	- **0.1****	**0.3****	**0.1****	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.1****	
(II) Multiple jobholders										
Permanent contract										4,348
2005	2.9	4.1	2.7	3.5	3.9	4.3	2.6	1.7	3.0	
Δ2010	0.1	- **0.3****	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	- **0.1***	0.0	**0.1****	
Δ2015	**0.2****	0.0	**0.3****	**0.1***	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.1****	
Non-standard contract										
2005	2.8	3.2	2.4	3.0	3.6	4.2	2.6	1.7	2.9	1,661
Δ2010	0.1	- **0.2***	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Δ2015	**0.2****	- 0.1	**0.3****	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Self-employed										1,106
2005	3.1	3.9	2.9	3.1	4.3	4.4	2.6	1.7	3.1	
Δ2010	0.0	- 0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Δ2015	0.2	- 0.1	**0.4****	0.2*	**0.3****	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	

Note: The models control for: gender, age, education, working hours and country. Numbers in bold indicate significant improvements/ deterioration.
**p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Source: European Working Conditions Survey

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