

Europe 2020 – How to meet
the 75% employment rate target
in a decent way?





With kind support of the European Union

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1 Introduction

EZA and HIVA have adopted a new joint work programme. A series of studies on the Europe 2020 growth strategy will be published. With the Europe 2020 strategy, the EU wants “to become a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. These three mutually reinforcing priorities should help the EU and the Member States deliver high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion. Concretely, the Union has set five ambitious objectives – on employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate/energy – to be reached by 2020. Each Member State will adopt its own national targets in each of these areas. Concrete actions at EU and national levels will underpin the strategy.”

This brochure summarizes the result of the first year of work. The focus in this year has been on the first target of this Europe 2020 programme, the employment target to have 75% of the 20-64 year-olds in employment by 2020. In 2011, preparatory research was presented at several EZA seminars in Europe. This brochure is the result of reflections on these presentations.

2 Employment targets in European strategies

Lisbon strategy

The Lisbon European Council in 2000 became one of the most influential moments in European governance. It is at this meeting that European policy makers adopted the 'Lisbon strategy' for the EU to become in 2010 the "most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion". For the first time, an influential strategy explicitly focused on issues that are beyond mere economic policies. The presentation of this strategy has widely been interpreted to be a fundamental transformation of the EU project in economic, social and environmental dimensions (Natali, 2010).

In order to realize this goal, a number of targets were published. Three targets related to the employment rate of Europe and are relevant for the discussion in this paper. By 2010 the Lisbon strategy envisaged:

- 70% employment rate for 15-64 year olds
- 60% employment rate for women
- 50% employment rate for older workers (aged 55-64 years)

The launch of this strategy was accompanied by a new way of policy steering by the European Commission. The 'Open Method of Coordination' envisaged a cooperative and participative spirit to ensure that all possible stakeholders were involved in policymaking and that learning from good practices would be stimulated. This strategy would ensure that countries lagging behind would be able to see the quantitative benchmarks as realistic goals by picking up ideas from the best performing countries.

In an evaluation of this strategy in 2010, the European Commission concluded that this strategy “has had a positive impact on the EU even though its main targets will not be reached.” (European Commission, 2010). The European Commission refers to the consensus building within Europe on reform needs and a global rise in the employment rate in the period 2000-2010 as important positive outcomes of this strategy. Nevertheless clearly missing the original targets must have disappointed European policy makers. In Table 1 we have presented the LFS figures for 2010, illustrating that no single employment target of the Lisbon strategy has been met:

- 70% employment rate target: the EU realized an overall employment rate of 64%, and only five out of 27 Member States realized a rate above target in 2010 (Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Austria and Germany)
- 60% employment rate for women: the overall rate was 58% for the whole of Europe, with eleven Member States presenting a female employment rate of 60% or more
- 50% employment rate for older people: the EU rate for older people was 46% in 2010, with eight individual Member States presenting a figure above target.

Taking Europe as a whole, as 16 out of the 27 individual Member States failed on all of the three envisaged targets, the conclusion on this strategy is clearly that putting forward targets has not worked within the European Union in the first decade of the 21st century.

Table 1: Employment rates in the EU (total, females, older people; 2010)

	2010 15-64 years	2010 15-64 years	2010 55-64 years	Number of
	Total population	Females	Total population	Targets
Target	70	60	50	-
EU (27 countries)	64.1	58.2	46.3	0
EU (25 countries)	64.5	58.5	46.6	0
EU (15 countries)	65.4	59.5	48.4	0
Belgium	62	56.5	37.3	0
Bulgaria	59.7	56.4	43.5	0
Czech Republic	65	56.3	46.5	0
Denmark	73.4	71.1	57.6	3
Germany	71.1	66.1	57.7	3
Estonia	61	60.6	53.8	2
Ireland	60	56	50	0
Greece	59.6	48.1	42.3	0
Spain	58.6	52.3	43.6	0
France	63.8	59.7	39.7	0
Italy	56.9	46.1	36.6	0
Cyprus	69.7	63	56.8	2
Latvia	59.3	59.4	48.2	0
Lithuania	57.8	58.7	48.6	0
Luxembourg	65.2	57.2	39.6	0
Hungary	55.4	50.6	34.4	0
Malta	56.1	39.3	30.2	0
Netherlands	74.7	69.3	53.7	3
Austria	71.7	66.4	42.4	2
Poland	59.3	53	34	0
Portugal	65.6	61.1	49.2	1
Romania	58.8	52	41.1	0
Slovenia	66.2	62.6	35	1
Slovakia	58.8	52.3	40.5	0
Finland	68.1	66.9	56.2	2
Sweden	72.7	70.3	70.5	3
United Kingdom	69.5	64.6	57.1	2
Number of MS realizing goal	5	11	8	-

Europe 2020 strategy

In 2010 Europe launched a new strategy covering the policies for the second decade of the 21st century, named “Europe 2020”. This strategy has to ensure that the EU becomes a “smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. These three mutually reinforcing priorities should help the EU and the Member States deliver high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion.”

Although the target-setting in the previous EU strategy did not inspire Member States to work out policies that have lifted the rates successfully, the European Commission again used the same policy for the next decade. “Concretely, the Union has set five ambitious objectives – on employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate/energy – to be reached by 2020. Each Member State has adopted its own national targets in each of these areas. Concrete actions at EU and national levels underpin the strategy.” The employment objective sounds even more ambitious than in the former period, as Europe wants to have “75% of the 20-64 year-olds to be employed” in 2020.

Before discussing these targets any further, we would like to make an important comment on the employment definition the EU uses. As the European Eurostat Labour Force Survey is used for evaluating the development of the employment rate, Europe uses the employment definition in this survey as a policy standard. In the Labour Force Survey, a person is considered as being employed if s/he did any work for pay or profit during the reference week. “Work” means any work for pay or profit during the reference week, even for as little as one hour. One can argue that the European policy perspective encourages the creation of very short atypical jobs by using this ‘employment’ definition in its strategy. Although we believe this kind of work should not be included in a decent ‘employment’ definition, we will use the

Labour Force Survey data in our work. The issue of work quality will be raised in a later part of this brochure.

In the next section, we intend to explore the 2020 strategy. First of all, we will use some forecasting techniques to indicate to what extent the new employment target is a realistic target. Secondly, we will reflect on the initial reactions of the 27 Member States to this new employment rate target.

3 The expected employment rate in 2020 can be closer to target than in 2010

The previous section pointed out the fact that only five countries realized the most important employment goal of the Lisbon strategy; and the equally frustrating observation that a large number of countries missed the target significantly. The employment rate in 2010 was lower than 60% in 11 out of the 27 Member States! We must conclude that this period was not successful in reducing the large discrepancies within Europe.

In this context, we believe a realistic target will be important in motivating the Member States with a low employment rate to work out efficient national strategies. In this section we intend to find out whether the new Europe 2020 benchmarks are within reach for the whole of Europe and its individual Member States. We believe that this will be an important success factor in inspiring the 27 national governments.

To find this out, we have forecast the employment rates in all Member States by assuming (the evolution in) participation patterns of European citizens will not change in the next decade. For more information on the rather simple forecasting methodology we refer to the text box.

Forecasting the employment rate in Europe

We used three publicly available databases for this research. First of all, we used the Labour Force Survey data to estimate the number of employed people in each Member State by gender and age categories between 1983 and 2010. Secondly, we used Eurostat data on the population on 1 Janua-

ry by five-year age groups and sex between 1983 and 2010. The third database was the Eurostat 1 January population projection for 2015 and 2020. All these data were downloaded from the Eurostat website on 22 November 2011.

The number of employed people and the population data were used to calculate age and gender-specific employment rates in all Member States for the past. In a second step, we forecast the age and gender-specific employment rates for 2015 and 2020 by using linear trend analysis on the past.

Three important rules were adopted to ensure a 'realistic' future employment rate. First of all, we assumed that cohorts above 30 will not adopt more employment-prone behaviour than in the previous decade. The model has taken account of this in allowing no faster growing 'transition' employment rates than the average rate in the period 2000-2010. A transition employment rate is the ratio between the employment rate of a five-year cohort and its employment rate five years earlier. An example: if on the one hand the employment rate of women aged 30 to 34 in 2005 was 80% and on the other hand the employment rate of women aged 35 to 39 in 2010 was 82%, the transition employment rate is 1.025 (or $82/80$).

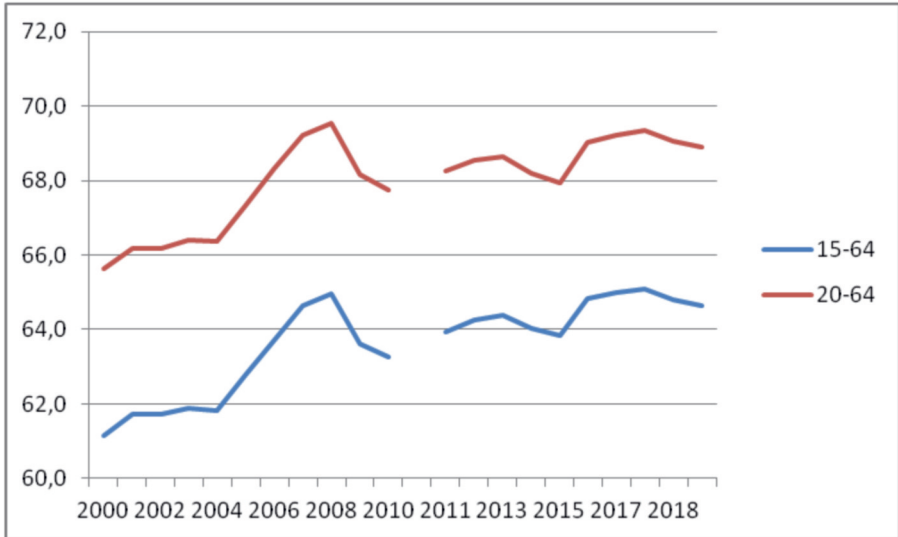
A second rule ensures that European policy makers will successfully motivate older workers to remain longer in the labour market. We will thus allow a transition employment rate of 1 (reflecting cohorts staying active in the labour market) in cases where the average of the period 2000-2010 was lower than 1 (reflecting cohorts leaving the labour market).

A third rule is a logical rule. The maximum employment rate allowed for a particular gender and age-specific group is 100%. The number of working people can never exceed the number of inhabitants.

The global result

A first positive result is not related to our forecasting research, but is related to a semantic trick of the European Commission. A benchmark of 75% in 2020 sounds more ambitious than a benchmark of 70% in 2010. This is not necessarily so, as the European Commission uses other groups of reference in both strategic documents. The Lisbon target of 70% for 2010 referred to the population aged between 15 and 64 years, while the Europe 2020 target of 75% refers to the population aged between 20 and 64 years. Leaving aside the youngsters between 15 to 19 years pumps up the employment rate in an artificial way, as an important part of this group is full-time students and not yet participating in the labour market. The new target automatically results in a 5-percent gain, as illustrated in Figure 1, comparing the employment rate evolution of both groups between 2000 and 2020. In other words, the new 75% target for 2020 is comparable to the old 70% target. Once Europe was confronted with the failure of 2010, it decided to stick to the original goal and postpone the deadline to reach the goal by 10 years. Figure 1 further illustrates that the new benchmark will not necessarily be achieved. We expect the employment rate to rise very moderately between 2010 and 2020 to achieve an employment rate close to 70% in 2020. According to this research result, the benchmark will remain out of sight.

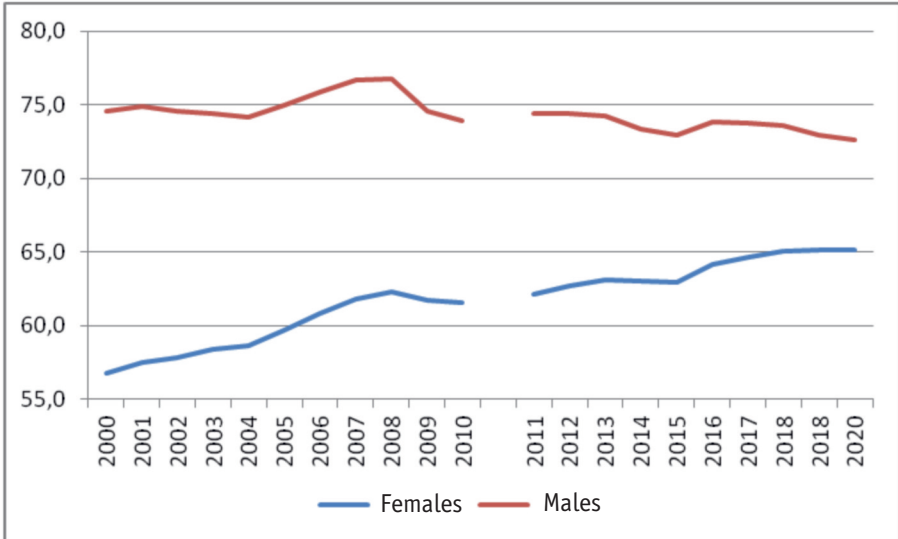
Figure 1: Evolution of employment rates of the population between 15-64 years and 20-64 years old (EU27, 2000-2020)



Gender and age-specific results

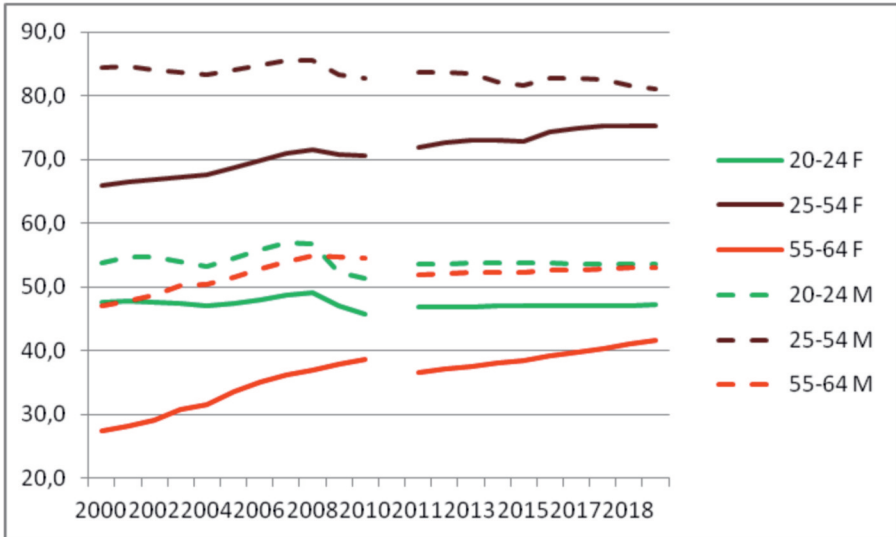
When we split up the expected employment rate evolution between the male and female population, we obtain a realistic picture of our final results. On the one hand, the participation gap between men and women is expected to decrease. The difference between the male and female employment rate decreased from 17.8 percentage points in 2000 to 12.4 points in 2010. In 2020, the gap will be further closed with less than 8 percentage points being the difference. This will be the result of an almost unchanged male employment rate at a level around 75% and a growth of the female employment rate to 65%.

Figure 2: Evolution of employment rates of men and women between 20-64 years old (EU27, 2000-2020)



The next illustration splits the gender-specific employment rates up into different age categories. These figures show there are only limited possibilities for progress on further employment rate growth above the 69% forecast in 2020. The 'middle age' groups between 25 and 54 years old all present high employment rates. The men in these categories all remain on employment rates above 80%, the females all gradually increase their employment rate to levels above 75%. The 'older' groups aged 55 and over realize a very moderate employment rate growth between 2010 and 2020 and might be the group where extra workers should be attracted to the labour market. The 'youngest' group between 20 and 24 years old has an unchanged employment rate of about 50%. In the light of an ever increasing need for a better educated workforce, it is acceptable to expect a growing number of students within this group and no change in the employment rate for young men and women.

Figure 3: Evolution of age-specific employment rates of men and women (EU27, 2000-2020)



The expected employment rate in EU countries

Before interpreting the forecasting results of individual countries, it is important to bear in mind that the accuracy of the results will be weaker at a disaggregate level. The global EU picture should be regarded as a better estimate for future labour markets than the prognoses for all individual countries. The next graphs present these results for all European countries.

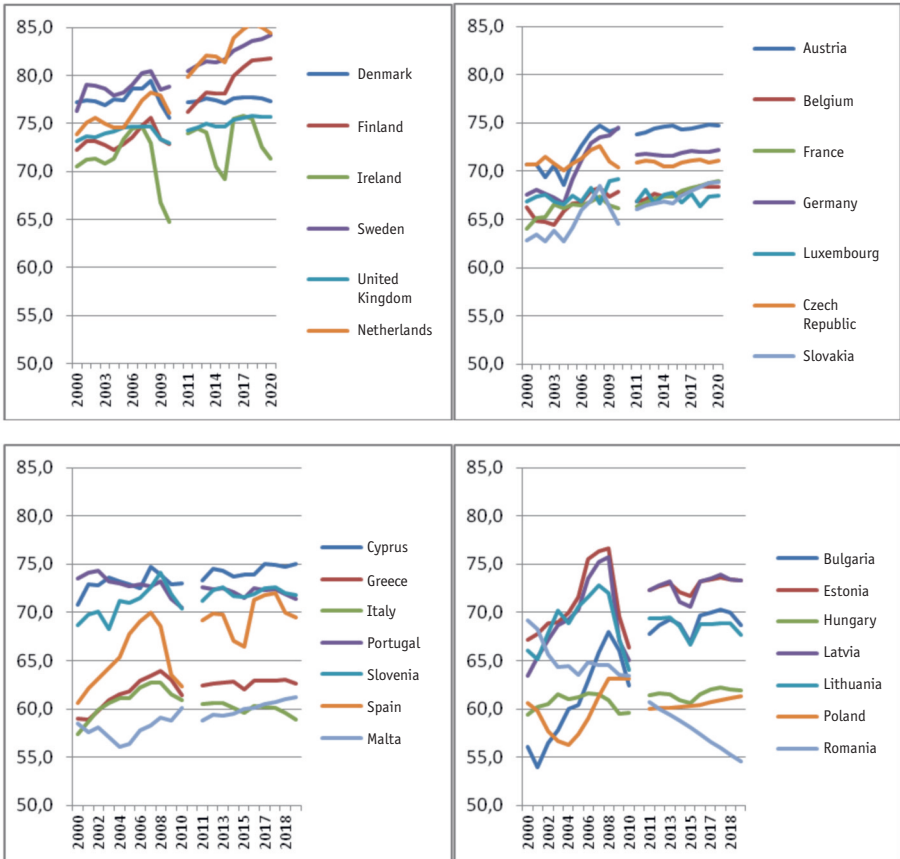
We have used the past to forecast the future. Some country-specific results should be interpreted in this way. The labour market in a number of countries was severely hit by the financial crisis in 2008-2010, with a very significant drop in the employment rate as a result. Our forecast result also reflects a cyclical evolution of the employment rate for these countries in

the next decade. Good examples of this phenomenon can be found in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Ireland and Spain. In other countries, the evolution of the employment rate did not follow the general positive trend of Europe in the first decade of the 21st century. Because of our methodology, our model does not expect any progress in the near future. The low 2020 employment rates of Romania and Italy can be explained by this fact. Of course, these countries might change their policies in the near future with a more positive result for the employment rate.

Evaluation of the 75% employment target

Two elements are in favour of the employment target set by the European Commission for the next decade. First of all, our forecast is encouraging for European policymakers, as the number of countries within target would increase from five to six countries. And eight other countries come close to target in our exercise. The number of countries with an employment rate of more than 10 percent below target would be reduced from eleven to six countries. This means half of all the Member States would have the target in sight and the inequality between the countries doing well and countries lagging behind would be reduced. In this sense, we can already conclude that the Europe 2020 target can be regarded as a little bit more realistic than the Lisbon target.

Figure 4-7: Evolution of employment rate in EU Member States (EU27, 2000-2020)



Secondly, the opportunity given by the European Commission to translate the 75% target into national targets has been inspiring and possibly motivating individual Member States to work out a feasible national strategy

with regard to employment rate progress. There is some diversity in these goals with a number of Member States adopting the 75% rate but with most countries deciding to have a more ambitious or a lower target for the 2020 employment rate. Table 2 compares the national targets for 2020 with our forecast of the employment rate when current policies and cultures are continued in the next decade. There is a clear correlation between targets and expectations. Countries with a forecast employment rate higher than 75% usually adopted more ambitious goals as well. Countries with lower forecasts also adapted their goals to a more realistic goal.

Table 2: Comparing forecasts and targets for the 2020 employment rate in 27 Member States

\ Forecast National target	Under 65%	65-70%	70-75%	More than 75%
Lower than 70%	Italy, Malta			
70-74%	Greece, Poland, Romania	Belgium, Spain Luxembourg, Lithuania, Slovakia	Ireland, Latvia	
75%	Hungary	France	Czech Republic, Slovenia, Portugal	
More than 75%		Bulgaria	Austria, Estonia, Germany	Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Sweden The Netherlands
No target				United Kingdom

4 The European recipe to reach higher employment levels is not balanced

The European policy mix for more employment

Europe has not only put a number on the employment rate, it has also suggested a recipe to reach this goal by 2020. In “The Way Forward: Striving for More Employment” (3rd chapter of the Joint Employment Report 2011), the European policy makers have suggested a policy mix that would guarantee a growing number of workers. In this section, we focus on these policy recommendations and incorporate some empirical data on the relation between policies and employment rates to comment on this policy mix.

The Commission “proposes priorities and policy approaches in the realm of structural labour market reforms that deserve attention and constitute guidance for Member States to consider in their National Reform Programmes”. Briefly, European policy makers suggest three paths in the quest for more employment:

- A number of propositions aim at reducing the cost of labour: reduce social security contributions, flexibility in entry wage setting, a wider use of in-work benefits...
- Other initiatives aim to attract inactive people to the labour market: enhance greater internal flexibility (e.g. by means of working time accounts), flexi-time, extend day-care facilities, link unemployment benefits to training/job search (active inclusion), combine flexible and reliable contractual arrangements, reduce early retirement schemes...
- Some suggestions refer to education and training: responsiveness of training to the labour market, support targeted training...

The European Commission stresses that “employment policy makers need to make the right choices. The first imperative is a rapid reduction in unemployment and to put in place effective labour market reforms for more and better jobs. Job creation is also vital to boost job growth and reduce social exclusion.” In this light, we intend to review this input from the European Commission and will argue that this policy mix is not in balance. The mix has a lot of measures to reduce the cost of labour, but lacks initiatives to attract citizens to the labour market in offering a better quality of work.

Relating labour costs with employment levels

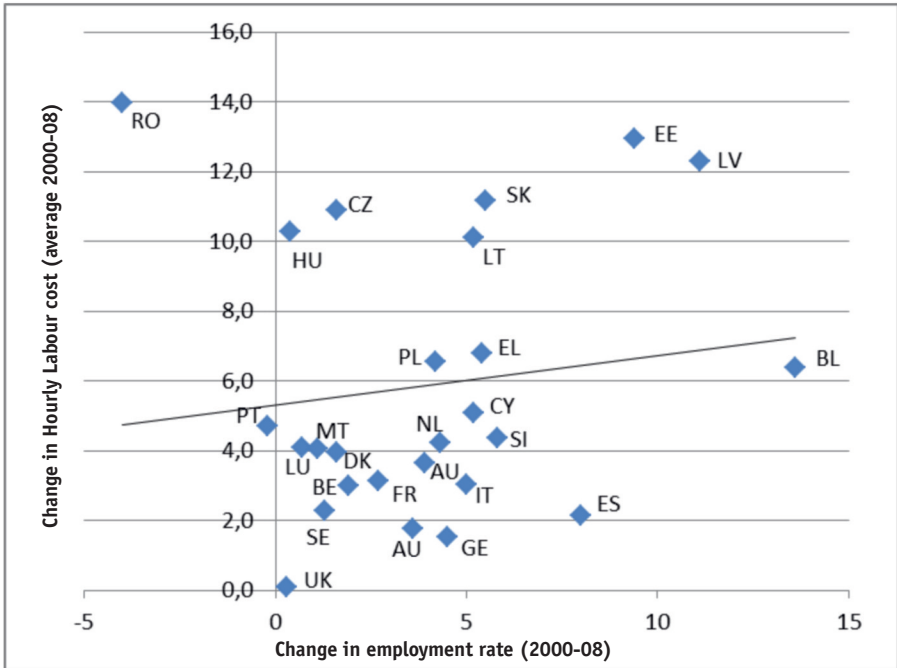
Europe insists that Member States must invest to make work more attractive so as to avoid unemployment and inactivity traps. The recipes to realize this focus on labour cost reduction. “Tax and benefit systems should be growth and employment-friendly, shifting where appropriate taxes away from labour (...)”. The reasoning is simple and convincing. As employers have to pay lower wage costs per worker, they will have spare money in their accounts to invest in more workers. So, reducing labour costs will be positively linked to more workers and a higher employment rate.

Empirical evidence does not strongly support this relation. Usually, the estimation of wage elasticity of labour supply varies between -0.1 and -0.2 (Evers, De Mooij and Van Vuuren, 2008), which indicates that a 10% wage (cost) decrease will only result in a 1 to 2% change in the employment rate. Although the elasticity varies according to gender (Evers, De Mooij and Van Vuuren, 2008), sectors or institutional characteristics (such as trade union power) (Vandekerckhove, Vermandere and Van Gyes, 2010), the estimates all confirm the rigidity of wage effects in European countries. Moreover, the effects on a macro-level (i.e. the labour market as a whole) would be less pronounced than the effects on the level of an individual worker (Laenen, Moons & Persyn, 2011).

We illustrate the minimal effects of wage cost moderation on the employment rate with empirical data from Eurostat on the (evolution of) hourly wage costs and the employment rates in the first decade of the 21st century. The time series for the hourly labour cost were incomplete for most countries. We have selected the longest possible period between 2000 and 2008 per country, and selected the employment rate evolution in the same period per country. As predicted in the literature on wage elasticity, we do not find a close harmony between both time series. There is no strong relation between reducing the labour cost and a positive evolution of the employment rate in European Member States.

- The correlation between a labour cost change and the employment rate change in European countries was 0.134 between 2000 and 2008. If there was any relationship, we find more progress of the employment rate in countries with a rising labour cost in this decade! Figure 8 illustrates that there is not really a link between the change in labour costs and in the employment rate. Within the group of countries with almost no change in the cost of labour we find a variety from countries realizing a big change in the employment rate to countries with almost no change in this regard. A similar variety is found within the groups facing important changes in the cost of labour. (Analysing these results for inflation only confirmed the inelasticity of labour costs.)

Figure 8: Relation between the change in the hourly labour cost and the employment rate in EU Member States (2000-2008)



- There is a slightly higher correlation between the structural labour costs and the change in the employment rate ($\Delta LC \ \& \ ER = -0.317$ and $LC \ \& \ \Delta ER = -0.312$). This means we find greater progress in the employment rate in countries where labour costs are low (and a bigger decrease of the labour cost in countries with a high employment rate).
- Finally, the correlation between the absolute value of the labour cost and the employment rate is rather important (with 0.503). This means that we find (against intuition) the highest employment rate in countries with the highest cost of labour!

The results plead in favour of policies controlling the cost of labour, not for drastically reducing the costs. High labour costs clearly can go together with high employment rates. But nowadays the biggest effect on the employment rate is realized in economies with low labour cost (from a structural point of view). The structural differences in the labour cost level seem to be too large to realize competitive gains in changing the cost level. A change in the cost of labour merely affects the employment rate.

Higher employment levels in economies with a high quality of work

The previous section indicated that reducing the cost of labour is no guarantee of more attractive work. Employers obviously do not decide to invest the labour cost reduction in new workers. The attractiveness of work is only a minor result of reducing labour costs.

There is an alternative approach to making work attractive that is not visible in the current EU suggestions. In the suggested policy mix, Europe tries to make work attractive for employers (by making it cheap). An alternative way is to make work attractive for workers (by ensuring decent jobs). The idea is that workers (and the inactive) will be motivated to (keep on) work(ing) in a labour market with attractive high-quality jobs. The reasoning is equally simple. As workers have the prospect of a high-quality job, the reward of working time is bigger than the reward of free time, and more people will be motivated to invest their time in a job. So, raising the job quality will be positively linked to more workers and a higher employment rate.

Two important channels are at stake in creating this positive relationship. First, raising the human capital of workers increases the growth rate. Investment in training and learning opportunities increases individual productivity, but also the productivity of co-workers through spill-over effects.

Second, workers' security induces economic growth. Elements such as job protection, safe working conditions, fair wages, and access to social protection may also increase productivity and participation, and therefore favour growth and labour supply. In addition, many security mechanisms work as automatic stabilisers, which are particularly helpful during economic downturns (Erhel and Guergoat-Larivière, 2010).

Defining job quality is not as easy as defining labour costs. The theme of job quality has been tackled by policy makers. As early as 1961 the European Social Charter stressed the importance of many dimensions linked to job quality, from the "right to work" (Art. 1) to the "right to fair remuneration" (Art. 4), "just conditions of work" (Art. 2) or "safe and healthy working conditions" (Art. 3). And more recently, job quality was put on the table at the Lisbon, Nice and Stockholm Councils, and became a relevant dimension especially from the Laeken European Council in 2001 onwards. As a consequence of this attention to the issue of envisaging 'more and better' jobs, a range of studies and initiatives has been developed in Europe to tackle the issue of measuring the quality of work and employment. In a relatively short time, various indicator sets for the quality of work in the EU have been compiled. Munoz-Bustillo et al. (2009) agreed that "there is a great need at EU level for a worker-oriented, individual-constructed (comparison for specific groups) and scientifically grounded job quality indicator in order to measure, compare and monitor job quality in the different Member States" and revised 19¹ different indicators of job quality. They came up with a model of job quality based on two areas (work quality and employment quality) and a list of essential components, and – in doing so – proposed a 20th list of indicators of job quality. Looking at these different efforts there seems to be a widespread consensus among labour economists, sociologists and work psychologists that evaluations of job quality should reflect multiple components. The 'clear candidate variables' for an index of job quality Munoz-Bustillo et al. have selected as a result of their revision include income

(wages and social benefits), working time, flexibility and job security, participation, skill development, autonomy, physical and psychosocial risks, work intensity and meaningfulness of work (Vandenbrande et al., forthcoming).

Leschke and Watt (2008) and ETUI contributed to this exercise by creating a European Job Quality Index (JQI). The European JQI is compiled on the basis of six sub-indices that capture different aspects of job quality: wages, non-standard forms of employment, work-life balance and working time, working conditions and job security, access to training and career advancement, and collective interest representation and participation.

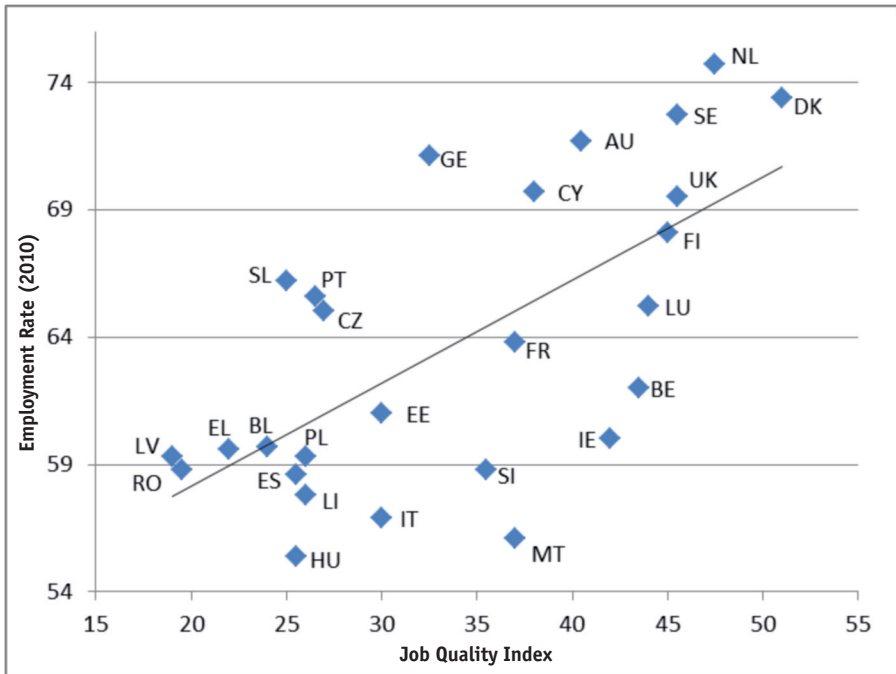
A similar composite indicator is the German DGB Good Work Index (DGBI), based on a survey among 6,000 individuals which allows income and working conditions in German companies to be compared while taking into consideration all branches, income groups, regions, company sizes, occupational groups and types of contracts. The DGBI is comprised of three sub-dimensions: available resources (type of work/personal and professional development), workload and stress, and job security and income. The DGBI comprises both an aggregate index and a system of indicators.

In Figure 9, we have linked the individual country scores on the ETUI job quality indicator with the employment rate in these countries. As expected, there seems to be a good correlation (0.654) between both indicators. We find the highest employment rate in countries offering the best quality work, and a lower employment rate in countries with a low score on job quality.

1 The Laeken Indicators of Job Quality/ The European Job Quality Index (EJQI)/ Employers' reflections on job quality/ The European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS)/ ILO Decent Work Indices/ Good Jobs Index (GJI)/ Quality of Employment Indicators (QEI)/ Indicators of Job Quality (IJQ)/ Subjective Quality of Working Life Index (SQWLI)/ DGB Good Work Index (DGBI)/ The Austrian Work Climate Index/ Indicator of Quality of the Labour Market (IQL)/ Quality of Work in Flanders (QWF)/ Tangian's composite indicator of working conditions/ Ritter and Anker's Good and Bad Jobs Index (GBJI)/ Duncan Gallie's Employment Regimes and the Quality of Work/ Tilly's assessment of job quality/ Green's capabilities approach/ Index of the characteristics related to the quality of employment (ICQE).

These results are in line with the positive relationship between job quality and quantity Erhel and Guergoat-Larivière (2010) found. They used an alternative synthetic job quality index and found a relation between this job quality index and both high employment and low long-term unemployment in European countries.

Figure 9: Relation between employment rate and quality of work in EU Member States (2010)



This evidence pleads for a more balanced view in the European policy mix on making work more attractive. The Lisbon strategy explained that Europe has to focus not only on more but also on better jobs. The Europe 2020 strategy surely needs a similar correction in order to become more successful in raising employment rates. Member States making the right choices not only have to control the cost of labour (to make work attractive for employers) but equally have to invest in raising the quality of work in the labour market (so as to make work attractive for workers). Evidence has shown that the latter strategy helps to realize a high employment rate.

5 How to make work attractive – the alternative way

From the perspective of workers' organisations, the 75% employment aim primarily focuses on the dimension of employment quantity instead of employment quality. In the previous section, we argued that Europe needs to broaden the scope to this qualitative dimension. We argued that this scope should not focus merely on reducing labour costs, but also on raising job quality in order to attract workers to the labour market.

Both the creation of quality jobs and the preservation of existing quality jobs are important. It will be important to anticipate the transformation of quality jobs into precarious jobs because of quantitative aspects. A recent European report confirmed that the current labour markets face a risk of declining job quality for low-skilled jobs. "A trend towards polarisation of jobs existed in the EU before the crisis, as new jobs became concentrated in relatively high and low pay levels, notably in the service sector, with an apparent predominance of better paid jobs. The intensity of the 2008 recession and consequent job reallocation has further intensified this polarisation by massively destroying medium-paid jobs in manufacturing and construction. (...) The polarisation of wages is one factor impacting on a broader social problem facing the EU, namely rising inequalities and polarisation of incomes." (European Commission, 2011)

The decision of the European Court of Justice in a case stating that every person working 5.5 hours per week with a monthly income of 175 euros is considered to be gainfully employed is quite problematic in this context and in clear opposition to the notion of employment from a workers organisation's perspective.

5.1 Discussion on elements that are relevant to adopting an indicator of job quality

We know it is important to address the issue of job quality, which leaves us with the question how to select an indicator to measure this job quality. The approach to defining work and employment quality is quite important from the perspective of a workers' organisation in order to understand the term employment within the Europe 2020 strategy and to stress the key role of quality in the context of economic growth and crisis recovery.

Holman (2011) compared the two essential approaches to job quality. First of all, the subjectivist approach takes the employee's own evaluation of the job as a measure of job quality. Examples of this approach can be found in neo-classical economics (typically reducing job quality to reward/pay) or psychological theories (assuming that job quality can be measured by taking job satisfaction as an overall indicator).

An objectivist approach to job quality assumes that objective features of the job are the predominant cause of employee experiences at work. The objective features of a job will determine the outcomes on an individual level (e.g. satisfaction, health, sustainability), but also on a meso level (e.g. productivity, turnover) and on a macro level (cf. stating that higher job quality is related to a higher employment rate on an economy-wide scale). This approach is typically adopted within sociological and psychological research traditions. Holman (2011) stresses the correspondence between the objectivist approach and the capabilities approach of Sen. "Personal capability is not just a matter of being able to achieve valued functioning but also refers to the opportunities and choices a person has to undertake a range of valued actions. (...) One implication is that outcomes of a job cannot be seen narrowly in terms of preference fulfilment or satisfaction. Another implication is that job features (...) that enhance or inhibit the achievement of a

valued outcome should be selected” when looking for quality of work indicators.

In this sense, there is a clear link between the objectivist approach and the decent work agenda defined by the ILO and endorsed by the international community. Decent work is considered as work being “productive work for women and men in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity. Decent work involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income; provides security in the workplace and social protection for workers and their families; offers better prospects for personal development and encourages social integration; gives people the freedom to express their concerns, to organize and to participate in decisions that affect their lives; and guarantees equal opportunities and equal treatment for all”.²

From a workers’ point of view, we are inclined to follow this latter job quality definition.

We have stressed the European consensus that evaluations of job quality should reflect multiple components in the previous chapter. Our selection of indicators will be based on the integration of several classifications by Holman (2011). Summarizing the elements of job quality classifications developed in the last decade by Tangian, EC, Tilly, ETUI (cf. above), Green, Eurofound and Grimshaw & Lehndorff, an objectivist classification with three areas and five dimensions has been developed (see Table 3).

² See http://www.global-unions.org/IMG/pdf/WDDW_brochure.en.pdf, on 31 March 2011.

Table 3: Classification of job quality indicators

Area	Dimension	Example indicators
Work quality	Work organization	Job design, e.g. job discretion, job demands, ergonomics, physical conditions Team design, e.g. off and online teams, autonomous work groups
Employment quality	Wages and payment system	Wage level, performance-related pay, benefits
	Security and flexibility	Contractual status, flexible working arrangements, working time
Empowerment quality	Skills and development	Skill requirements, training, opportunity for development
	Engagement and representation	Employee engagement and communication practices

Source: Holman, 2011

5.2 Selection of indicators of job quality

The selection of relevant indicators of job quality will be stringent. To guarantee large diversity of the job quality concept, we will select our indicators based on the former classification and divide job quality into three broad areas: work quality, employment quality and empowerment quality.

We have also selected indicators that can be quantified on a European-wide scale. We want to typify the quality of work in all European countries by means of our classification. All the indicators presented below can be taken from three important European surveys: the European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS)³, EU OSHA's European survey of enterprises on new and emerging risks (ESENER), European Labour Force Survey (ELFS)⁴, and the European Structure of Earnings Survey (ESES)⁵.

A third practical remark on our indicator list relates to user-friendliness. We have avoided complicated constructs. In the selection of indicators, we gave priority to indicators that can easily be found by interested users and thus enable an update of the figures.

V.2.1 Work quality

Work quality refers to how the type of work performed and the conditions and characteristics under which it takes place can affect the well-being of workers. It is related to the material characteristics of the work performed and the environment within which it is performed. The variables and indicators shaping the quality of work are autonomy, physical working conditions, health variables and risk of accidents, psychosocial risk factors, work intensity and meaningfulness of work.

5.2.1.1 Work autonomy

The degree of autonomy that workers have within their jobs is one of the core elements of the quality of work. The EWCS measures the degree of autonomy that workers enjoy by asking whether they can choose or change the order of tasks, the methods of work, the speed of work, the colleagues who they work with or when they can take a break. We have selected question q50a from the EWCS “Are you able to choose or change your order of tasks?” as an indicator of work autonomy.

3 The EWCS is the best existing source for information on job quality in Europe. However, there are two negative aspects to point out. The first is the limited size of the sample, which is 1,000 cases per country, which makes an analysis of working conditions of specific groups within countries rather difficult. The second is the periodicity because the EWCS is only updated every five years whereas most indicators of job quality are updated every year.

4 The main problem of the ELFS regarding job quality is that the areas covered are restricted to employment topics without any information about the dimension of work and the implications for the workers’ well-being and the work activity itself.

5 The ESES covers labour earnings, has a very large sample and includes information on hours worked.

5.2.1.2 Work intensity

High work intensity increases work effort and reduces the time available between two tasks which has a direct negative impact on job quality. It also has an important indirect effect because high work intensity is an important source of stress and can increase the number of accidents at the workplace. An index of work intensity can be built on two questions: whether a job involves working at very high speed and whether a job involves working to tight deadlines. We have selected the question q45a from the EWCS “Does your work involve working at very high speed (at least a quarter of the time)?” as an indicator of work intensity.

Good practice: Flanders Synergy enhances active jobs and social innovation

The government-supported initiative ‘Flanders Synergy’ helps organizations to renew labour organization. In order to innovate labour organizations in Flanders, they support scientific research, offer training, organize network activities, advise companies and inform on good practices. In a new labour organization, co-workers in self-managing teams are jointly responsible for a product or service to the greatest possible extent. A dynamic environment is created, stimulating productivity, quality, flexibility and durability. These work organizations create active jobs, offering workers high autonomy to cope with exacting job demands. At the same time, active jobs give companies higher productivity and guarantee healthy workers.

More information: <http://flanderssynergy.be/index.php>

5.2.1.3 Physical risk exposure

The impact of working conditions on the health of the workers is taken into account by a large number of health and safety regulations. To integrate issues related to occupational health in a multidimensional indicator of job quality, the following approaches are possible: focusing on the physical conditions in which work takes place (noise, temperature, smoke, exposure to dangerous materials), focusing on the subjective impact of working conditions on health (what workers themselves report) and focusing on the gross rate of accidents at work which measures the different accident risk of jobs in different countries. In order to estimate the exposure to physical risks in the workplace, we have used the ESENER question “For each of the following issues, please tell me whether ‘accidents’ are of major concern in your establishment.”

5.2.1.4 Psychosocial risk exposure

With the transition to a knowledge-based society different types of risk emerge. The most important psychosocial risks at work are the different forms of violence at the workplace like physical violence, threats of violence, bullying and harassment. They are greatest in services where there is close contact with the public. Despite the importance of this topic, problems of comparability between countries are considerable due to a high level of cultural specificities. We approach this issue in a similar way to the physical risk exposure, and value the exposure to the management concern of these risks. We use the ESENER question “Does your establishment have a procedure to deal with work-related stress?” to estimate the psychosocial risk exposure of employees.

Good practice: OSHA campaigns

The European Agency for Safety and Health at Work has run an annual European Campaign since 2000. With more than 30 countries participating, and some 4 million copies of information material distributed in all official community languages, the European Campaign has become one of Europe's largest annual awareness-raising initiatives. The 2012-2013 campaign will be focusing on risk prevention. Examples of earlier campaigns are 'lighten the load', 'working on stress' or 'stop that noise'. The campaigns aim at reducing both mental and physical risk exposure at work.

More information: <http://osha.europa.eu/en/campaigns>

5.2.1.5 Level of team autonomy

Our conceptual framework not only stresses the individual work design, but emphasises the importance of team work in order to upscale the quality of work. Eurofound has presented an index on team autonomy based on the EWCS q57a and q57b questions. A high level of team autonomy is scored when people work in teams deciding on both the division of tasks and team leadership. We use this construct to value the level of team autonomy in European countries.

5.2.1.6 Meaningfulness of work

Work contributes to personal fulfilment and to the development of one's own human capital. If the work one is doing is meaningful and useful for oneself it is a clear indicator of work quality. Workers being asked if they

were doing useful work in different countries show a lower degree of variability than in most of the other areas of job quality, which makes a comparison also due to cultural reasons difficult. Anyhow, we decided to take on board an indicator on this issue. People answering that they have the feeling they are doing useful work always or most of the time (EWCS q51j) are considered as people with meaningful work.

Christian work ethic

*Meaningfulness of work is also connected with the different dimensions and functions of work from a social-ethical perspective. The creative triangle of human work refers to those functions. In this concept the natural function of work persists in the development of material livelihood which is directly connected with the ecological dimension. The personal function of work contributes to self-promotion and self-realisation of the employee and is also linked to the human dimension and shape of work. The social function refers to the fact that labour includes social contacts and social recognition due to the division of labour within a society and is connected with the question of work and income distribution and with the participation and co-determination in the work process. Understanding work from a social-ethical perspective, as a central human and cultural utterance of life, means that capital in regard to human work has a lower status and only a functional and serving value (Hengsbach, 1982). This understanding is also in line with the core message of *Laborem excercens*.*

Further information: www.ethik-und-gesellschaft.de

5.2.2 Quality of employment

Quality of employment refers to those aspects of the employment relationship having a potential impact on the well-being of workers. It is related to the contractual relationship between employer and employee. Examples of variables shaping the quality of employment are wages and social benefits, contractual security, or working hours.

5.2.2.1 Wages and social benefits

The key element to determine if a person is employed is, according to the ILO guidelines, whether this person is receiving a wage or a salary in exchange for work. Analysing job quality on an individual level, annual or monthly wages can be considered directly due to their direct relation with job quality. Information about job quality given by the wage has to be backed by information about its distribution, which makes the gross wage more recommendable as an indicator.

Workers' income is or can be completed by social or fringe benefits. Social benefits are payments contributing to income and employment quality. Keeping the different systems in mind is very important when comparing employment quality, for instance in Europe and in the US. This dimension is important when analysing job quality in social systems without universal provision.

We select the EU-SILC in-work poverty indicator to estimate the (precarious) quality of work based on these criteria. The combination of decent wages and a good social benefit system should ensure that workers are kept out of poverty.

Good practice: Winter allowance for construction workers in Romania

Cyclical temporary unemployment in the construction industry is a recurring phenomenon in the winter when it is too cold to work from a technical and human point of view. As a consequence, at the end of 1998 the social partners in the construction industry set up a foundation "The Builders` Social House" (called in Romanian Casa Sociala a Constructorilor). The Builders` Social House is a voluntary organization. Through that body one third of the workers in the building industry are covered for a maximum of 90 days (from November to March) by a winter time allowance. The winter time allowance represents 75% from the average gross wage of their last three months they worked prior to going on that scheme. In the period of 90 days, the worker is no longer registered as unemployed and stays linked to his company. All other social contributions are covered by the winter time allowance and are paid by the Casa Sociala.

*Source: <http://www.efbww.org/pdfs/26%20-%20Romania%20GB.pdf>
Further information: <http://www.bwint.org/default.asp?index=1808>*

5.2.2.2 Suitable working times

The long-lasting struggle of trade unions to reduce overall working time to an average working day of eight hours emphasizes the importance of working time in defining job quality. The longer the time spent working, the shorter the time left for social activities, which also affects the quality of work.

The distribution of weekly working hours and the capacity of employees to adjust their working schedule to their personal and family needs is a rele-

vant question affecting employment quality. This is why we use a question on conflicts between work and family or private life as an indicator to assess the quality of working time. The suggested indicator is the percentage of employees answering well/very well on the EWCS question 41 “How well do your working hours fit in with family or social commitments outside work?”

Good Practice: Family friendly provision in the SAS company

The provision of several family services from the employers' side can facilitate the life of employees and improve employment quality to a large extent, especially in jobs with high work intensity. The possibility to bring children to the cafeteria, the provision of household care in times of high workload, childcare and care of the elderly support through financial or material expenses, the provision of kindergarten places and the general financial support of employees with families are measures to be taken into consideration. Most of these measures were implemented by SAS business analytics, a global operating software company from the United States. The company was ranked no. 3 on FORTUNE magazine's 100 Best Companies to Work For list in the US.

For further information check <http://www.sas.com/>

5.2.2.3 Job security

Job security is a highly ranked characteristic of work around the world, and job insecurity or unstable employment is leading to lower wages, lower access to training and difficulties in planning a career. Measuring job securi-

ty is possible by using subjective indicators, asking if a worker is in fear of losing his/her job or by using objective indicators like the general percentage of employees on temporary contracts. An alternative is a measure of employment security, indicating whether a worker believes s/he can easily find another job if his/her current job were lost. This kind of reasoning follows the European policy orientation on flexicurity for all workers. We include an indicator of employment security in our set, and take as a measure the number of workers agreeing with the EWCS q77F question: “If I were to lose or quit my current job, it would be easy for me to find a job of similar salary.”

Good practice: Short-time work arrangements as ‘flexicurity’ arrangements during European crisis

In many EU/EEA/candidate countries, short-term working arrangements (also referred to as ‘partial unemployment’ or ‘temporary lay-offs’) have been among the predominant measures being used to tackle the social and employment effects of the economic crisis. STWAs are used by employers as a way of handling temporary work shortages and adverse trading conditions without having to resort to redundancy. Usually, these systems reduce in a flexible way the working time of workers in the short run and in return, they guarantee contractual security in the long run.

More information: http://www.mutual-learning-employment.net/index.php?mact=PeerReviews,cntnt01,detail,0&cntnt01options=11&cntnt01orderby=start_date%20DESC&cntnt01returnid=59&cntnt01item_id=83&cntnt01returnid=59

V.2.3 Empowerment quality

Empowerment quality assesses the position of a worker in the longer term. Whereas the quality of employment refers to the current position of a worker in the labour market, the empowerment quality refers to the characteristics of the labour market position that guarantee a lifelong integration in the labour market. Indicators relevant to this job quality dimension are training and career development, and possibilities of individual and collective involvement in work organization.

5.2.3.1 Skills development

The impact of skills improvement on the future employability of workers is fundamental in view of the fast technological changes that make skills obsolete if not renewed and updated continuously. Due to this, attending formal training courses or on-the-job learning are very important. An indicator evaluating the opportunities of continuous vocational training (CVT), which is an important element of job quality, is appropriate. The indicator of skills development we have selected is the “participation in education and training by employed persons” resulting from the Eurostat LFS data.

Good practice: Malta trains the trainers

CEDEFOP has presented a number of good practices on professional development of in-company training in a working paper. One of the cases presented is the train-the-trainers course of the Employment and Training Corporation (ETC) in Malta. The programme provides participants with the knowledge and skills needed for assessing training needs; as well as for planning, designing and delivering on-the-job training programmes in an interactive and motivating manner. More specifically, when a company applies for financial assistance from the ETC to deliver training, their in-house or external trainers must have successfully completed a train-the-trainers programme.

More information: http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/EN/Files/6106_en.pdf

5.2.3.2 Career opportunities

Organisations can guarantee opportunities for development when they provide a work organisation enabling career development for workers. We measure the career opportunities for workers in their score on the EWCS question whether they (strongly) agree with the statement that “their job offers good prospects for career advancement” (q77c).

5.2.3.3 Voice

The participation in the organisation of work and other working conditions is an important element of job quality. Workers participating in the running of the company can more easily improve their job quality in terms of employment and working conditions. It is also an element empowering workers and making them feel like their own agents of change. An obvious indi-

cator of participation is union membership. With regard to collective agreements, the effect of the unions within the EU goes beyond the participation through membership. From this point of view the percentage of workers involved in trade unions or covered by collective agreements can be used as an indicator.

It may be surprising, but some countries have levels of collective bargaining coverage well above the levels of union density. Usually this reflects the specific legal framework for collective bargaining in the individual countries. As the number of workers covered by collective bargaining is more important than the number of unionised workers, we select collective bargaining coverage as an indicator of collective voice. An estimate of collective bargaining coverage is provided by EIRO.

Good practice: Nordic industrial relations systems

The good score on most quality of work indicators in the Nordic countries might be linked to their particular system of industrial relations giving social partners core responsibility in policy making. The welfare state has traditionally maintained a Keynesian macro-economic policy of full employment and assumed a mediating role in labour relations. Organized interests are relatively centralized; there is a high degree of membership organisation and compliance. The social partners recognize each other at all levels, and are also consulted by the state in political decision-making. With the support of the state, the collective bargaining system is highly institutionalized and fulfills self-regulatory functions via bipartite central agreements or through political exchange with the state in return for social policy legislation.

More information: www.eurofound.europa.eu

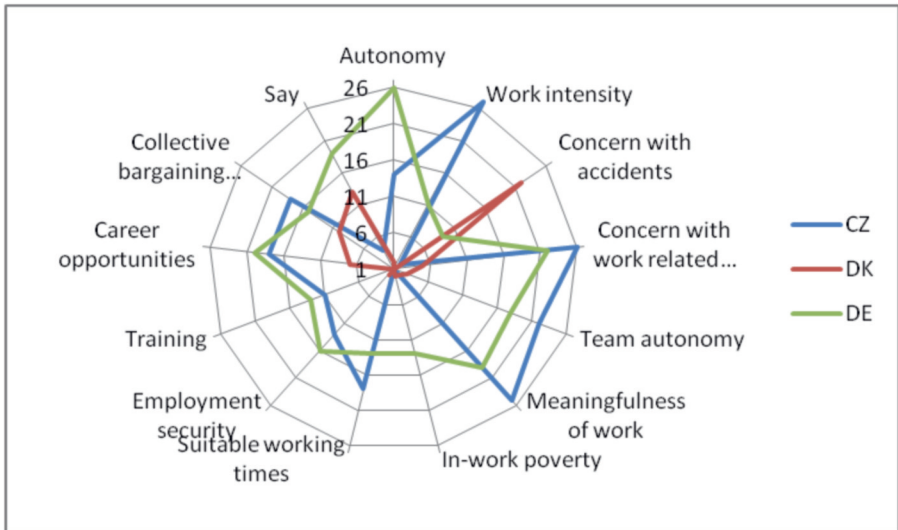
5.2.3.4 Employee participation

Employee participation need not necessarily be organized through collective action. Anglo-Saxon labour markets in particular are convinced that employee say is just as important to guarantee participatory management on the shopfloor. We adopt an indicator on participation based on the EWCS. People answering positively on the question Q58E “whether their immediate manager/supervisor encourages them to participate in important decisions” are considered as workers enjoying say at the workplace. In a sense, this indicator also indicates whether there is social support at the workplace.

5.3 A first review of the scores from a country-specific perspective

This indicator list should be interpreted in a voluntary way. This can be the start of an analysis on how the quality of work can be raised in a Member State. These indicators have the advantage of covering a range of characteristics of quality of work, but they are limited in number and inevitably fail to cover the whole picture. The Member State lessons taken from this list should be the start of a more detailed analysis of the country profile on the quality of work. In this sense, please consider this first review of country scores (see Annex) as a first impression that needs validation and specification by national experts. A graphical presentation for a selection of countries (see example in Figure 10 and Annex 2) might help to have a quick scan on the quality of work of an individual Member State. In these Figures, a country has a relatively better score when it is located more in the centre of the spiderweb.

Figure 10: Presentation of 'quality of work' ranks within Europe for three Member States



Belgium (BE): relatively low concern with accidents and limited team autonomy, more training and individual participation possible.

Bulgaria (BG): very low scores on autonomy for workers, progress needed on employment quality (no suitable working times for workers, employment security) and empowerment quality (training, career opportunities and voice).

Czech Republic (CZ): work organizations are not much concerned with work-related stress, no team autonomy, career opportunities and a low score on meaningfulness of work.

Denmark (DK): good score on almost all items, except for concern with work accidents in companies.

Germany (DE): rather low job quality, as high work intensity is not associated with autonomy or stress policies; training and career opportunities seem to be limited, average employment security.

Estonia (EE): decent job quality, although limited concern with work-related accidents, employment security and career opportunities are not very high, and only 33% of workers covered by collective bargaining.

Greece (EL): relatively bad score on work quality, progress possible on almost every indicator in order to make work more attractive.

Spain (ES): particularly low scores on employment quality (in-work poverty, suitable working hours, employment security).

France (FR): important point is the combination of high work intensity with low concern with work-related stress in companies, furthermore workers have limited say and training opportunities.

Ireland (IE): employment security very low, probably due to severe labour market crisis; typical Anglo-Saxon profile, as a high level of individual say is associated with very low percentage of collective bargaining coverage.

Italy (IT): low score on teamwork, high risk of in-work poverty, workers often have no suitable working times or career opportunities, and not much individual say in the company.

Cyprus (CY): particular progression possible in job quality, with remarkably low scores on team and individual autonomy in the work organisation.

Latvia (LV): employment quality seems to be a point of attention (in-work poverty at 10%, problems with suitable working hours and job security), and only 34% of workers are covered by collective agreements.

Lithuania (LT): empowerment quality efforts are needed as workers face low scores on training efforts, career opportunities, employment security, collective bargaining and an average score on individual say.

Luxembourg (LU): overall relatively decent scores, but a remarkable score of 9% in-work poverty.

Hungary (HU): companies seem to have almost no concern with accidents or work-related stress; empowerment quality efforts are needed, as workers face low scores on training efforts, career opportunities, job security, collective bargaining and individual say.

Malta (MT): good to average scores on most indicators, training opportunities and suitable working hours just below average.

The Netherlands (NL): good score on almost all items, except for concern with occupational accidents in companies.

Austria (AT): average scores on most indicators, team autonomy and career opportunities seem to score slightly below average.

Poland (PL): high score on in-work poverty, and only 30% of workers covered by collective bargaining.

Portugal (PT): limited team autonomy and concern with work-related stress in companies, training and employment security are comparatively low.

Romania (RO): particular attention needed for training and career opportunities, employment security is low.

Slovenia (SI): the percentage of workers with suitable working hours is low, all other work quality indicators have average to top scores.

Slovakia (SK): a high work intensity combined with limited work autonomy is a point of attention, and a lot of Slovaks doubt the meaningfulness of their job; empowerment quality efforts are needed as workers face low scores on training efforts, career opportunities, job security, collective bargaining and individual say.

Finland (FI): good score on almost all items, except for concern with occupational accidents.

Sweden (SE): good score on almost all items, except for concern with occupational accidents; Swedes also seem to have doubts about the meaningfulness of their job.

United Kingdom (UK): only 76% of the British workers believe they have a meaningful job, no country has a lower score; typical Anglo-Saxon profile, as a relatively high level of individual say is associated with very low percentage of collective bargaining coverage.

6 Conclusions

The Europe 2020 strategy included the ambitious employment target of 75% for the 20-64 year-olds. The result of our forecast analysis indicates that this goal will be too ambitious for the EU27 and for a lot of Member States. Male employment will remain at the same level, and female employment will continue to rise to a higher level. The result will be an employment rate close to 70% in 2020.

Europe has suggested strategies for job creation to individual Member States. This policy mix requires a lot of initiatives linked to labour cost reduction. We have argued that this is no guarantee of further employment growth. People are not attracted to the labour market solely by cheap work, they are attracted to the labour market by interesting high quality work. Countries with good scores on the quality of work are countries with the highest employment rate. We invite workers' organizations in the EZA network to work on a readjustment of this unbalanced European policy mix and to place greater emphasis on the issue of creating good quality jobs.

From a quality of work perspective, one can even go further in policy setting. Workers' organisations should provide a definition of the term "work" which prescribes certain minimum quality standards regulating the duration of employment, the weekly working hours, pay levels and social insurance cover, and which can be applied all over Europe. Workers' organizations should actively promote this concept on a European policy-making level, aiming at integration in European legislation and in the Europe 2020 strategy. The envisaged employment rate in Europe should be revised or at least accompanied by a 'rate of decent employment'. This 'decent employment rate' is calculated by dividing the number of people working in decent employment by the total population.

Workers' organizations should actively promote the economic and social advantages for employers and employees that emerge through the introduction of good work quality policies. Among the favorable outcomes of 'good quality work' we can include satisfied staff, healthy workers, a low level of absenteeism, a reduction of turnover levels, lower recruitment costs, an attractive company and higher productivity levels. Workers' organizations should also insist that good practice examples from European countries are, where applicable, considered, promoted and possibly adopted by other Member States.

7 Literature

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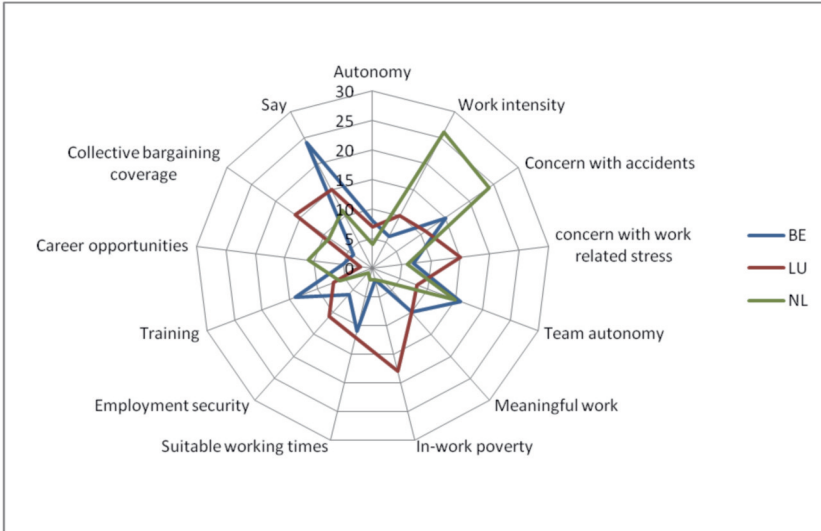
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Relative position of European countries on the selected job quality indicators

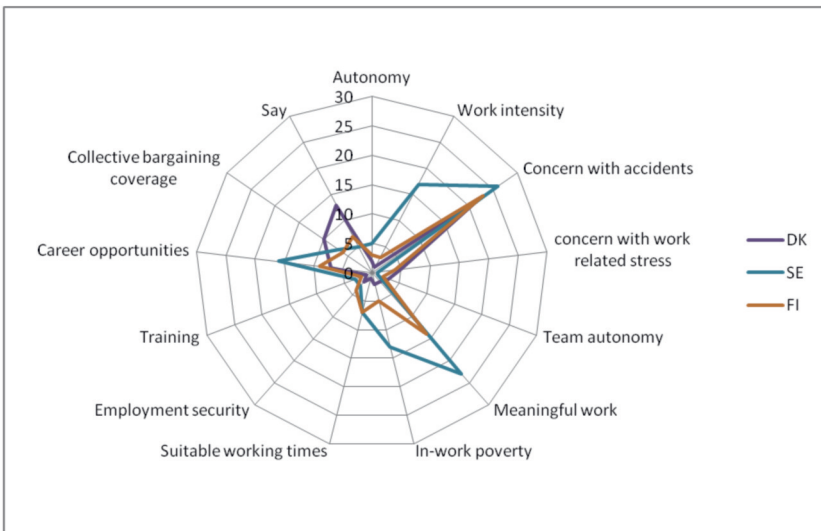
	Autonomy		Work intensity		Concern with accidents		Concern with work-related stress		Team autonomy		Meaningful work		In-work poverty		Suitable working times		Employment security		Training		Career opportunities		Collective bargaining coverage		Say	
	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	ESENER 2009	ESENER 2009	ESENER 2009	ESENER 2009	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EU-SILC 2007	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	LFS 2010	LFS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010	EIRO 2009	EIRO 2009	EWCS 2010	EWCS 2010
BE	8	6	15	7	16	10	2	11	6	14	5	4	24													
BG	27	19	4	12	20	7	#k.A.	21	21	26	17	25	8													
CZ	14	27	2	26	22	25	1	18	13	11	18	18	4													
DK	2	1	22	5	3	2	2	1	2	1	7	10	13													
DE	26	11	9	22	18	19	13	13	16	13	20	15	19													
EE	6	5	25	9	10	5	15	15	20	9	21	22	9													
EL	23	9	16	27	23	22	24	27	15	24	14	14	16													
ES	19	14	6	18	7	18	22	24	18	10	19	13	23													
FR	13	7	5	21	13	17	8	19	7	20	10	2	27													
IE	15	18	10	3	4	16	8	5	23	17	4	19	2													
IT	11	4	20	14	25	21	20	26	14	18	23	10	22													
CY	25	15	13	19	26	9	8	15	16	12	6	12	3													
LV	10	8	8	8	14	6	20	23	25	19	13	21	17													
LT	22	16	17	11	9	26	15	22	26	22	27	27	20													
LU	7	10	11	15	8	10	18	12	11	7	2	16	15													
HU	17	24	27	25	18	12	8	20	27	25	24	22	26													
MT	1	21	19	20	12	1	#k.A.	17	9	15	1	17	1													
NL	4	26	24	6	15	3	2	2	1	6	11	9	11													
AT	12	20	14	16	21	15	8	4	12	7	21	2	21													
PL	16	13	7	23	24	20	23	10	8	16	8	25	17													
PT	20	25	1	24	27	13	18	14	22	21	15	7	10													
RO	21	22	3	10	6	8	#k.A.	6	24	27	25	1	14													
SI	18	12	18	17	5	4	5	25	10	5	12	4	6													
SK	24	2	21	13	17	24	5	9	19	23	26	20	25													
FI	3	3	23	4	2	14	5	7	4	2	9	6	7													
SE	5	17	26	1	1	23	13	7	3	3	16	7	5													
UK	9	23	12	2	10	27	15	3	5	4	3	22	12													

Annex 2: Presentation of 'quality of work' ranks for 27 EU Member States

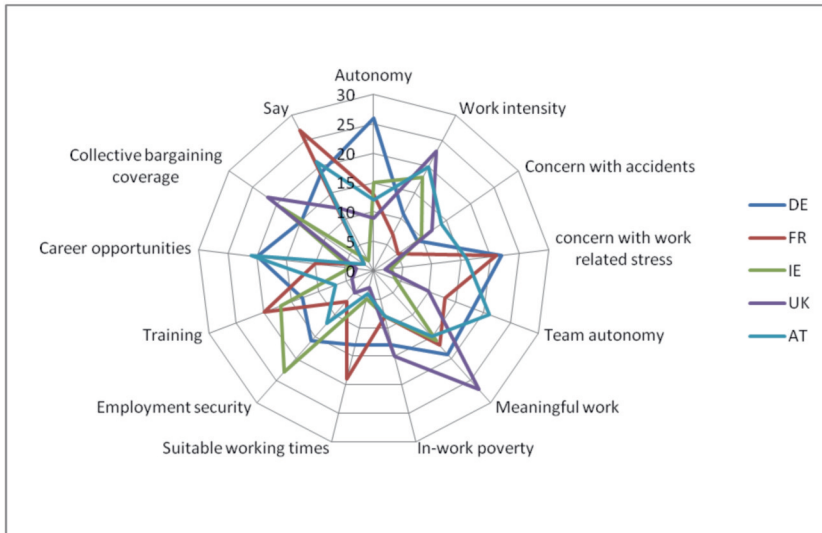
1. Benelux countries Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands



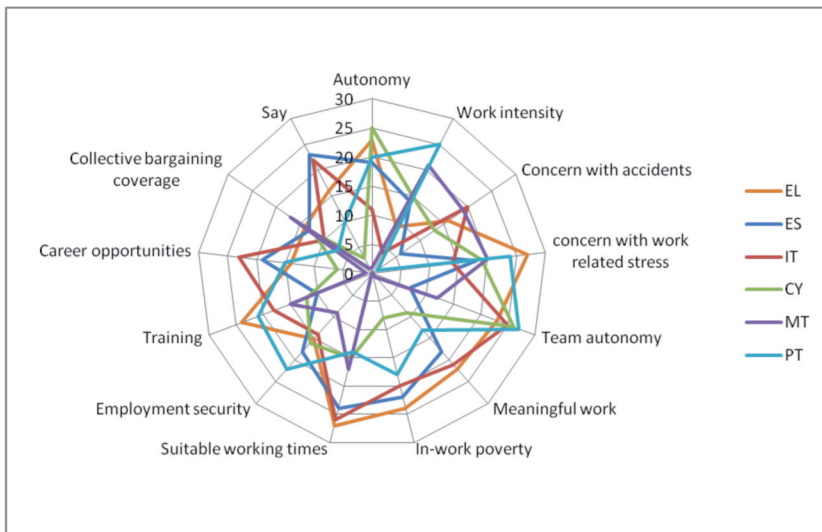
2. Northern Europe: Denmark, Sweden, Finland



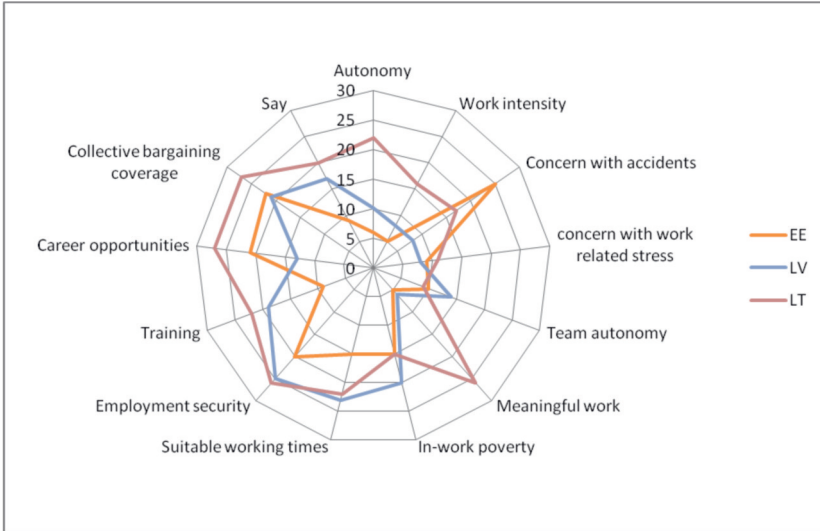
3. Western Europe: Germany, France, Austria, Ireland, United Kingdom



4. Southern Europe: Greece, Spain, Italy, Cyprus, Malta, Portugal



5. Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania



6. Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Romania, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia

