

Working conditions

Privilege or necessity? The working lives of people with multiple jobs



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This report presents the results of research conducted prior to the outbreak of COVID-19 in Europe in February 2020. For this reason, the results do not take account of the outbreak.

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Introduction

The shift from the traditional notion of having one job for life to having multiple jobs over the course of one's life is now almost a given. But what about people who have several jobs simultaneously? While most of the employed population of the European Union holds down just one job at a time, having more than one job has become a reality for a growing share of workers. This is attested by the impressive variety of terms used across the EU to designate the phenomenon, as depicted in the speech bubble above.

Looking at the working conditions in workers' main paid job can help us to understand why some turn to other paid jobs and certainly contributes to better characterising the phenomenon. Poor working conditions in the main job, insufficient hours and inadequate pay, or poor use of individuals' capacities or skills may explain it. However, some workers embark on extra paid work for other reasons, such as the opportunity to gain experience, upskill or develop a business.

Nevertheless, independent of the reason, this situation may not necessarily be sustainable for some workers, as there can be undesirable outcomes for the individuals concerned (such as exhaustion or burnout), the organisations they work for (in terms of the possible impact

on the quality of the goods and services, for example) and even society at large (where absenteeism and sick leave, for instance, increase demands on health services and social protection systems).

Perhaps more unexpectedly, uncovering the nature of multiple-job holding throws gender disparities in employment sharply into relief. As this policy brief will show, there are stark differences between the experiences of women and men in this little-examined corner of the labour market.

The objective of the policy brief is to uncover the main characteristics of multiple-job holding in the EU: its prevalence and recent evolution and what it means in terms of working time and job quality. With the EU still in the grip of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, this subject might appear to be of low priority for policymakers confronted by mass unemployment. Yet the pandemic could have an impact here too if workers who previously had one good full-time job resort to piecing together several incomes to maintain a similar lifestyle as before. By examining multiple-job holding, we can infer what motivates workers to take on extra work and, to the extent that reasons lie in a deficiency of the main job, suggest actions that policymakers might take.



Policy context

The policy relevance of multiple-job holding lies both in its causes and in its consequences. It must be considered against the background of several EU policies and concerns such as combating in-work poverty, ensuring fair working conditions and promoting job quality.

Article 151 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union states that one of the objectives of the EU and its Member States is the promotion of employment and improved living and working conditions. The creation of ‘more and better jobs’ throughout the EU has been the main aim of the European employment strategy, which dates back to 1997 and which was incorporated into the Europe 2020 growth strategy. It is in this context that multiple-job holding, both its benefits and costs, must be taken into consideration, in particular if workers are subjected to poor working or contractual conditions.

Question of decent pay and conditions

The relevance of multiple-job holding to social policy becomes clearer within the context of the European Pillar of Social Rights, which expresses principles and rights that must be respected for labour markets and welfare systems to function fairly and effectively in modern Europe. Principle 6 brings one concern with multiple-job holding into focus, stating that workers have the right to fair wages that provide for a decent standard of living. If a worker is forced to take up additional paid work because the income from their main job is not sufficient to cover household expenses, it raises questions over the fairness of the wage paid to them. The same rationale is reinforced by the Commission’s communication from January 2020, A strong social Europe for just transitions, which underlines that ‘[w]orkers in Europe should have a fair minimum wage that allows for a decent living’ and that ‘work is about more than making a living’.

Furthermore, Principle 10 defends workers’ right to a high level of health and safety protection at work. Multiple-job holding can constitute a serious problem for workers (and others) through the accumulation of long

working hours and the associated health risks. Fatigue from long working hours makes workers more susceptible to making mistakes that can harm themselves, their colleagues and their clients.

The Commission communication also acknowledges that jobs provide ‘social relations and a place in society as well as opportunities for personal and professional development’ but warns that this ‘is only true as long as [workers] benefit from fair and dignified working conditions’. This principle is not upheld should workers resort to a second job as a route out of a main job with poor working conditions.

Challenge to working time regulation

Because it involves the cumulation of working hours in two or more jobs, multiple-job holding is particularly relevant to the application of the European Working Time Directive. Daily rest periods, weekly rest periods and maximum weekly working time are some of the most evident aspects challenged by multiple-job holding. While the application of the provisions regarding these aspects of working time are easier to monitor and enforce for single-job holders, it becomes much more complex for those with two or more jobs. How can authorities ensure that a worker is not working when they should be resting, and who is responsible for ensuring that limits on maximum weekly working time are not surpassed?

Multiple-job holding presents a challenge because the directive does not indicate whether the limits on working time and rest periods should be applied per worker or per

contract. In its interpretative communication on the directive from 2017, the Commission, while recognising that the European Court of Justice had not yet ruled on the issue, held the view that in light of the directive's objective to improve the health and safety of workers, those limits ‘should, as far as possible, apply per worker’ (p. 10). However, the reality is that in many Member States the directive applies per contract: Czechia, Denmark, Hungary, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Spain. Furthermore, in Belgium, Finland and Sweden, it applies per worker for concurrent contracts with the same employer but otherwise per contract. Where it applies per contract, there might be situations in which workers could work well beyond the maximum hours set in the directive. However, even if the directive is applied per worker, the monitoring and enforcement can be challenging when individuals have more than one job.

Digitalisation raises further challenges

It is also important to contextualise multiple-job holding in relation to the digitalisation of the economy. New opportunities for employment are constantly being generated thanks to digital technologies – for example through online platforms, which allow individuals to diversify and multiply their (paid) activities. However, while the available data on the extent of employment created by these platforms remain scarce, this kind of situation already raises issues for enforcement of the various policies, recommendations and directives already in place, all while the consequences in terms of health, well-being and working time remain to be monitored and assessed.

Key findings

- A relatively small proportion of the EU workforce holds down a second job: 4% in 2018. This figure nevertheless represents 9.2 million workers: 4.5 million men and 4.7 million women. In addition, the phenomenon is on the rise – numbers have increased by 3.5% since 2013.
- A substantial proportion are low earners with short working hours who clearly take up extra work to supplement their income: half are in the two bottom income quintiles. However, multiple-job holding is equally apparent in the higher earning brackets. In fact, a majority of multiple-job holders are in white collar, high-skilled occupations in their main job. The biggest occupational category is professionals, which accounts for 28% of these workers, and a further 16% are technicians and associate professionals. At the same time, the second largest occupational category is service and sales workers, representing 17%.
- When the data are broken down by gender, quite a different picture emerges. For both sexes, health professionals and education professionals are in the top five occupations – these might be, for example, doctors who are public servants in their main job but have private practices, or lecturers who take up additional research work. However, the top occupation for women is cleaners and helpers; personal care workers and sales workers also rank in the top five. For men, the top occupation is metal and machinery workers – jobs like mechanic and welder – but the top five also includes business professionals and science and engineering professionals.
- This gender disparity in occupation is accompanied by a striking difference in income. Most women (40%) are in the lowest income quintile, while the largest share of men (30%) is in the top quintile. In addition, there is an age component to the income difference, where younger women with multiple jobs tend to be at the bottom of the income distribution, whereas older men tend to be at the top.
- A fair share of multiple-job holding is associated with decent job quality, but more so for men than for women: half of male multiple-job holders (49%) have above-average job quality in their main jobs, compared to 35% of women in this group. However, among both sexes, around one-third have poor job quality, meaning working environments with high physical risks and poor social support, high pressure of work, or long and irregular hours of work.
- Despite the good working conditions that many male multiple-job holders experience, they endure some negatives too. Half of them work long hours (48 hours or more), compared to 17% of female multiple-job holders. These patterns are a concern as long hours at work are associated with an increased risk of many health problems such as cardiovascular disease and depression.
- Various features of the working time patterns of multiple-job holders indicate that it compromises work–life balance: they are more likely to report low regularity in their working time (not working the same number of hours every day and every week, the same number of days every week and not having fixed starting and finishing times), to be requested to come to work at short notice, and to work in their free time to meet work demands.



Exploring the evidence

Multiple-job holders are a heterogeneous group with many different reasons for taking up extra work. One might be a lawyer who writes a weekly legal column for a national newspaper, while another could be a part-time supermarket checkout operator who works as a bartender at night.

Research on multiple-job holding is relatively scarce. Data from the European Union Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) provides insights on the prevalence and some of the sociodemographic characteristics of people who do other paid work alongside their main job. But little is known about the working lives of multiple-job holders: whether their main job could be considered a good job, whether they spend all their time at work and how it affects their work-life balance.

The analysis in this section contributes to filling the knowledge gap. It begins by looking at how widespread multiple-job holding is across the EU and gives a profile of this labour market subgroup, beginning with gender and educational attainment. It also examines the combinations of labour statuses in the main and second jobs – whether employee, self-employed or family worker – as well as the most common occupations of these workers in their main job and their income from that job.

Then the analysis turns to working conditions, where details on working time, work-life balance and job quality are provided by the European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS).

While the text refers to ‘multiple-job holders’ and ‘multiple-job holding’ throughout, when work outside the main job is addressed, the analysis focuses on the second job.

Prevalence and trends

Around 9.3 million workers (aged 15 or over) in the EU had a second job in 2018, according to EU-LFS data. This represents 4% of total employment, but the shares vary across the Member States: multiple-job holders represent 1.5% or less of employment in Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Romania and Slovakia but more than 5% in Denmark, Estonia, Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden. The highest shares of multiple-job holding are found among employed women in the Netherlands (9.3%), Sweden (8.5%) and Denmark (7.6%), and among men in Sweden (8.9%).

Multiple-job holding is on the rise – absolute numbers were 8.9 million in 2013 – and it has increased more among women (by 4.3%) than men (by 2.6%). However, when the data are

looked at separately for the 15 countries that were Member States prior to the 2004 EU enlargement and those that joined subsequently, this shows that the phenomenon has risen in the pre-2004 Member States since 2013, by 7.7%, while it has decreased by 14.2% in the post-2004 Member States.

Main characteristics

Gender

In the EU as a whole, multiple-job holding is equally prevalent among women and men, but women comprise 55% or more of multiple-job holders in Estonia, France and Luxembourg (and in the United Kingdom), while it is a predominantly male phenomenon in Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Malta, Poland, Romania and

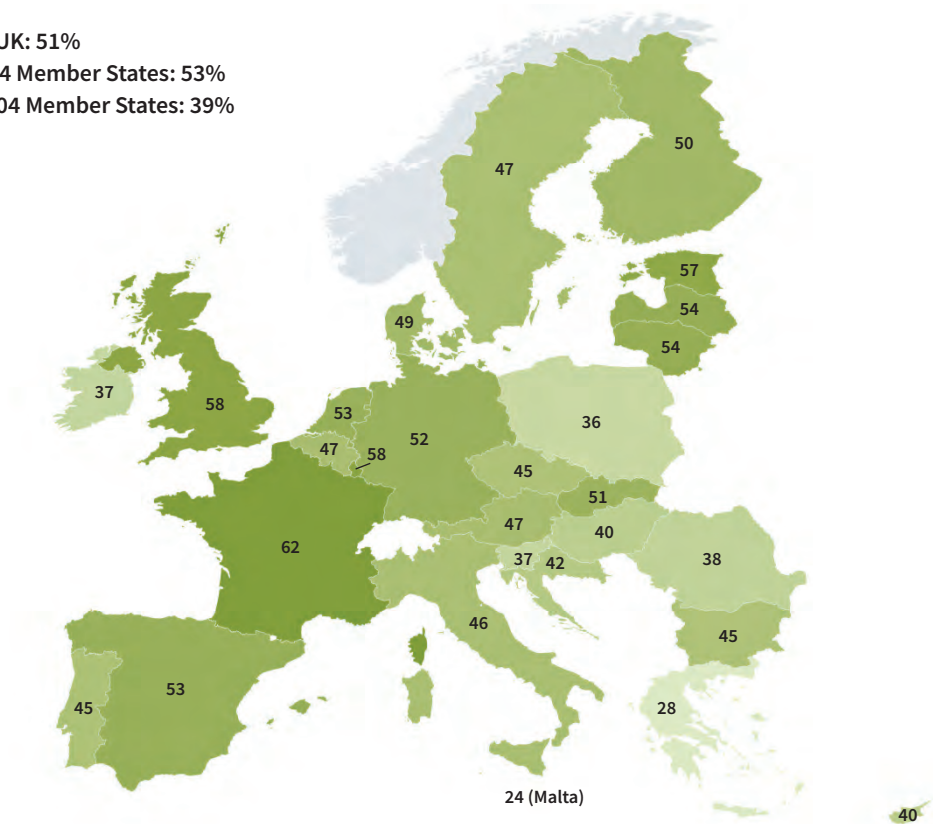
Slovenia, where 60% or more are men (Figure 1). Multiple-job holding is much more gender-balanced in the EU15, with a female ratio of 53%, than in the EU13, where men constitute more than 60% of this group.

Education

Multiple-job holders are better educated than the workforce on average. Some 43% have completed tertiary education (43% of men and 42% of women), a share larger than the 35% of the employed population as a whole (32% of men and 39% of women).¹ This is the case too in most Member States. The exceptions are Romania, where the share of multiple-job holders with tertiary education is lower than for the whole employed population, and France and Luxembourg, where the same is the

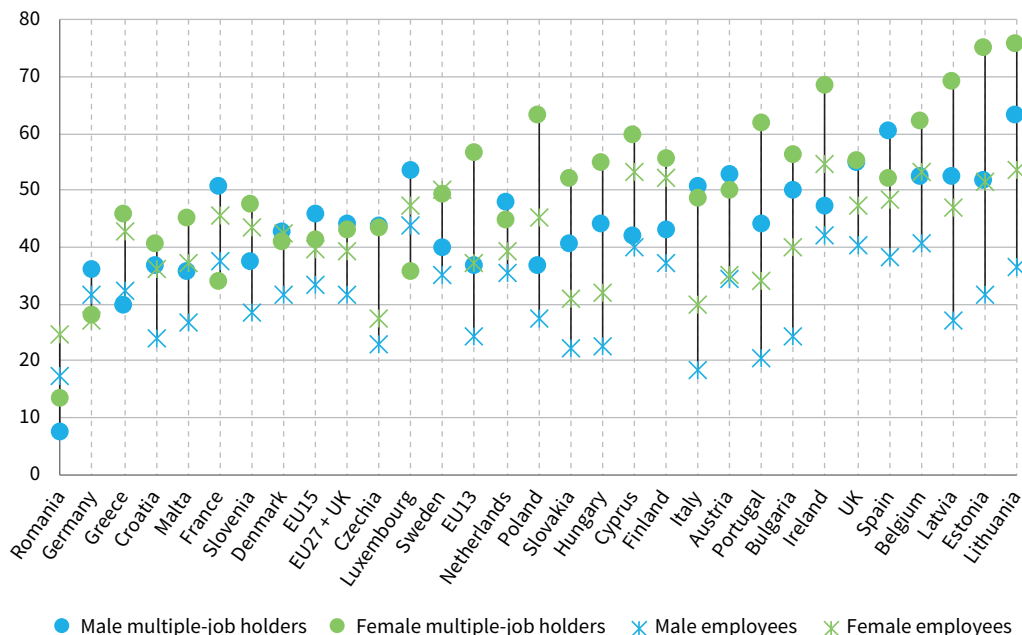
Figure 1: Female ratio of multiple-job holders (%), Member States and the UK, 2018

EU27 + UK: 51%
 Pre-2004 Member States: 53%
 Post-2004 Member States: 39%



¹ Tertiary education refers to levels 5 to 8 of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).

Figure 2: Tertiary attainment among multiple-job holders and total working population (%), by sex, Member States and the UK, 2018



Note: Male employees are all employed men aged 15 to 70 years old, while female employees are all employed women in the same age group.

Source: EU-LFS

case but only for the female multiple-job holders (Figure 2). The share of multiple-job holders with tertiary education increased from 40% to 43% between 2013 and 2018, while the share of the employed population as a whole with the same educational attainment increased from 32% to 35% in the same period.

Employment status

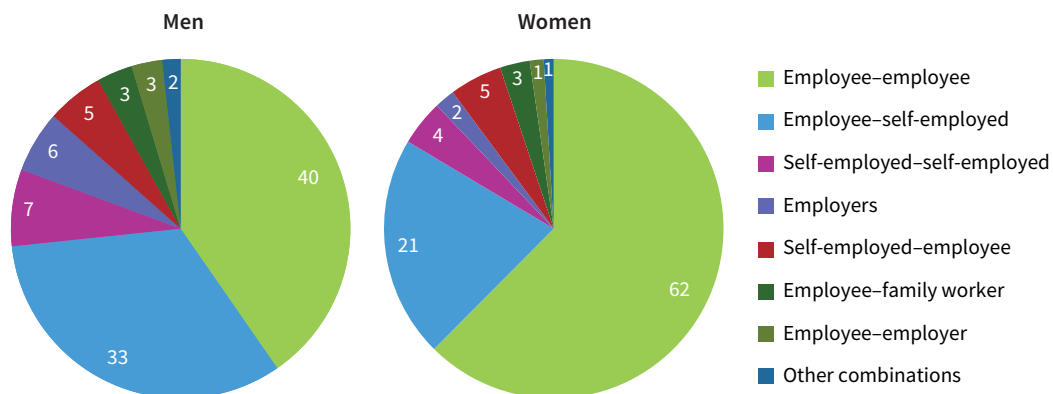
Most multiple-job holders are either employees in both their first and second jobs (52%) or employees in their first job and self-employed in their second (29%). The combinations self-employed–self-employed (9%) and self-employed–employee (7%) are less common. Employees with a second job as a ‘contributing family worker’ represent only 3% of the total.

The type of combination is relevant because it can affect workers in terms of coverage by

working time provisions, employment protection legislation and social protection coverage. For example, being self-employed in the main, second or both jobs can mean reduced entitlement to social benefits.

More than 60% of the female multiple-job holders are employees in both the first and second jobs, while 21% are employees in the first job and self-employed in the second (Figure 3). For male multiple-job holders, 40% are employees in both the first and second jobs, while one-third are employees working as self-employed in the second job. Among male multiple-job holders, a relatively large proportion are employers (self-employed with employees) in their main job, while holding other statuses in their second (employee, employer or self-employed without employees). These are denoted as ‘employers’ in the chart; this group constitutes a much smaller share of female multiple-job holders.

Figure 3: Employment status of multiple-job holders in main and second jobs (%), by sex, EU27 and the UK, 2018



Note: The category ‘employers’ represents self-employed with employees in the main job combined with any other status in the second job.

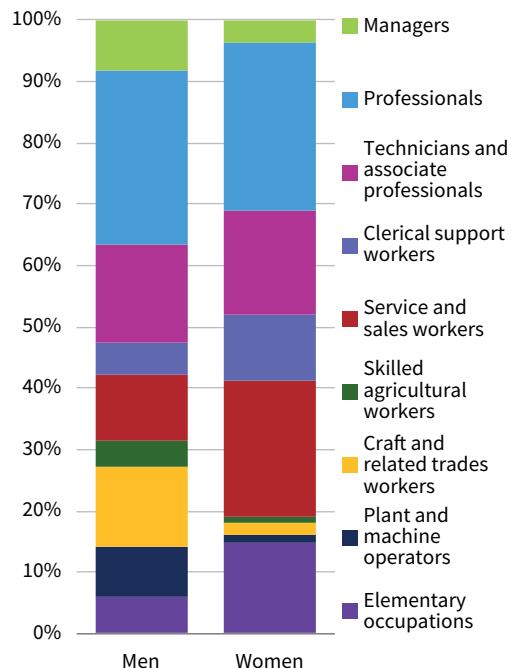
Source: EU-LFS

Occupation

A majority of multiple-job holders are in high-skilled, white-collar occupations in their main job. In terms of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), the most common occupational category is professionals (28%) and is larger than the same group proportion in total employment (20%). The next most common is service and sales workers (17%), followed by technicians and associate professionals (16%), and elementary occupations (10%); these proportions are similar to those of total employment. In the period 2013–2018, there was an increase in high-skilled, white-collar workers (managers, professionals and technicians) among multiple-job holders, accompanied by a decrease of blue-collar workers, high and low-skilled (agricultural workers, craft workers, plant and machine operators, and workers in elementary occupations).

As shown in Figure 4, the occupational profiles for male and female multiple-job holders are very different. Many more male multiple-job holders work as managers, plant and machine operators, and craft and related trades workers, while more female multiple-job holders work in elementary occupations, as service and sales workers, and as clerical support workers.

Figure 4: Occupational profiles in main job of multiple-job holders, by sex, EU27 and the UK, 2018



Source: EU-LFS

Table 1: Top five occupations of multiple-job holders in their main job, EU27 and the UK, 2015

Men	Women
1. Metal, machinery and related trades workers	1. Cleaners and helpers
2. Teaching professionals	2. Teaching professionals
3. Business and admin. associate professionals	3. Personal care workers
4. Health professionals	4. Sales workers
5. Science and engineering professionals	5. Health professionals

Note: Based on the number of cases per ISCO 2008 2-digit code.

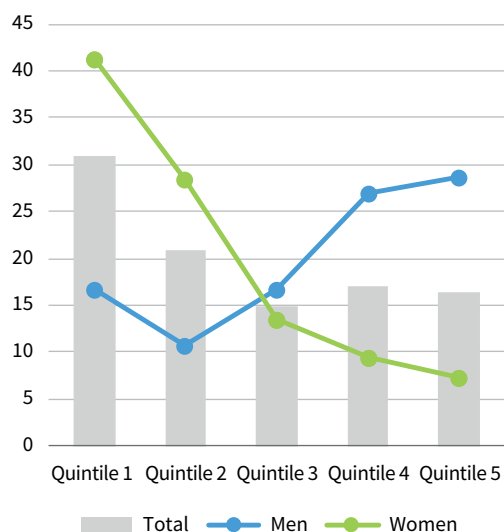
Source: EWCS 2015

The EWCS provides more granular information on the jobs that these workers hold. The top five most common occupations for male and female multiple-job holders in 2015 are shown in Table 1 and confirm the gendered occupational configuration. Metal, machinery and related trades workers is the most common occupational group among men – these are jobs such as mechanic, welders and metal workers – whereas cleaners and helpers is the most common for women. However, for both men and women, teaching professionals and health professionals feature in the top five.

Income

Examining income confirms the gendered nature of multiple-job holding. When all multiple-job holders are grouped into quintiles on the basis of income from their main job, it shows that, overall, there are more multiple-job holders among those in the lower income quintiles: 30% are in the bottom quintile and 20% in the second lowest quintile, with the rest more or less equally distributed among the other income quintiles. However, the distributions of men and women are completely opposite: most women with more than one job (40%) are among the lowest earners, while the largest share of men (30%) in this situation is in the top quintile (Figure 5).

This means that, while at first sight, people with more than one job seem to be worse off in terms of income from their main paid job

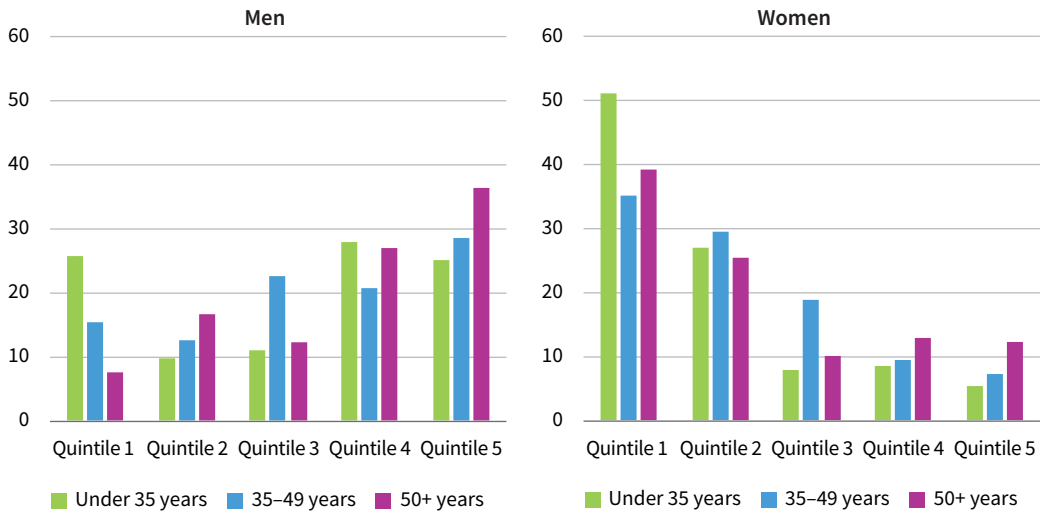
Figure 5: Multiple-job holders by income quintile and sex (%), EU27 and the UK, 2015

Note: Each quintile represents 20% of the sample according to workers' net earnings in their main job; Quintile 1 includes the 20% of workers with the lowest earnings, while Quintile 5 includes the 20% with the highest earnings.

Source: EWCS 2015

than the employed population as a whole, this assertion holds true only for female multiple-job holders. Male multiple-job holders actually do much better than average. This indicates that men and women may hold multiple-jobs for different reasons.

Figure 6: Multiple-job holders by age group and income quintile (%), according to sex, EU27 and the UK, 2015



Source: EWCS 2015

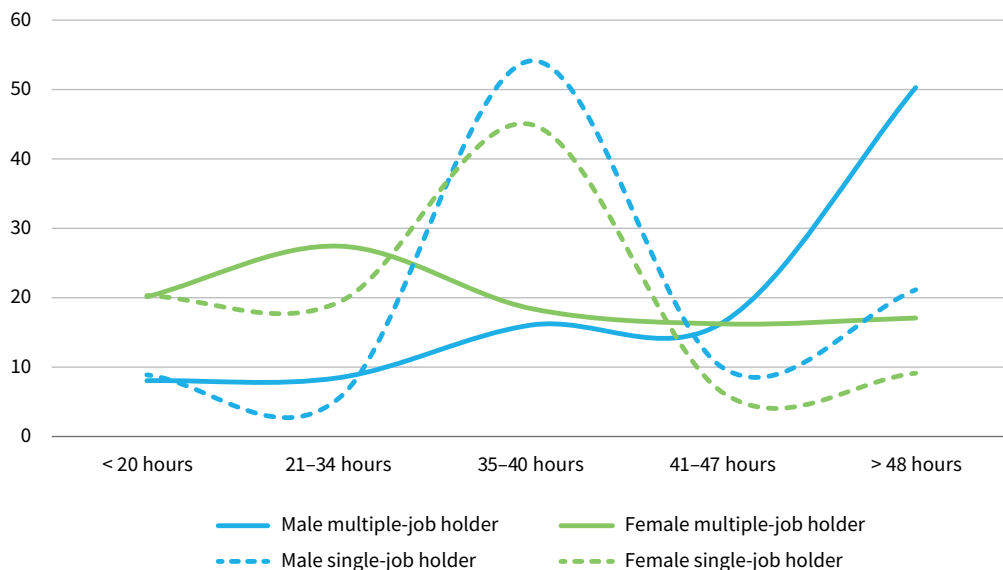
When the distribution of multiple-job holders across the income quintiles is analysed by age group, it shows an income bias in favour of older men (Figure 6). The lowest income quintile has the highest proportion of younger multiple-job holders: 41% of workers under 35 and 27% of 35–49-year-olds are in this quintile. On the other hand, the largest group of multiple-job holders over 50 occupies the highest income quintile – 24%.

Looking at both age and gender, for all age cohorts of women, more are in the bottom quintile than in any other quintile. For men, the largest group over age 35 is in the highest income quintile, while the largest group of under 35-year-olds is in the second highest quintile. However, there is polarisation among the men. The lowest quintile is larger than the second and third lowest put together and is significantly higher for young men than for men above 35.

Working time

The amount of hours individuals regularly work when combining a number of paid jobs can raise health and well-being concerns because long working hours have been identified as a cause of serious health problems, such as cardiovascular disease. Moreover, long hours may also lead to an increased risk of making mistakes, which may lead to the injury of workers themselves, their co-workers or even third parties such as customers, clients or patients. Long hours at work also impinge on an individual’s work–life balance and the possibility to rest and enjoy other spheres of life. The analysis in this section concentrates on the working time issues that individuals experience in their main job. It focuses on multiple-job holders whose second job is regular and substantial, meaning a minimum of one hour of usual work per week in that job. Around 3% of workers who responded to the EWCS 2015 fit this profile (a further 5% occasionally have other paid jobs besides their main job, but they are not included in the analysis).

Figure 7: Distribution of workers according to usual working hours of single-job holders and multiple-job holders (%), by sex, EU27 and the UK, 2015



Note: The chart shows working hours in the main job for single-job holders and working hours in the main and second jobs for multiple-job holders.

Source: EWCS 2015

Contrasting patterns between women and men

The gendered working time patterns seen among single-job holders are reproduced to some extent among multiple-job holders. The majority of single-job holders work around 35–40 hours per week; larger shares of women work part-time (less than 35 hours per week), while larger shares of men work 41 hours per week or more. However, among multiple-job holders, the concentration is not around the average working hours (35–40 hours) but rather in the extremes of the distributions. Nearly half of female multiple-job holders usually work a total of fewer than 35 hours per week, while half of male multiple-job holders work, in total, 48 hours or more (Figure 7). Female multiple-job holders are much more likely to have short or very short part-time hours in both jobs than their male

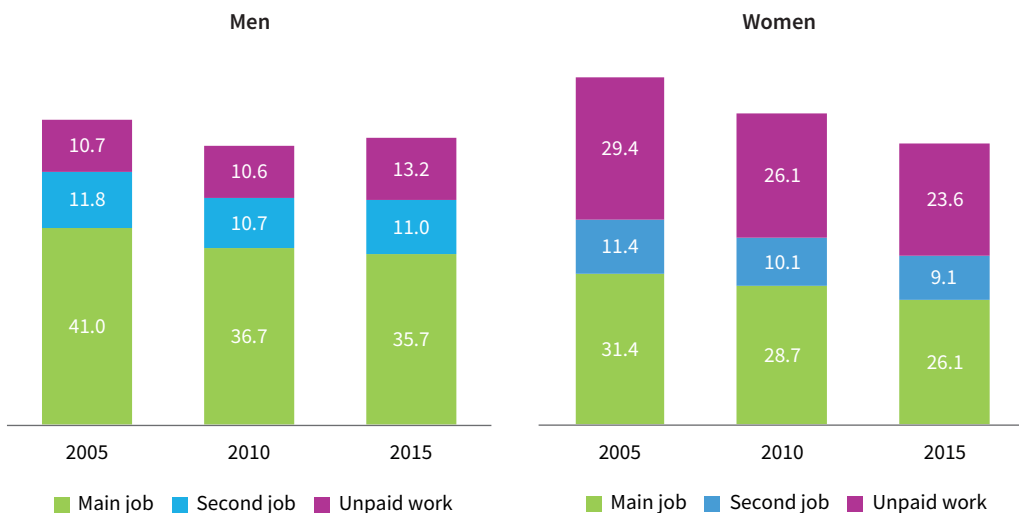
counterparts, who are far more likely to work beyond the limit of 48 hours per week established by the Working Time Directive.

The average of total hours of work reported by multiple-job holders decreased from about 52 hours for men and 41 hours for women in 2005 to 45 and 35 hours per week, respectively, in 2015. This is the result of not only a decrease in the average hours spent in the main job but also in the second job in the case of women.

Unpaid work

What is also interesting is the fact that the average time spent in unpaid work (which includes time spent on private and family commitments) reported by male multiple-job holders increased between 2010 and 2015, while it has been decreasing for their female counterparts since 2005 (Figure 8). Overall, in

Figure 8: Average usual weekly working hours in main and second jobs and unpaid work, by sex, EU27 and the UK, 2005–2015



Note: Unpaid work includes time spent doing housework, caring for children, caring for adults, voluntary activities, political activities and training.

Source: EWCS 2005, 2010, 2015

2015, male and female multiple-job holders spent a similar amount of hours doing paid and unpaid work (around 60 per week). However, the average share of time spent in unpaid work remains highly gendered, with women spending nearly twice as much time on it as men. The average EU male multiple-job holder spends 22% of his working time in unpaid work, while his female equivalent spends nearly as much in unpaid work (40%) as in her main job (44% of the total).

Long hours and no rest

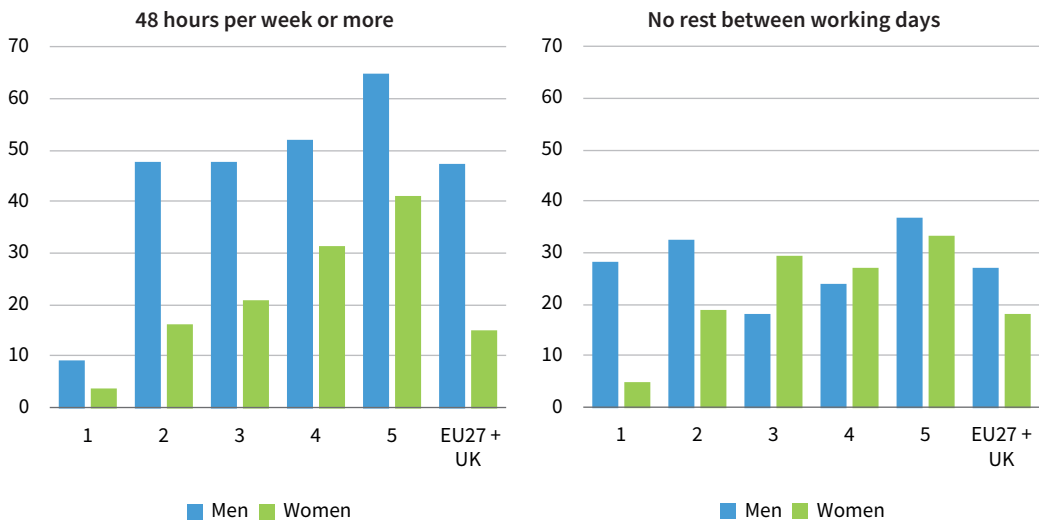
The Working Time Directive aims to protect workers’ health and safety by limiting working hours, but nearly one-third of multiple-job holders reports usually working 48 hours per week or more. EWCS data also show that this group are more likely to work long days (more than 10 hours in a day) and atypical hours (working nights, Saturdays and Sundays) than single-job holders. A vast amount of research, including Eurofound research, has shown that working long or atypical hours, or both, may

harm workers’ health and well-being, with evidence of increased risk of cardiovascular disease, fatigue, reduction in the quantity and quality of sleep, anxiety, depression and gastrointestinal disorders.

Breaking the data down by sex shows that the share working long hours is much higher for men (50%) than for women (17%). Figure 9 shows that the shares of multiple-job holders working long hours increases with earnings for both men and women, such that 41% of female and 65% of male multiple-job holders in the top income quintile work 48 hours or more per week.

Intuitively, one might think that this group is mostly self-employed because, in general, people who work for themselves tend to report longer working hours, and the provisions of the directive are not applicable to them. However, it is worrying to observe that among the multiple-job holders reporting long working hours, 57% are employees in their main job: 59% and 51%, respectively, of male and female multiple-job holders.

Figure 9: Shares of multiple-job holders with higher-risk working time patterns (%), by income quintile and sex, EU27 and the UK, 2015



Note: The numbers under the x-axis refer to quintiles.

Source: EWCS 2015

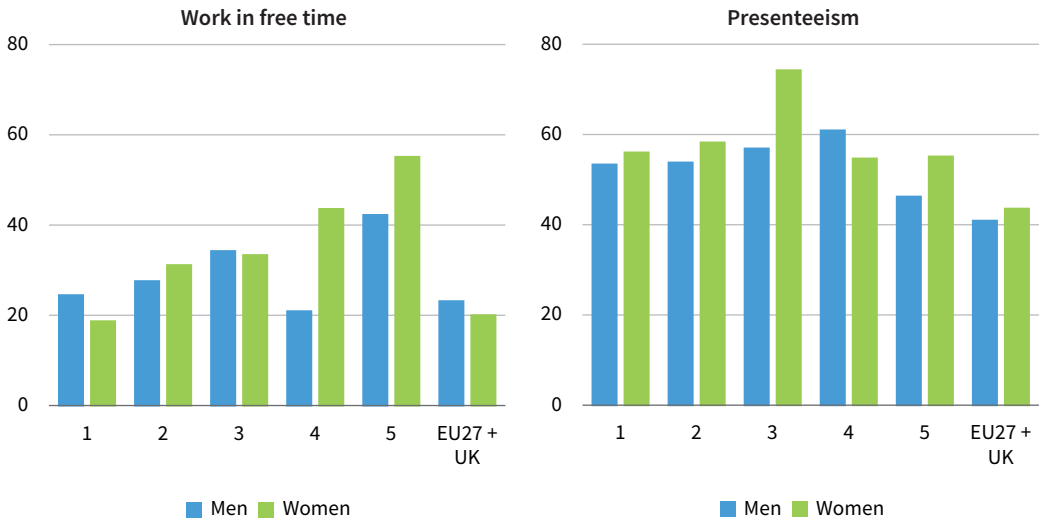
Furthermore, and again in the context of the directive, multiple-job-holders are more likely to miss out on the required 11 hours of rest between two working days. As Figure 9 shows, more male multiple-job holders at the bottom and at the top of the income scale than the EU average report that they did not have that rest period. The same is true of female multiple-job holders except for those in the bottom quintile. Male and female multiple-job holders at the top of the income scale are most likely to miss this rest period: 37% and 33%, respectively, versus 27% and 18%, respectively, of the workforce as a whole.

Work-life balance

Several features of the working time of multiple-job holders indicate that their work-life balance is poorer than that of single-job holders. They are more likely to report low regularity in their working time,² being requested to go into work at short notice, and working in their free time to meet work demands. They are also more prone to working while sick (presenteeism). Working in free time varies with income and is particularly common among women in the higher income quintiles and among men in the very top quintile. Presenteeism does not seem to be related to income and is much higher than average across the board (Figure 10).

² High regularity means working the same number of hours per day and per week, the same number of days per week, and having fixed starting and finishing times.

Figure 10: Working in free time and presenteeism among multiple-job holders (%), by income quintile and sex, EU27 and the UK, 2015



Notes: The first chart shows the percentage of respondents who said they worked in their free time at least several times per month. Presenteeism is being present at work when sick. The numbers under the x-axis refer to quintiles.

Source: EWCS 2015

Job quality

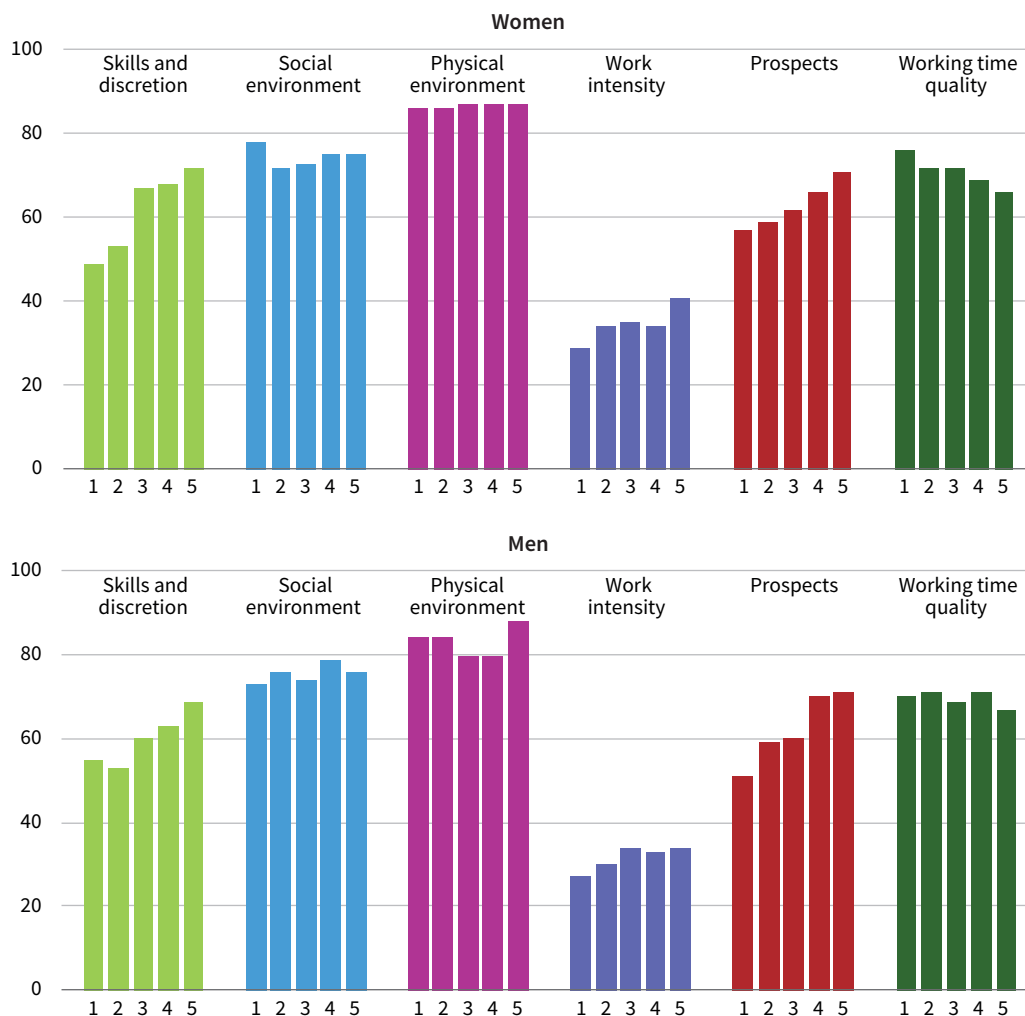
Next, we examine the working conditions of multiple-job holders, which are assessed based on the seven key dimensions of job quality that have been established by Eurofound, as follows:

- **Skills and discretion:** the opportunities for workers to exercise autonomy, apply their skills, participate in the organisation and develop professionally
- **Social environment:** the extent to which workers experience both supportive social relationships and adverse social behaviour at work
- **Physical environment:** the degree to which workers are exposed to physical and environmental risks at work

- **Work intensity:** the level of time, workload and emotional demands that put pressure on workers
- **Prospects:** the degree of job security and opportunities to progress in one’s career
- **Working time quality:** the duration, scheduling and flexibility of working time arrangements
- **Earnings:** the income from work

The analysis begins by measuring workers’ experiences in the first six dimensions in their main job using indexes scored 0–100. It then groups scores according to income quintile. For five dimensions, the higher the score, the better the job quality. The exception is Work intensity, where lower scores represent better job quality. Figure 11 shows the results, representing the job quality of female and male multiple-job holders in five income quintiles.

Figure 11: Job quality of multiple-job holders' main job, by sex and income quintile, EU27 and the UK, 2015



Notes: The chart displays mean scores on a scale of 0–100. The bars represent the five income quintiles and are numbered accordingly.

Source: EWCS 2015

A number of findings are of note.

Skills and discretion increases with income for both men and women. It is higher for women than men in the top quintiles, which means that female multiple-job holders at the top of the income scale are in jobs making better use of their skills than the jobs of their male counterparts. At the same time, women in the bottom income quintile score the lowest on this index.

Work intensity increases with income for both men and women. However, it seems that female multiple-job holders pay a higher price for being at the top of the income scale: women in the top quintile report the highest level of work intensity (41 points), much higher than their male counterparts in the same income bracket (34) and than the female workforce as a whole (33).

Prospects also increases with the income and is much higher than average for the top earners.

Social environment and **Physical environment** scores of multiple-job holders do not differ much from that of the workforce as a whole and do not vary much with income.

Working time quality, by contrast, seems to deteriorate with income, especially for women. Workers in the bottom income quintiles have better scores on average, but scores are significantly lower at the top of the income

scale. This finding confirms the proposition that while having a second job may push workers into higher income groups, it is associated with longer hours and irregular working time in the main job.

Job quality profiles

To identify patterns in the job quality of multiple-job holders, the analysis clustered those with similar scores along the seven dimensions of job quality. This exercise produced three main clusters, illustrated in Figure 12.³

Figure 12: Job quality profiles of multiple-job holders' main jobs, by sex



Notes: The chart displays z-scores. The vertical axis represents the average for the total working population. Bars to the right of the axis represent values above the average, while bars to the left represent values below the average. Work intensity is reversed, so bars to the right of the axis represent values below the average, while bars to the left represent values above it.
Source: EWCS 2015

³ A latent class analysis was performed on all EWCS respondents who stated they have a regular second paid job with total reported usual working hours (including main and second jobs) of up to 100 hours per week.

Cluster 1

Cluster 1 mostly comprises highly educated workers in high-skilled, white-collar occupations. Some 49% of male and 35% of female multiple-job holders are in this situation. They are typically in the occupational categories of professionals, managers, technicians and associate professionals, and clerical support workers. In this cluster, workers report a much higher than average use of their skills and very good social and physical environments. Prospects appear lower for women, which could be the result of greater job insecurity or fewer opportunities for career advancement. Moreover, women in this group have below-average earnings, in contrast to their male counterparts, who earn well above the average. However, women's earnings in this cluster are the best out of the three clusters.

A large portion of the men in this cluster are aged over 50, and they are concentrated in the top and second-highest income quintiles. Around one in four are self-employed, the largest percentage of self-employed male workers of any cluster. The sectors they typically work in, according to NACE classification, are wholesale and retail trade, manufacturing and education. They work more hours than a conventional working week, with an average of 44 hours per week. Men in this cluster have the highest score for subjective well-being.

Most of the women are aged 35–49 years, and 55% are in the bottom two income quintiles. They work mostly in health and social work, and education. Some 60% have a tertiary education. Despite the apparent good job quality, 30% have trouble making ends meet.

So, while the women and men who comprise this cluster are similar in occupations, education and overall conditions, there is a big gender gap in earnings.

Cluster 2

The second cluster groups those multiple-job holders whose main jobs have very poor job quality. It is the youngest cluster, and the one with the largest proportion of single people without children. Some 34% of female and 35% of male multiple-job holders fall into this category. They score below average in all job quality dimensions, except for Skills and discretion for both sexes, and Earnings for men. Social environment, Work intensity and Prospects are particularly low for women, while their male counterparts also score poorly on Physical environment and Working time quality. The total working hours including main and second jobs are higher than average: 39 hours per week among women and 47 hours among men.

Curiously, women in this cluster have a similar profile to the first cluster in terms of occupation and sector: 41% work in health and social work, and the two largest occupational groups are professionals and technicians and associate professionals. However, there are almost no managers; instead, many more work in service and sales (21%) and elementary occupations (17%).

For men, this cluster is much more heterogeneous. It includes individuals working in blue- and white-collar occupations, both low- and high-skilled. It is made up of professionals, service and sales workers, plant and machine operators, and craft and related trades workers across several sectors. Although half are found in the top two income quintiles, 20% are in the bottom one.

Cluster 3

In the third cluster, some aspects of job quality are mostly positive: working time quality is good, work intensity is low and physical risk is limited. The social environment is also good for women. However, jobs in Cluster 3 offer little in terms of skill development and autonomy, and earnings are very low; and much more so for female multiple-job holders than for their male counterparts. Prospects are around average for

women but poorer for men. This cluster covers 31% of female but only 16% of male multiple-job holders.

About 85% of the women and 77% of the men in this cluster have a secondary education. The share of women 50 years old or older (29%) is much smaller than that of their male counterparts (47%). Worryingly, the shares of lone parents are relatively high: 23% of the women and 16% of the men in this cluster are bringing up children on their own. Both sexes tend to work fewer hours than average: 53% of men work 33 hours or less per week in their main and second jobs, while 63% of women work less than 30 hours.

Of the women in this cluster, 41% work in elementary occupations, while a further 40% work in low-skilled, white-collar jobs as clerical or services and sales workers, for example. In terms of sector, 19% work in manufacturing, 13% work in the wholesale and retail trade, and 24% work in real estate.

Of the men, 32% are in the plant and machine operators category, 27% are technicians and associate professionals, while 16% work in elementary occupations. As for sector, most work in education (22%) or the broad category of other services (20%), which encompasses, for instance, activities of membership organisations and repair of computers, personal and household goods. A further 13% work in public administration.

What does the profiling tell us?

The clustering exercise confirms the gendered profiles of multiple-job holders. While women are evenly distributed across the three groups, almost half of the men are concentrated in jobs with comparatively good job quality. The proportion of men in the very low earning cluster is about half compared to that of women. For both, about one-third of multiple-job holders are stuck in very poor-quality main jobs.



Policy pointers

The Pillar of Social Rights provides an opportunity to tackle the downsides of multiple-job holding

Multiple-job holding presents many facets, some positive, others negative. It can function as a stepping stone for career advancement, for pursuit of a new career or as a strategy to develop one's own business. It can also be a consequence of inadequate income resulting from low pay or insufficient hours of work. Regardless, the EWCS data shows that significant shares of multiple-job holders have very poor job quality overall or in some aspects of their main jobs. This means that these workers run the risk of accumulating poor job quality in their various jobs, which ultimately indicates that the goal of 'more and better jobs', pursued for more than two decades in the EU, is a moving target.

EU employment-related policies and measures must acknowledge that multiple-job holders are workers with a main paid job that is not always associated with good job quality. Policies that envisage improving jobs for all aim to prevent precariousness and in-work poverty, while minimising working conditions that impact negatively on workers' physical and mental health and well-being. It follows

that such policies would preclude situations in which workers take up second jobs to overcome poor working conditions. Low earnings are a clear concern, with half of multiple-job holders in the bottom two income quintiles. Current discussions on minimum wages and the development of measures to implement the European Pillar of Social Rights are important opportunities to address the issue of poor working conditions.

Working time regulations do not protect many multiple-job holders

The Working Time Directive establishes, in principle, a 48-hour limit of work per week (which may be averaged over 4, 6 or 12 months) and a minimum period of rest of 11 hours between two working days (which may be derogated under certain circumstances). These, among other provisions, have been established to protect workers' health and safety. However, the large share of multiple-job holders, especially among the highest earners, not complying with the regulations seems to go unnoticed. This would not be a breach of the directive if they were all self-employed, to whom the regulations do not apply. However, most multiple-job holders reporting long hours are

employees in their main job, therefore raising questions about the efficacy of the enforcement mechanisms in place.

Working multiple-jobs is also usually associated with atypical working hours, using free time to meet work demands and presenteeism. Given the importance of monitoring working hours for workers' health and well-being, it is of utmost importance to discuss how a reasonable approach can be found for ensuring adherence to the regulations, such as the directive, for those who take up more than one job.

A gender perspective is critical

Multiple-job holding is a phenomenon that mirrors the persistent gender segregation seen in the labour markets, where women are greatly disadvantaged. Any envisaged progress in gender equality in the labour market requires multiple-job holding and its gendered nature to be acknowledged. Men and women hold multiple jobs for different reasons. While most male multiple-job holders are at the top of the income distribution, thanks to their main job, and tend to work very long hours in both jobs, most of their female counterparts are in the lowest income bracket and spend less time in paid work.

Continuing to analyse developments and measures in the world of work through a gender lens is critical for policymakers to devise measures and actions that tackle and reduce inequalities between men and women.

Eurofound will continue to contribute to these discussions, presenting data and analyses taking into consideration the differences women and men experience at the workplace level with the EWCS data, for example.

This growing phenomenon must be monitored closely

It is crucial to keep track of the evolution of multiple-job holding not only quantitatively but also qualitatively regarding the job quality workers experience in their various jobs. The phenomenon of multiple-job holding remains limited as a share of the workforce in Europe (about 3.6% of employed men and 4.5% of employed women, according to the EU-LFS), but there is a growing number of workers taking up more than one job, especially in the 15 countries that were Member States prior to the 2004 EU enlargement. They are mostly female, highly educated and highly skilled workers. Future editions of the EWCS will contribute to shedding more light on the reasons for multiple-job holding and the job quality experienced by multiple-job holders in the EU.

Trends prior to the COVID-19 crisis show that multiple-job holding was increasing, and it was reasonable to assume that trend would continue, linked in part to the development of the so-called game-changing technology of the platform economy. However, at the time of writing, the duration of the crisis and its impacts on economies and labour markets and, as a consequence, on multiple-job holding are not yet foreseeable.



Resources

All Eurofound publications are available at www.eurofound.europa.eu

Eurofound topic 'Job quality',
<http://eurofound.link/jobquality>

Eurofound topic 'Gender equality',
<http://eurofound.link/genderequality>

Eurofound topic 'Working time',
<http://eurofound.link/workingtime>

Eurofound (2012), *Trends in job quality in Europe*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.

Eurofound (2015), *Opting out of the European Working Time Directive*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.

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Eurofound (2019), *Working conditions and workers' health*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.

European Commission (2010), *Detailed report on the implementation by Member States of Directive 2003/88/EC concerning certain aspects of the organisation of working time ('The Working Time Directive')*, Commission staff working paper, COM(2010) 802 final, Brussels.

European Commission (2017), *Interpretative communication on Directive 2003/88/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council concerning certain aspects of the organisation of working time*, 2017/C 165/01, Brussels.

European Commission (2020), *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A strong social Europe for just transitions*, COM(2020) 14 final, Brussels.

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Although a small proportion of the EU workforce holds down more than one job, it is worth understanding the phenomenon better, not only because it is growing by degrees, but also because of the impact it can have on workers' health and well-being and what it can tell us about the labour market. While there can be positive facets to multiple-job holding – it can, for example, be a stepping stone for career development – it can also have undesirable consequences for workers' physical and mental health if it entails very long working hours and poor work-life balance. This policy brief examines the prevalence of multiple-job holding in the EU, its main characteristics and the job quality of the workers who do it. One of the main findings is that multiple-job holding is different for women and men, and also varies significantly with age and income.

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) is a tripartite European Union Agency established in 1975. Its role is to provide knowledge in the area of social, employment and work-related policies according to Regulation (EU) 2019/127.

