
Policy Brief**Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers¹**

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1. Research Motivation

Since it was common practice in the late 1970s and 1980s to carry out labour force adjustments through early retirement schemes – which can be led back to rising unemployment and the restructuring of traditional industries – the policy change towards encouraging older workers to remain in the labour force was introduced along with the *Active Ageing* measures (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2004). The European Employment Strategy (EES) of the year 1997 (see for policy debate: KRAATZ/RHEIN, 2007; CASEY, 2004; FRANZESE/HAYS, 2006) evoked reforms to set incentives to work longer and changing eligibility rules to early retirement (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2004). Despite the priority action to increase the total employment rate² (15-64) by 70 percent, different strategies have been developed for the concept of *Active Ageing*, integrated into the EES in 1999 (KRAATZ/RHEIN, 2007). To reach the goal of full employment, specific quantitative aims for the group of older workers have additionally been agreed upon during the Stockholm EU-Summit in 2001 (KRAATZ/RHEIN, 2007). Those include the increase of the employment rate of the 55-64-year-old by 50 percent in EU-average³ and were complemented by the guideline of increasing labour market exit ages by five years until 2010 during the Barcelona-Summit in 2002 (KRAATZ/RHEIN, 2007). Despite the consensus of the relevance of the implementation of *Active Ageing* measures, employment politics differ among EU countries in dependence on their institutional background (SCHARPF, 2000). Since financial incentives to discourage early retirement have been integrated within *Active Ageing* regulations, prolonged labour market participation was seen as a way to fully realise the benefits from increased life expectancy (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2004). If supported by quality in work, labour market attachment is understood to improve living standards and reduce social exclusion (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2004). To maintain labour supply and promote long-term employment, the abolishment of early retirement schemes were realised in the year 2009 in Austria and Germany (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2004). The United Kingdom, following a liberal logic of welfare, incentives to retire early are prevented in the form of obligations and more stringent sanctioning (EBBINGHAUS, 2011). The present research contributes to the understanding of the effects of *Active Ageing* measures on maintaining labour supply and the consequences on the employment situations of older workers. The probability of older individuals to be in employment now, compared to 2000 is the focus of study. To understand how substitutes to early retirement transitions are organised, shifts in employment relations are analysed in a three country comparison of Austria (AUT), Germany (GER), and the United Kingdom (UK) (see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*).

² Employment rates represent employed persons as a percentage of same age total population (EUROSTAT, 2017).

³ Data of EU-28 relates to EU-27 for the year 2000.

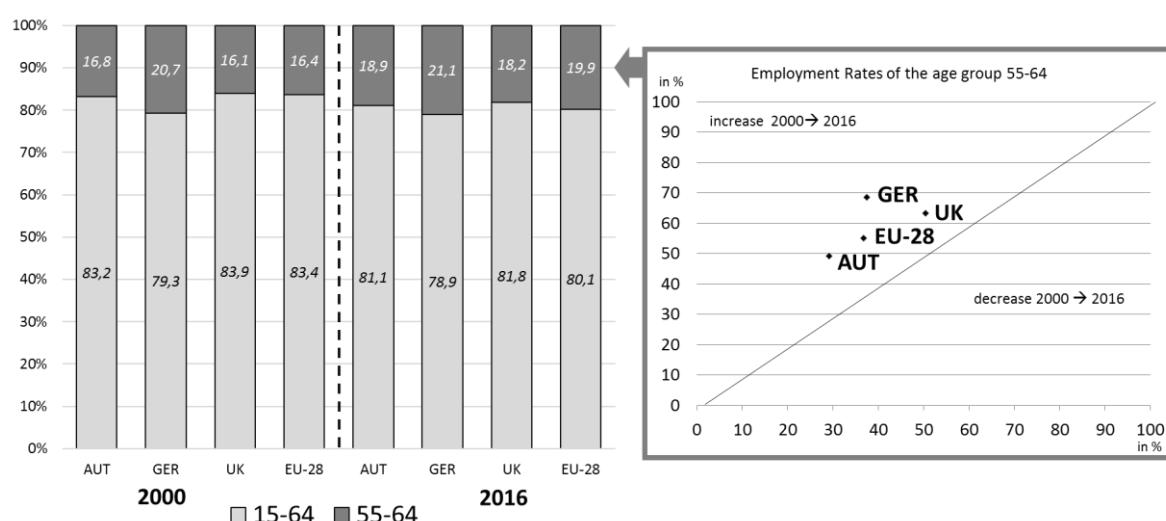
2. Fundamental Results

In a descriptive part, the differing conditions of labour markets among the three countries were regarded, showing similarities and differences (HOFÄCKER ET AL., 2016; BOSCH ET AL., 2009; BLOSSFELD ET AL., 2010). The analysis adds to the understanding of the relevance over the individual's integration into the labour market for the material situation before and after retirement (KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014; KNUTH, 2014). By working out factors that support the prolongation of employment (*pull*) and factors that are seen as barriers for old age employment (*push*) (EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013; OECD, 2006), the result was attained, that a combination of those factors determine the retention probability of older workers (for other research working with the concept of push and pull factors see OECD, 2006; SCHMIDTHUBER ET AL. 2016; SESSELMEIER ET AL. 2014; EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013). Regarding those factors more precisely, the qualitative measurement of the probability of individuals to stay in the labour market was carried through comparatively, giving an overview of the effectiveness of *Active Ageing* measures across the countries (for the detailed approach and analysis see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*).

a. Labour Market Analysis

The quantity of older individuals in the labour market show relative changes in old age population shares in the three countries below EU-average (see *Figure 1*). Though, the level in GER is with 21,1% above EU-average and higher than levels in the other countries.

Figure 1: Population Share of 55-64 at 15-64 and Employment Rates⁴ of 55-64 from 2000⁵-2016



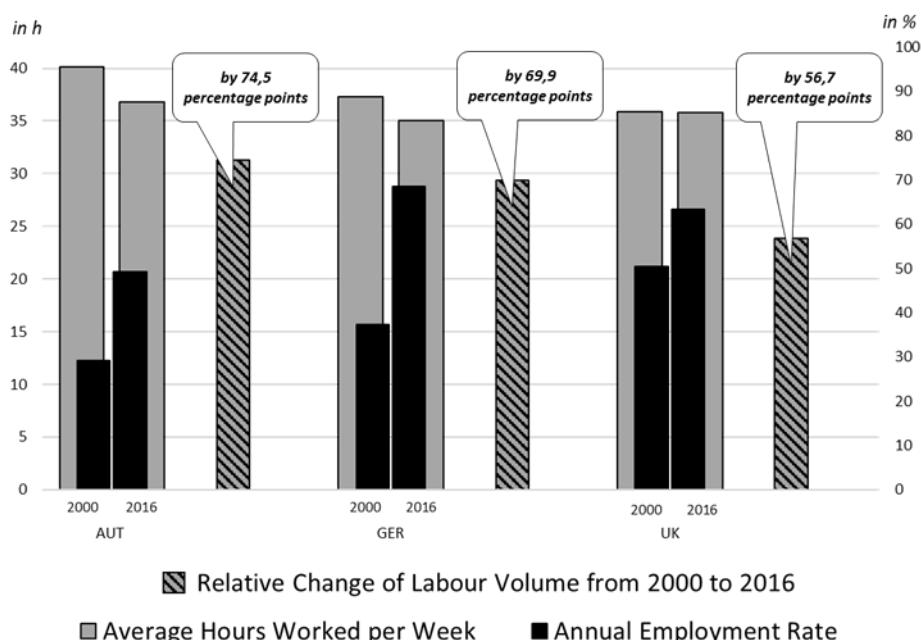
Source: EUROSTAT, 2017.

⁴ Employment rates represent employed persons as a percentage of same age total population (EUROSTAT, 2017).

⁵ In this report, the data of EU-28 relates to EU-27 for the year 2000.

Accordingly, higher employment rates of older individuals (55-64) can be viewed since 2000 (e.g. OECD 2015; REDDEN, 2013; HOFÄCKER ET AL. 2016; KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014; KNUTH, 2014; EUROFOUND, 2016; HOFÄCKER ET AL., 2016). Higher old age employment relates to higher statutory retirement ages, a higher amount of 55+ individuals in the labour market and the successive reduction of early retirement schemes as well as an overall upturn of the business cycle (EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013; CZEPEK/MOCZALL, 2017; KRAATZ/RHEIN, 2007). Because changes in the number of employed individuals normally have a direct impact on the accomplished working hours, labour volumes are considered. *Figure 2* shows an increase in labour volumes in the age group 55-64 is driven by a higher number of people in employment, which outweighs the fall in average working hours for this age group. In the UK, average hours worked have not fallen, though, are generally on a lower level.

Figure 2: Development of Labour Volumes⁶ in the age group 55-64-year-old the EU



Source: OECD 2017, EUROSTAT 2017, own calculations.

Figure 2 shows relative changes of labour volumes across the countries. It can be assumed that, in 2016, older individuals were with a higher probability in employment than they were in 2000 (KNUTH, 2014). Furthermore, reduced average working hours per week in 2016 compared to 2000 lead to the assumption that older individuals today are more frequently involved in employment forms deviating from the standard expectation (KNUTH, 2014; see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*).

⁶ Labour volumes have been calculated with the annual average hours worked of the same age multiplied by the employed individuals of the same age in the respective year. Calculations are based on absolute numbers, therefore, allows interpretations of in- and decreases. Thus, accounts for the effects causing the changes are not possible.

It can be summarise, that nonstandard forms of employment⁷ (NSFE) have become more popular in AUT and GER, when deviations from the expected standard working hours per week are regarded. For the UK, average hours worked have already been on a lower level than in the other two countries, suggesting that NSFE are also common (KNUTH, 2014; BRANDL, 2016; SCHMELZER, 2013) (see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*). Further cross-national research (EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013; HOFÄCKER ET AL. 2016; WRIGHT, 2016) describes the relationship between the labour performance of older workers in dependence of the institutional regimes. Therefore, the analysis regards the implementation of *Active Ageing* measures in the national labour market institutions in the three countries.

b. Push and Pull Factor Analysis

The occurrence of push and pull factors (see *Table 1*) determine, whether the implementation of *Active Ageing* policies follows the strategic aim to prolong employment and reduce early exit by changing incentives (EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013). In dependence on the institutional context, *Active Ageing* policies support those measures that decrease increments to leave the labour market while incentives to stay are increased (EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013; OECD, 2006). The retention probability of older workers was evaluated, by comparing the implementation of *Active Ageing* measures (see for detailed analysis *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Worker*). Regarding institutional work disincentive (*pull-factors*; see *Appendix-Table 3*) and, on the other hand, barriers to employment (*push-factors*; see *Appendix-Table 4*), the extent to which higher labour market participation of older workers has been achieved (*retention-factors*) over the past decade was determined (EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013; OECD, 2006; SCHMIDTHUBER ET AL. 2016).

Table 1: Concept of Push- and Pull-factors

Push-factors	Pull-factors
Employment conditions	Financial incentives
Unemployment	Leisure time orientation
Illness	Family or partnership constellations
Retention-factors	
Enhancing older individual's employability	

Source: Own illustration.

⁷ The International Labour Organisation (ILO) contributes with their understanding of nonstandard forms of employment to the debate of employment heterogeneity (see KELLER/SEIFERT, 2013; WEINKOPF ET AL., 2009; KNUTH, 2014; EICHHORST/MARX, 2015). The concept of ILO defines them as all those, that are either not open ended or not in full time, not direct (subordinate relationship with end user) or are not part of an employment relation, such as dependent self-employment (ILO, 2016).

By studying the differences of the push- and pull-factors, the results on trends in inequality were received (see *Appendix-Table 1*). Analyses accounted for educational, occupational and sectoral differences, and compares older with younger workers' experiences. By evaluating factors of retention the overall result was found, that recent developments of push- and pull-factors result in new forms of inequalities for older employees, thereby influencing employment probability of older individuals across the countries studied in different ways (TRISCHLER, 2014). Although, the architecture of the welfare states is aiming at higher old age employment integration, institutional setting in the countries have diverse implications for the labour market (see *Appendix Table 2*; BOSCH ET AL., 2009). Overall, the quantity of older individuals in the labour market has been rising (see *Appendix-Table 1; Figure 1*), suggesting that *Active Ageing* measures raise the probability of older individuals to prolong employment (EUROFOUND, 2016). This is in accordance with research, pointing towards higher participation rates of older individuals (e.g. BRANDL, 2016; KNUTH, 2014; EUROFOUND, 2016; HOFÄCKER ET AL., 2016; DGB; 2015; see for more information *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*). However, along with employment rate increases, NSFE were also found to be rising in the three countries. This could point towards a decrease in economic security of older individuals, due to employment situations of older individuals that result in contribution deficits in the social insurance and lead to reduced entitlements in the social security (KNUTH, 2014; TRISCHLER, 2014). This, as a consequence, would impose implications for social inequalities at an old age (TRISCHLER, 2014). The literature points towards differences across the countries. In the UK, low qualified are expected to be at an especially high risk of disadvantageous labour market positions (SCHMELZER, 2010). In GER the polarisation between high and low-income groups is suggested to be widening (DGB; 2015; BRANDL, 2016), yet, in AUT the gender gap in pension payments is assumed to be broadening (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2014A, 2015C).

Table 2: Retention Probability of older individuals in the EU

	AUT	GER	UK
Pull-Factors	Strong	Moderate	Weak
Push-Factors	Moderate	Moderate	Weak
Timing of Labour Market Exit	<i>Voluntary Early Exit</i>	<i>Exit at Retirement Age</i>	<i>Late exit</i>

Source: Own illustration.

Inequalities emerge differently across the countries, though, results suggest that they can be found in each of the countries (see *Appendix-Table 1*). The difference of push and pull factors (see *Table 2*) indicates for the UK (HOFÄCKER ET AL. 2015) that older individuals will rather prolong employment (see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*). For GER, the results show that incentives and disincentives are relatively equal and therefore, older individuals will exit at retirement age (HOFÄCKER ET AL. 2016; DGB 2016; BRUSSIG ET AL. 2016; see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*). In AUT, individuals prefer to choose an early exit, however, the mechanisms indicate incentives to work longer (SCHMIDTHUBER ET AL. 2016; see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*). The retention probability is therefore high, wherever the work disincentives and barriers to employment are low (HOFÄCKER ET AL., 2016; BRUSSIG, 2016).

c. Summary

Quantitatively, the labour market data shows increases in old age employment. Different causes are likely. Higher numbers of older individuals in the labour market are leading to higher labour market potentials of the elderly (CZEPEK/MOCZALL, 2017). Though, reductions of early retirement schemes and later statutory retirement ages also connect to the time period regarded (CZEPEK/MOCZALL, 2017). When the business cycle is analysed, it shows that in 2000 and in 2016, there has been economic upturns. Thus, higher old age employment can also be led back to a generally good economy development. However, even in the period of the economic slowdown due to the financial crisis, the employment rates of the 55-64-year-old shows resilient (see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*). Overall, it seems that older individuals adapted to changes in labour market transitions towards being with a higher probability in employment than in 2000.

Qualitatively, the diversification of employment forms is in evidence for older individuals (KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014; TRISCHLER, 2014; KNUTH 2014). However, the dividing line for defining NSFE in terms of inferior job quality is not easy to identify (EICHHORST/TOBSCH, 2013) When NSFE are attached to features of instability, limited professional perspectives or low pay they are likely to be linked to a higher risk of deprived material situations before and after retirement (EICHHORST/TOBSCH 2013; KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014). Old age provision depends on life course employment integration of individuals (KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014). Rising periods of unemployment, along with deviations from standard labour market performances with varying standard incomes along with effects on financial asset accumulations during the life course of individuals result in the need of political discussion on those issues (KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014; BRUSSIG, 2014) (see *Research Report on the Changing Labour Market Conditions for Older Workers*).

3. Implications

Implementation of *Active Ageing* measures are consistent with prolonged employment among older individuals, though, at the same time expenses of employment quality in regard to their deviation from standard employment relations are in evidence. Therefore, the main research question is confirmed, that with a higher probability older individuals are in employment now, compared to 2000. Those results are in accordance with general findings of labour research, pointing towards a higher old age employment (BRANDL, 2016; OECD 2015; REDDEN, 2013; HOFÄCKER ET AL. 2016; KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014). If involuntary constellations hinder the individual to continue working, supposedly, *Active Ageing* measures are not sufficient to prolong employment (DORN/SOUZA-POZA, 2007). The results indicate the dependence of institutional measures on labour market developments (EICHHORST/MARX, 2015; SCHARPF, 2000). It is supposed, that employment situations close to the retirement age affect the transition decision (TRISCHLER, 2014; HOFÄCKER ET AL. 2016; SCHMELZER, 2014). From the countries studied, heterogeneity in old age employment are expected to be connected to inferior social protection, which leads to detriments in old age provision (TRISCHLER, 2014). Though, the results also point towards diversity depending on the welfare regime (HOFÄCKER ET AL., 2016; EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, 2013; BLOSSFELD ET AL. 2010). In old age insurances the level of transfers is strongly connected to income situations during the life course but also to the continuation and duration of employment. A sufficient high pension would be attained with an employment period of thirty to forty years and a low full-time income (MAIER, 1994). We would thus assume, that in AUT and GER, where full-time employment has been reduced, specific groups may be at a higher risk to reach sufficient old age coverage. On the other hand, in the UK, interruptions due to low Employment Protection Legislation and the liberal welfare setting are more common (WRIGHT, 2016; SCHMELZER, 2010), which could lead to pension entitlements below full-time employment expectations as well (MAIER, 1994). Therefore, political challenges depend on national institutional settings (EUROFOUND, 2016; SCHARPF, 2000).

In the literature, the rising relevance of gaps in the labour market integration of individuals close to retirement age is discussed (KISTLER/TRISCHLER, 2014; KNUTH, 2014). The standards of living within different groups of older individuals is changing (SCHMELZER, 2014; BRANDL, 2016; DGB, 2015; EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2015C, 2014A; BLANPAIN, 2008; CONTRERAS ET AL. 2011). Future research will regard the causality between prolonged working lives and higher probability to be involved in NSFE. The meaning of labour market performances for old age employment and provision during the life course, will be analysed by employment structures of older individuals by socio-economic features and comparing them to other age groups (INKSON AT AL. 2014; KELLER/SEIFERT, 2013; BRUSSIG ET AL., 2016; EICHHORST/MARX, 2015).

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Appendix

Appendix-Table 1: Comparative Results

Criterion	Indicators	Data	Interpretation	Results				
Countries				UK	GER	BEL	AUT	ESP
	<i>Old age employment</i>		<i>Employment rate of older individuals</i>	The quantity of older individuals in the labour market has been rising. Older individuals stay in the labour market longer.				
	<i>Economic Security</i>		<i>Employment situations of older individuals have decreased in quality</i>	Low qualified more often in atypical employment. Low qualified at higher risks of becoming economically inactive on the basis of flexibilisation of the labour market result in Market-oriented reforms negative effects on the pension income for low-qualified individuals, because of	Once older individuals lose their previous employment situation, they are more likely to be employed in an atypical employment situation. Incidences of self-employment and perforated life circles foster employment beyond statutory	The system of part-time end-of-career jobs is seen as a way of gradually leaving the labour market and is mostly used by the 50-59, not by the 60-64 who are the primary target group. Further reduction of the level of the pensions for persons working beyond the age of	Perforated life circles have become more often. Women are at a higher risk of not being in dependent employment situations than men.	Old age employment has not been rising. Great problems with unemployment due to the crisis. 45+ face particular difficulties in finding employment. Lack of training required to fulfil the new needs of the production market.

				the design focussing on career profiles.	retirement age in mini jobs to finance standard of living.	62, including low pensions.		
[SOURCE]				SCHMELZER (2010), P. 265, 280	BRANDL (2016), P. 94	BLANPAIN (2008), P. 84-85; CONTRERAS ET AL. (2011.), P. 45; EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2015c), P. 23	EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2015a), P. 18	EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2015c), p. 120
	<i>Social inequalities in old age</i>		<i>Precarious constellations</i>	Low qualified older workers.	Polarisation between above average and below average earners.	Continuous decrease of replacement rates	Gender Gap in Pensions	Long-Term Unemployed
[SOURCE]				SCHMELZER (2010), P. 265-266, 280	BRANDL (2016), P. 103-104.	EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2015c), P. 23	EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2015c), P. 261	EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2015c), P. 124, 120

Source: Own illustration.

Appendix-Table 2: Welfare Regimes

Criterion	Indicators	Data	Interpretation	Results				
Countries				UK	GER	BEL	AUT	ESP
Regime Type			<i>The succession of the countries emerges from their degree of regulations</i>	Liberal	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Fragmented

		<i>mechanism</i>					
[SOURCE]			BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	FENGER (2007), P. 24	FENGER (2007), P. 24	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25
Welfare regime			Residual workforce with strong individualisation and privatisation risks	Transfer-orientated welfare state aiming at status maintenance	Transfer-orientated welfare state based on a watered down version of earnings-related social insurance	Transfer-orientated welfare state aiming at status maintenance, strongly focusing on work and family.	Fragmented welfare state with strong transfer orientation for insiders
[SOURCE]			BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25; EBBINGHAUS (2011), P. 58	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25; GUGER (1998), P. 32	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25
Labour Market			Highly flexible with low compensation of individual risks	Rigid with strong insider/outsider segmentation	Rigid with strong insider/outsider segmentation	Rigid with strong insider/outsider segmentation	Rigid with very strong insider/outsider segmentation
[SOURCE]			BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25	BLOSSFELD ET AL. (2010), P. 24-25
	Retirement		Traditional system of late exit from the labour market	Reversion of early retirement trend towards late exit from labour market	Unemployment as well as sickness and disability benefits are key elements for early retirement, as both types of benefits are not necessarily time-limited	Though reversion of early retirement schemes can be seen, substantial labour market withdrawal through disability or unemployment pathway shows	Moderate early retirement regime with particular groups showing later exit from labour market

[SOURCE]				EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER (2013) p. 849, 851	EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER, (2013) p. 849, 851	JOUSTEN/LEFEBVRE (2013), p. 5	INDERBITZIN ET AL. (2012), p. 5	EBBINGHAUS/HOFÄCKER (2013), p. 849, 851
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Source: Own illustration.

Appendix-Table 3: Pull Factors

Criterion	Indicators	Data	Interpretation	Results					
Countries				UK	GER	BEL	AUT	ESP	
Pull factors [work disincentives]	<i>Reduction of Generosity</i>			Weak	Moderate	Strong	Strong		Moderate
Governmental									
	<i>Gross replacement rate</i>	<i>The higher the replacement rate, the earlier the individual will exit from the labour market.</i>	21,6 % individual gross earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	37,5 % individual gross earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	46,6 % individual gross earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	78,1 % individual gross earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	82,1 % individual gross earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)		
	<i>Generosity of replacement rates</i>	<i>Net replacement rate</i>	28,5 % individual net earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	50,0 % individual net earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	60,9 % individual net earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	91,6 % individual net earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)	89,5 % individual net earnings (of individual earnings, multiple of average 1)		
[SOURCE]				OECD (2015), p.371	OECD (2015), p.264	OECD (2015), p.220	OECD (2015), p. 215	OECD (2015), p. 351	
Private	<i>Qualification</i>	<i>Share of 55-64 with tertiary education</i>	<i>Individuals with higher educational background</i>	2003	2013	2003	2013	2003	2013
				25,5	34,4	26,5	29,3	26,3	29,9
						17,8	20,9	17,7	22,1

		(% of the age group) ⁸	, are unlikely to leave the LM earlier than statutory retirement age.											
[SOURCE]		OECD (2014a)		OECD (2014a)										

Source: Own illustration.

Appendix-Table 4: Push Factors

Criterion	Indicators	Data	Interpretation	Results				
Countries				UK	GER	BEL	AUT	ESP
Push Factors [barriers to employment]	Improve reward of delay		If push factors are weak, moderate, strong, then the individual is inclined to exit from the labour market	Weak	Moderate	Strong	Moderate	Strong

⁸ Percentage of 55-64 either unemployed or inactive but willing to work.

			<i>later than, at, earlier than statutory pension age.</i>										
	<i>Delay minimum age</i>	<i>Effective retirement age</i>	<i>If reductions to pension payments for retiring earlier than statutory retirement ages are high, the individual will stay in the labour market longer.</i>	2003 M: 63,1 F: 61,2	2013 M: 63,7 F: 63,2	2003 M: 61,0 F: 60,2	2013 M: 62,1 F: 61,6	2003 M: 58,5 F: 56,8	2013 M: 59,6 F: 58,7	2003 M: 59,9 F: 59,1	2013 M: 61,9 F: 59,4	2003 M: 61,6 F: 61,4	2013 M: 62,3 F: 63,2
[SOURCE]				OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)	
	<i>Training participat ion (55- 64)⁹</i>	<i>Training participatio n</i>	<i>If qualificatio n measures for older individuals are</i>	Lack of coordination in provision of training and adult career guidance		Low incidence of adult training, especially after 50		Low incidence of adult training		Lack of training opportunities, especially for inactive people		Education level of older workers is low. Provision of adult training is inadequate.	

⁹ Job-related training during the last month, 2004, 2007, 2011.

			<i>available, the individual will stay in the labour market longer.</i>								
[SOURCE]				OECD (2006)		OECD (2006)		OECD (2006)		OECD (2006)	
		Absolute (% of all employed in the age group)		2003	2013	2003	2007	2003	2007	2003	2013
				15,4	12,1	2,9	4,3	5,9	4,4	8,3	9,8
[SOURCE]		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)	
		Relative to employed persons aged 25-54 (ratio)		2003	2013	2003	2013	2003	2013	2003	2013
				0,66	0,76	0,63	0,67	0,58	0,84	0,65	0,79
[SOURCE]		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)		OECD (2014A)	

Source: Own illustration.