The impact of the crisis on the labour market situation of households in Italy

Francesca della Ratta, Eugenia De Rosa, Elisa Marzilli, Maria Elena Pontecorvo

Social Transformations. Research on Precarisation and Diversity – An international and interdisciplinary Journal/ Soziale Transformationen. Forschungen zu Prekarisierung und Diversität – ein internationales, interdisziplinäres Journal
Volume 2, 2018

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Abstract: Traditional individual employment and unemployment indicators don't allow to show different degrees of family disadvantage or risk of exclusion from the labour market, which may vary a lot considering the employment status of all household adult members. The presence of unemployed or inactive people and/or precarious jobs within the family can be faced differently if one or more components can still rely on a `guaranteed job´, while conversely redundancy of one of the member can cause more difficulties if others have a precarious job or are unemployed too. Using labour force data the article shows changes in the distribution of work in Italy at households level.

Keywords: Distribution of work in households; Employment; Unemployment; Precarious job; Italy; Job quality

1 Introduction

The recent economic recession had a major impact on the Italian labour market, expanding the risk of exclusion and areas of vulnerability and disadvantage, only barely recovered by recent improvements in labour market. Statistical analysis has increasingly focused on individuals, while less attention has been paid to the distribution of work within and between households (EC, 2012; Mocetti, Olivieri &Viviano, 2010). The traditional individual employment and unemployment indicators do not allow to show different degrees of family disadvantage or risk of exclusion from the labour market, which may vary a lot considering the employment status of all household adult members. The presence of unemployed or inactive people and/or precarious jobs within the family can be faced differently if one or more components can still rely on a `guaranteed job´, while conversely redundancy of one of the member can cause more difficulties if others have a precarious job or are unemployed too.

The aim of this article is to assess whether the job loss and worsening of working conditions due to the crisis (della Ratta & Pintaldi, 2015) as well as the progressive de-standardization of labour, started since 1990s, affected the distribution of work in Italy at households level. Focusing on the Italian context, the analysis has been conducted using the national Labour Force Survey (LFS) data from 2008 to 2015, that was the first year with a significant improvement in Italian labour market. Data from the Labour Force Survey, the largest household sample survey in Italy, make it possible to explore both individual and households dynamics. This article is divided into two main parts: in the first one data are analyzed at individual level, in the second at household level. Section 2 describes changes from 2008 to 2015 in traditional indicator of labour market at individual level. Section 3 investigates to what

[1] The text is the result of a joint work. Opinions are expressed personally by authors and don't involve the official Istat view.

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extent the crisis affected the quality of job. Section 4 provides evidence on the effects of the crisis on the distribution of paid work among families; in section 5 the quality of work within families is investigated by means of an original index (the badjob index). Finally, section 6 offers some conclusions.

2 The Italian labour market: the strong crisis and the recent recovery

As in the European Union, also in Italy since 2014 there were some improvement in the labour market. More in detail in 2015 the employed rose by 186,000 units (0.8% higher than 2014) and the employment rate 15-64 aged rose to 56.3%, 0.6 points on a year-on-year basis (Table 1). In 2016 the employment growth was by 293,000 (+1.3%) and the employment rate rose to 57.2. However, compared to 2008 – the first year of the recession – in 2016 333,000 employed still missing (-1.4%) and the employment rate is lower than 1.4%age points. Moreover, very large gaps characterize the Italian labour market: first of all the territorial ones, with the employment rate 15-64 aged higher than 20 points in Central-northern compared to Southern regions. Concerning gender, if during the crisis the strong decrease of male employment reduced the historical gap, the 2015 employment growth was mainly concentrated among men (+1.1% compared to +0.5 of women), expanding again gender differences: almost 20 points in employment rates(65.5% men and 47.2% women). Conversely the fall in young people employment was attenuated. Although the increase in employment in 2015 continues to be of interest to only employed aged 50 and over (increased by 4.5%), the reduction of employees aged 15-34 years and 35-49 years is lower than in last years and the employment rate slightly increase (respectively 0.1 and 0.3 percentage points for people aged 15-34 and 35-49, compared to 1.5 points of people aged 50-64). In 2016 there were the first growth in employment of 15-34 aged (+0.9% and +0.7 percentage point in employment rate). Again, however, this not recovered the heavy losses recorded during the crisis: the employment rate of 15-34 aged drops more than ten points since 2008, settling at 39.2% (39.9 in 2016); the 35-49 aged falls of 4.2 points, reaching 71.9% (72.5 in 2016).

During the crisis, the dramatic reduction in the number of employees corresponded by a sharp increase in the unemployment rate (Fig. 1). Despite the first decline registered between 2014 and 2015 (-1.9 percentage points) the value of the unemployment rate remains very high (11.9%), especially among young people aged 15-34, and in the Southern regions (around 20%). Overall, unemployed people down to about 3 million (6.3% lower on a year-on-year basis, but remain 1.4 million more than in 2008).

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Table 1: Employment rate 15-64 aged and employed people (15 and more aged) – Years 2008, 2014 and 2015 *(percentage values, differences in percentage points, absolute values in thousands, Source: Labour Force Survey, Istat; Eurostat, Labour Force Survey)*

	Employment rate (15-64 aged)			Employed (15 years and more)				
	Values 2015	Variations		Values 2015	Variations 2008-2015		Variations 2014-2015	
		2008/2015	2014/2015		Absolute	%	Absolute	%
GENDER								
Men	65.5	-4.6	0.8	13,085	-736	-5.3	139	1.1
Women	47.2	-0.1	0.3	9,380	110	1.2	47	0.5
AREAS								
North	64.8	-2.1	0.5	11,664	-232	-1.9	52	0.4
Centre	61.4	-1.3	0.5	4,851	88	1.8	40	0.8
South and Island	42.5	-3.5	0.8	5,950	-482	-7.5	94	1.6
CITIZENSHIP								
National	56.0	-2.1	0.6	20,106	-1,295	-6.0	121	0.6
Non national	58.9	-8.1	0.4	2,359	669	39.6	65	2.8
AGE CLASSES								
15-34 years	39.2	-11.1	0.1	5,008	-1,954	-28.1	-27	-0.5
35-49 years	71.9	-4.2	0.3	10,043	-511	-4.8	-108	-1.1
50 years and more	56.3	9.2	1.5	7,415	1,839	33.0	321	4.5
ITALY	**56.3**	**-2.3**	**0.6**	**22,465**	**-626**	**-2.7**	**186**	**0.8**
UE28	**65.7**	**-0.2**	**0.8**	**220,706**	**-2,170**	**-1.0**	**2,422**	**1.1**
Uem	**65.8**	**-1.4**	**0.6**	**143,520**	**-3,239**	**-2.2**	**1,461**	**1.0**

The Italian labour market is also characterized by a strong presence of people who say they are interested in working, despite not actively seeking a job (or not available to work immediately), the \`potential labour force´. These are people who, though not included in the statistical unemployed definition, express a job offer that the economic system does not fit. This aggregate grew during the crisis and also in 2015, and is composed by about 3.5 million people. Summing the unemployed and the potential labour force, there are about 6.5 million people who would like to work. To give an account of this group, the non-participation rate[2] is calculated to provide a broader measure of the labour offer. The non-participation rate comes in 2015 to 22.5% (from 22.9% of 2014), a value very far from that of the EU average (12.7%). In the Southern regions both the unemployment and the non-participation rate is more than double than in the Center-northern ones. Moreover, in Southern region, the problem of women non-participation is particularly widespread, so much so that the indicator comes to 46.8% (Istat, 2016). The high incidence of those who would actively participate in

[2] The indicator, referred to the population between 15 and 74 years, puts the unemployed and inactive people who are not seeking work but available to work in the numerator and these latter plus the whole workforce (employed and unemployed) in the denominator.

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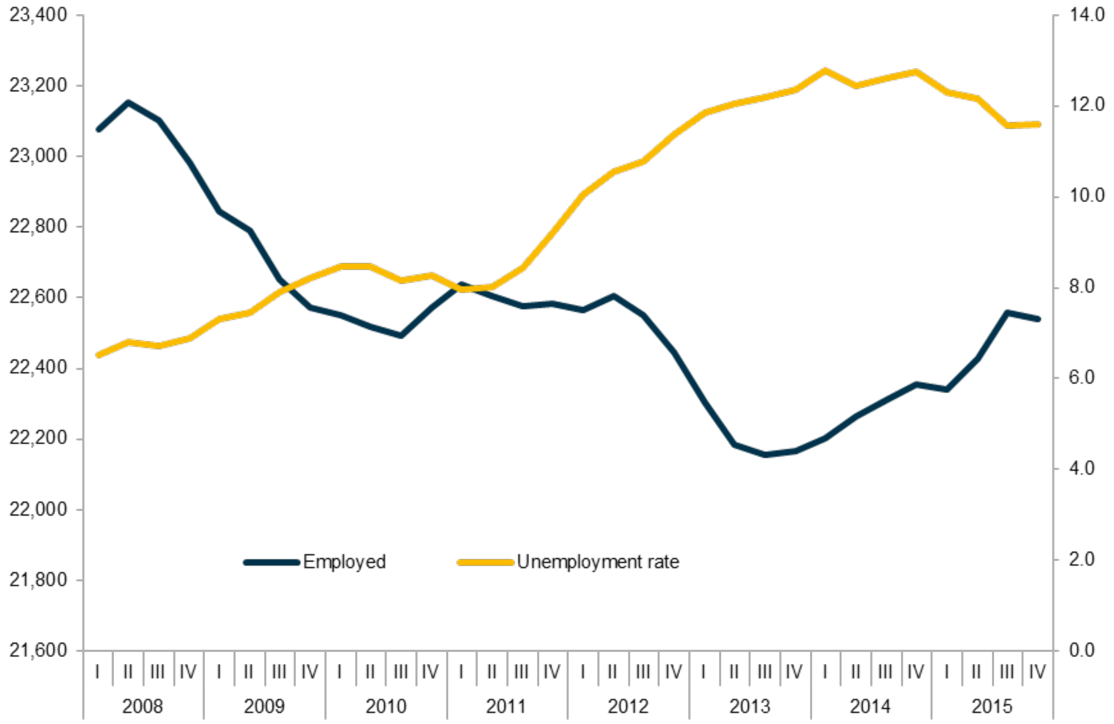
the labour market is the other side of the main Italian labour market problem (Gallino, 2014), namely the reduced capacity of the national system to create new job opportunity.

Figure 1: Number of employed (left scale) and unemployment rate (right scale) in Italy. Adjusted quarterly data 2008-2015 *(absolute values in thousands and percentage values, Source: Labour Force Survey, Istat)*



3 The decline of the quality of work and the increase of non-standard jobs

The crisis narrowed the already low number of employed and reduced also the quality of existing jobs. The regular and permanent jobs declined, while non-standard jobs increased. Combining information on working time arrangement (full time or part time) and kind of employment (permanent or temporary) it is possible to identify three groups of employees: those who have a standard job, a partially standard, or an atypical one. The area of standard jobs, involving in 2015 less than three-quarters of employed, includes both full-time employees with a permanent contract and full-time self-employed. Partially standard jobs (covering 14.5% of employment in 2015) instead include part time workers, either permanent employees or self-employed. The name adopted for this group is due to the still relatively unusual nature of part-time in the Italian labour market, which continues to be characterized

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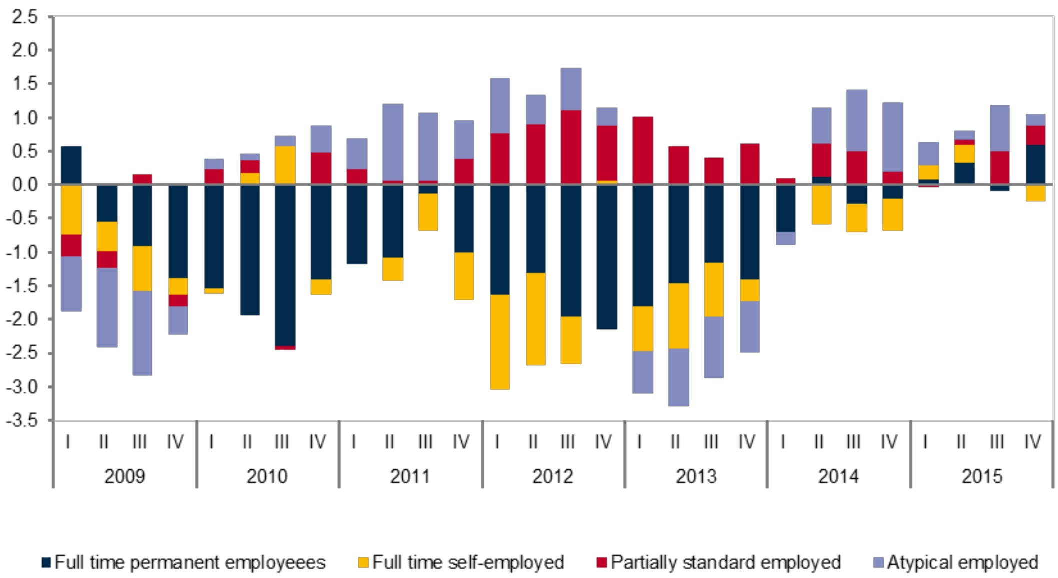
by the prevalence of full-time workers. Finally, temporary jobs are called atypical, both full-time or part-time (the 12.2% of total employed in 2015). So, the area of non-standard jobs identifies a larger group of employed, group in with by the lack of some standard job elements: the permanent employment and/or a full-time job (Istat, 2009). The progressive standard employment erosion increased with the crisis, when especially part-time component grew. In fact, one of the strategies chosen by the Italian companies was the reduction in working time, so much so that the increase involved mainly involuntary part-time (and the incidence of involuntary part-timers on the total came in 2015 to 63.9%, from 40,2% in 2008). More fluctuating was instead the trend of atypical job, which was affected to a greater extent in the economic cycle: grown strongly before the crisis, also because of some legislative actions that facilitated the use of fixed-term jobs, the atypical workers were firstly damaged at the beginning of the crisis. Temporary work is then began to rise again in 2011 and 2012 but fell again in 2013, in correspondence with a further deterioration in labour market conditions (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Employed aged 15 years and more by kind of job. Years 2009-2015 *(percentage contributions to the year-on-year employment trend, Source: Labour Force Survey, Istat).*



In 2015 there was a turnaround, with an employment growth reflected on all labour market figures: including standard employed, growth by 65 thousand units on annual basis (+0.4 %). Compared to 2008, however, the standards employed decreased by 1.3 million, and their incidence rose from 77% in 2008 to 73.4% in 2015. The partially standard workers continued to grow: between 2008 and 2015 permanent part time employed rose by 687,000 units (26.8%), 45,000 in the 2015 (+1.4%). It also continued the new growth of atypical employment, but it involved almost exclusively very short jobs (with contracts of less than 12 months):

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overall more than half of the atypical workers has a contract with a duration of less than 12 months and less than 20% have a one-year contract. However for 19.5% of atypical workers precarious condition continues over time (534,000 atypical workers doing the same job for at least five years). Atypical jobs are widespread among young aged 15-34, but this kind of work also affects adults and people with family care: in 2015 one third of atypical workers was aged 35-49 and the 41.7% of female atypical workers is a mother. The increase in the weight of non-standard jobs in a labour market in which the main welfare measures continue to be designed for standards employees (Gallino, 2014) involves a higher degree of vulnerability among employed. This vulnerability becomes more evident considering some aspects of non-standard workers weaknesses, which have less probability to be employed in the following year (from the first quarter 2014 to the first 2015, the 82.1% of atypical workers is still employed, compared with 90.6% among partially standard employed and the 95.6% of standard employed). Economic, obvious disadvantage for part-time employees in terms of hourly pay is also strong for atypical employees, that earn the 25.7% less than standard employees (1,494 vs. 1,125 Euros), considering only the full-time segment. This is the reason why among atypical workers the percentage of those who are looking for a new or an additional job is higher (13.3% against 9.3% and 2% of partially standard and standard ones), and that in most cases such research is carried out because of the job deadline or the fear of losing it. However, during the crisis, the feeling of insecurity is spreading even among standard workers, so that among the reasons that lead them to search for a new job, those related to the fear of losing job goes from 11.3% in 2008 to 27.0% in 2015. The recent Bes report (Istat-CNEL, 2015) confirms that even permanent employees are not exempt from the fear of losing their jobs, even in a slightly percentage than atypical workers (4.5% against 37.5%). Reading this information on a familiar basis, as developed in next paragraphs, can enrich the analysis giving a more complex perspective of changes occurred during the crisis. To better understand the dynamics it could be more useful to consider data in three relevant years: 2008, 2013, one of the worst moment of the crisis and the 2015, the first year in wich a significat improvement is registered.

4 The Effect of the Crisis on the Distribution of Paid Work among Families: Single Person and Family Households

Analysis of changes in the labour market can be improved analyzing data in a family perspective, since the involved dynamics act differently on families according to their type and composition. Data from Italian Labour Force Survey allowed to analyze changes in the distribution of paid work among different kind of families. The following analysis concerns households with at least one active member (aged 15-64), estimated in 2015 in 18,9 million, that means 73.1% of all Italian resident families (over 25,5 million - Table 2). In comparison to

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2008, in 2015 the number of families without any job income or job pension (jobless)[3] increased: in 2015 they were 2,2 million that means 11.8% of the total (they were 7.8% in 2008 and 11.2% in 2013). In most cases we can assume that jobless families were the weakest ones. The increase concerned especially young families than adult ones[4]: among young households the jobless incidence increased from 8% to 13%, while among the adult ones from 7.6% to 11%. More generally this trend was stronger in Italian Southern regions, where jobless households, already great in number in 2008, exceeded 20% in 2015 (Figure 3).
At the same time, the strongest families[5], those with two or more employed people, decreased: in 2015 they were estimated in 5,8 million, this means 30.8% of the total (they were 34.3% in 2008). However they slightly increased in the last period, from 30,3% to 30,8%. Also in this case the situation in the South of Italy was worst: this value, already low at the beginning of the crisis, strongly decreased from 25.1% to 21.7%. Moreover, also families with a pensioner and at least another job income (or job pension) decreased from 14.9% in 2008 to 11.3%.

An important distinction is between single person households and family households. Overall, in 2015 person living alone and supported by a job income/pension were 3,2 million, and in most cases these were single person employed; the latter, from 2008 to 2015, increased both among men and among women, rising from 13% to 15.8% of households with at least one member aged 15-64. By contrast retired single persons decreased.

[3] According to The LFS definition of 'population in jobless households' (an EU Structural Indicators) we assume as `jobless´ households in which no member is in employment, i.e. all members are either unemployed or inactive. However, unlike the LFS definition that treat 'working-age' as ranging from 18 to 59 excluding students aged 18 to 24 (Watson, Maître& Russell 2015), our aggregate is composed by all families with at least one active member from 15 to 64 years including students and excluding retired person. Other definitions are used in the literature to define jobless such as SILC indicator of household joblessness, based on the concept of 'very low work intensity'. Work intensity refers to the proportion of available time that working-age adults in the household spend in employment.

[4] The young families are those where the head of household was born after 1970, these represent 37% of the total. The adult families are those where the head of household was born before 1970.

[5] For us the `strong nature´ of this kind of family is intended in terms of level of participation to the labour market.

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Table 2: Households with at least one member aged 15-64 by presence of pensioners, family composition and participation to the labour market - Years 2008, 2013 e 2015 *(absolute and percentage values, Source: Labour Force Survey, Istat)*

HOUSEHOLDS AND PARTICIPATION TO THE LABOUR MARKET	Absolute values			Percentage			For 100 households of the same type
	2008	2013	2015	2008	2013	2015	2015
HOUSEHOLDS WITH AT LEAST ONE MEMBER 15-64 AGED	**18,068**	**18,873**	**18,854**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**-**
WITH AT LEAST ONE PENSIONER	***3,978***	***3,677***	***3,279***	***22.0***	***19.5***	***17.4***	***100.0***
Single person households	**316**	**278**	**204**	**1.7**	**1.5**	**1.1**	**6.2**
Men	*147*	*123*	*87*	*0.8*	*0.7*	*0.5*	*2.6*
Women	*169*	*155*	*117*	*0.9*	*0.8*	*0.6*	*3.6*
Family households	**3,662**	**3,399**	**3,076**	**20.3**	**18.0**	**16.3**	**93.8**
One pensioner and no employed persons	969	998	951	5.4	5.3	5.0	29.0
One pensioner and at least one employed person	1,790	1,497	1,393	9.9	7.9	7.4	42.5
One or more pensioners	902	903	732	5.0	4.8	3.9	22.3
WITHOUT PENSIONERS	***14,090***	***15,197***	***15,575***	***78.0***	***80.5***	***82.6***	***100.0***
Single person households	**2,975**	**3,793**	**3,960**	**16.5**	**20.1**	**21.0**	**25.4**
Employed	2,341	2,859	2,979	13.0	15.1	15.8	19.1
Men	1,444	1,682	*1,769*	*8.0*	*8.9*	*9.4*	*11.4*
Women	897	1,177	*1,211*	*5.0*	*6.2*	*6.4*	*7.8*
No employed	634	934	981	3.5	4.9	5.2	6.3
Men	*264*	*483*	*505*	*1.5*	*2.6*	*2.7*	*3.2*
Women	*370*	*451*	*476*	*2.0*	*2.4*	*2.5*	*3.1*
Unemployed	118	299	294	0.7	1.6	1.6	1.9
Inactive	516	635	687	2.9	3.4	3.6	4.4
Family households	**11,115**	**11,403**	**11,615**	**61.5**	**60.4**	**61.6**	**74.6**
Without employed persons	772	1,185	1,235	4.3	6.3	6.6	7.9
with at least one unemployed	263	571	559	1.5	3.0	3.0	3.6
with all members inactive	509	614	676	2.8	3.3	3.6	4.3
With one employed	4,153	4,506	4,568	23.0	23.9	24.2	29.3
Men	*3,319*	*3,324*	*3,321*	18.4	17.6	*17.6*	*21.3*
Women	*835*	*1,181*	*1,247*	4.6	6.3	*6.6*	*8.0*
With two or more employed	6,190	5,713	5,812	34.3	30.3	30.8	37.3
HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT MEMBERS 15-64 AGED	**6,005**	**6,645**	**6,934**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**
TOTAL	**24,073**	**25,518**	**25,789**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**

In order to consider both the quantity and the quality of employment the following analysis is limited to the homogeneous subset of households without retired people (15,6 million, increased of nearly half a million since 2008), single person and family households.

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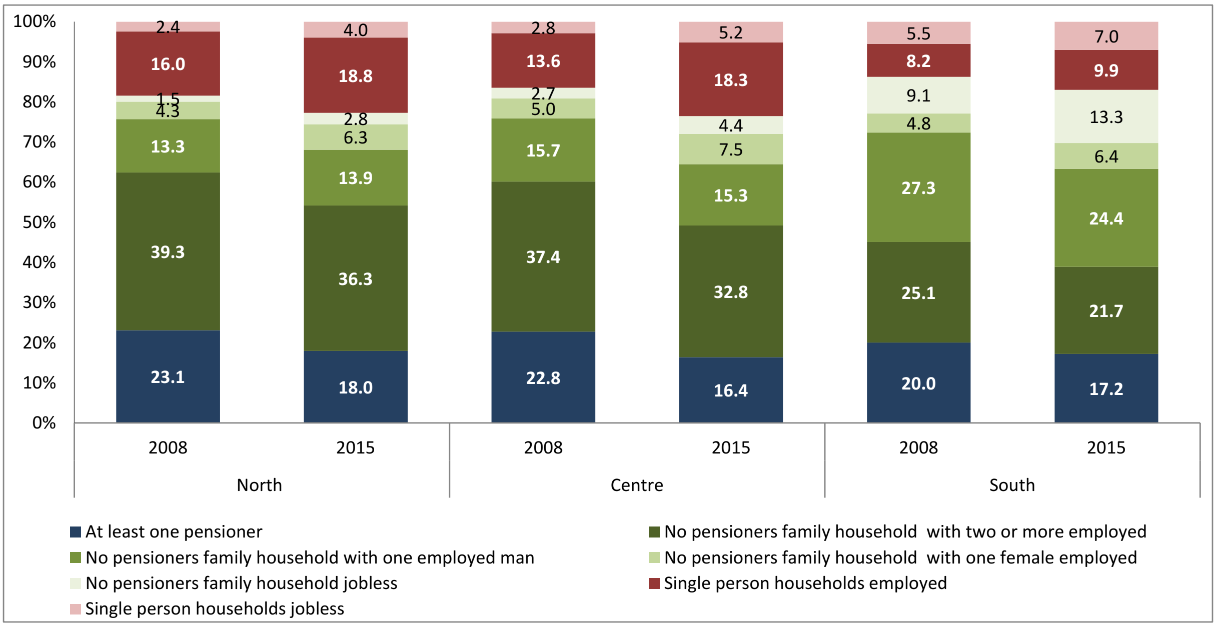

Figure 3: Households with at least one member aged 15-64 by participation to the labour market, and geographical area- Years 2008 and 2015 (percentage values, Source: Labour Force Survey, Istat).

Between 2008 and 2015 households with at least one component aged 15-64 and no pensioners increased by about a million (+10.5%), amounting in 2015 to 15,6 million. A quarter of these consisted of single person households and the remaining 74.6% was composed of multi-component ones. The increase in the number of households involved both types but especially single person ones[6] (+33.1% versus +4.5%). In light of these changes, the analysis of the distribution of paid work among families during the crisis will be carried out by distinguishing between single-person households and family households. This allows to take into account both of the impact of the crisis on the employment status and changes occurred in the household structure.

The single-person households

In recent years the number of single-person households deeply grew. In 2015 it was about 4 million and accounted for 25.4% of households without pensioners and with at least one member aged 15-64 (compared to 21.1% in 2008). In the period 2008-2015 the working condition of single person considerably changed with a reduction in the percentage of employed people and an increase of people out of work. The decrease in the incidence of employed single-person households between 2008 and 2015 is a synthesis of a decrease of

[6] In Italy, as well as in many European countries, in the last decades there was a decrease in the number of extended families and an increase of singles (Zanfrini, 2011) with a change in the family structure and a variety of forms of families (Eurofound, 2014).

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the quota of men (from 48.6 to 44.7%) and an increase of the one about the women (from 30.1 to 30.6%). In addition, people living alone have a less steady employment situation than in the past: the proportion of singles with a standard job fell from 82.7 to 77.9% (for the young single person households from 81.9 to 75.4%, for the adult ones from 84,0% to 80.8%). At the same time there was an increase in the percentage of both the partially standard (from 7.9 to 12.3%, from 6,7 to 11.6% for the young single person and 10.1 to 13.1% for the adults one) and atypical jobs (from 9.5 to 9.8%, from 11.4 to 13.0% for the younger and from 5.9 to 6.1% for the older).
Instead, the proportion of unemployed single-person households increased, above all during the hardest period of the crisis (2008-2013) and slightly decreased between 2013 and 2015, while inactivity increased (from 16.7% in 2013 to 17.4% in 2015). Overall single-person households without a job (jobless) grew to one million: the incidence of jobless households on the total of single-person households increased from 21.3% in 2008 to 24.8% in 2015 (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Single-person households with at least one member aged 15-64 by participation to the labour market and sex. Years 2008, 2013 and 2015 (*percentage values, Source: Labour Force Survey, Istat).*

Family households

Being jobless is a state of vulnerability also for households with two or more members. Among

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family households, those with all members of the family not in employment in 2015 are 1 million 235 thousand (almost half a million more than in 2008), accounting for 10.6% of multi-component households (6.9% in 2008 – Figure 5). About two thirds of these families lived in the South and Island, where this condition affected about 20% of the multi-component households. In over half of cases, these were represented by couples with children, while in the other territorial areas the 40% of jobless families were lone parent female ones. Within jobless multi-component families, the weight of households with at least one unemployed person rose from 34% to 45.3%, and took dramatically off between 2008 and 2013. In particular, in the 13.1% of jobless multi-component households all members of working age were looking for a job (it was 9% in 2008).

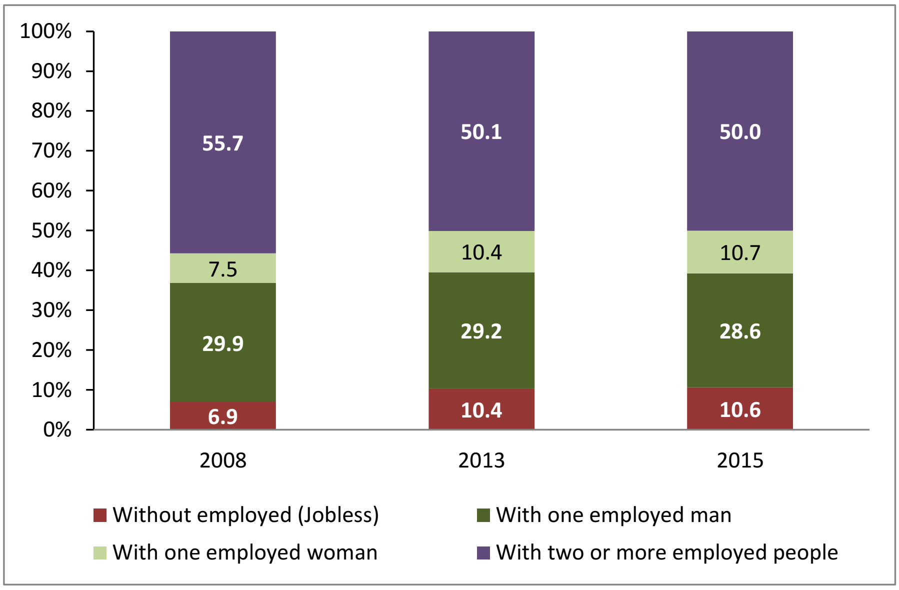

Figure 5: Family households by number of employed people and sex. Years 2008, 2013 and 2015 *(percentage values, Source: Labour Force Survey, Istat).*

An intermediate potential degree of `vulnerability´ between jobless households and families with all working age members employed could be found in multi-component households with only one employed person[7]: in 2015 they were about 4,5 million, and they increased of +414 thousand compared to 2008, accounting for 39.3% of the total multi-component families.

This increase included both adult (+666 thousand) and young families headed by only one employed woman (+111 thousand), and compensated for the decrease of young families headed by only one employed man (-362 thousand). The majority of multi-component single-income households in 2015 were made up of national families, where all members had Italian citizenship (3,8 million); 10.7% were migrant families and only 6.2% mixed families. The

[7] In 2015 the average number of family members was 3.2.

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decrease in employment during the years of economic crisis led to an increase in the number of families with only one wage-earner from employment (+10% in the years 2008-2015), a value which had slightly fallen in 2008 (pre-crisis). In particular, the number of families with a single wage-earner woman increased. As pointed out in literature, one of the strategies to deal with husband/partner's job loss or job reduction was the activation and the search for employment by the wife or partner, the so-called `added worker effect´ (Ghignoni & Verashchagina, 2012). In 2015 the sole income from employment in a family was in about three out of four cases still from a male wage earner, over 70% of these men were in a couple with children. But compared with 2008, women breadwinners had increased (+49.4%). The increase was more pronounced among the `adult families´; and in fact it was especially strong among women breadwinners living in a couple, with or without children. The presence and growth of families with a single earner from employment was not uniform over the whole of Italy. From 2008 to 2015 the incidence of this type was higher in the Southern regions (46.9% in 2015), as was the proportion of jobless. Moreover, in Central-northern regions, the increase of female breadwinners was associated with a slight increase of male breadwinners, especially between 2008 and 2013, but in the South the increase in female earners (from 7.2% to 10%) corresponded to a net decrease in male breadwinners (from 41.1% to 37.6%). As well as the increase in families with only one employed person, it is worth noting a worsening of work conditions, in part due to the greater flexibility of labour market. In the seven years 2008-2015 the number of families supported by a only one wage-earner in non-standard employment increased from 6.6% to 11.5% of total breadwinner families, especially households headed by a part-time permanent employee. The number of families where the only job income derived from atypical employment also rose; this type in 2015 was 10.8% (in 2008 the incidence was 9% of total single-earner households). The situation of about 150 thousand families where employment was part-time as well as fixed-term was particularly critical (3.3% of total single-earner households). At the same time there was a fall in the number of families relying on one standard employment. The number of families where the only job income derived from a permanent full-time job fell from 84% to 77.7% in 2015. Migrants had the hardest hit (De Rosa, Marzilli, 2016); migrant families relying on a single standard income from employment fell from 82.3% in 2008 to 67% in 2015, while for Italian families the percentage decreased from 84.6% to 79.1%. To compare different situations, we used the household `employment density´, the ratio between the number of employed persons and the number of household members; the `economic dependency´ indicates the situations in which this ratio is lower than one. By definition a multi-component household with a sole breadwinner is economically dependent on the breadwinner. In 2015 families where one income from employment supported three or more other household members were 71.1%; they were mainly supported by a male breadwinner (77.8% male and 53.3% female) and were mainly located in the South of Italy (79.8%).

Families that are potentially in a better situation are those that can rely on two or more incomes from employment[8]. In 2015 these families decreased of 378 thousand comparing to 2008 (-6.1%) and they accounted for 37.3% of the total households with no pensioners (the incidence fell to 21% among migrant families) and the half of family households (39.2% among migrant families). Six out of 100 households with two or more employed people were migrant families and just over 3 were mixed one. While for Italian families the decrease of households with two or more employed people was limited to the period 2008-2013, for migrant families it slightly continued even in the last two years. Among Italian households, the incidence of those with more employed people on the total of multi-components decreased of about 5 points only during the crisis (2008-2013), and then grew again in the following two years (2013-2015). Overall, there were wide geographical disparities: in 2015 the incidence of families with more employed people on the total of multi-component is higher in the North (61.1%) than in the South of Italy (33%). Even if these families are potentially in a stronger position in the labour market, they can also face critical issues related to the quality of employment and the household `employment density´. In the same way as families with only one employed person, also for families with more than one employed person the number of those in which all members have a standard occupation decreased (-431 thousand in comparison to 2008, -13.1%). If in 2008 they accounted for 53.1% of total families with more than one employed people, in 2015 their incidence fell again and reached 49.1%. The decrease involved above all migrant families among which the share of households with all employed people with a standard job fell from 38.4% in 2008 to 29.2% in 2015. On the contrary, the number of families in which all incomes derived from a mix of combinations of not standard occupations increased, as for example those with part-time/atypical jobs (+113 thousand, +43.4%). The quota of the latter on total families with more than one employed people grew respect to 2008 (it was 4.2%), reaching 6.4% (7.6% among `young families´) in 2015. In about a quarter of them at least one of the employed people was looking for another job or an additional one. Also in this case the increase mainly occurred during the period 2008-2013 (+1.6 percentage points) and continued in in the following years (+0.6 points). Focusing on the economic dependence in 2015 the share of households where all members were employed was 26% of the total. Economic dependence appears in presence of children and gradually increases with the increase of the gap between the number of the employed people and the number of household members. Overall in 2015 in about 3 out of 4 households (4,303,000) there was a situation of dependence, because the number of the components was higher than that of the employed. This condition involved especially Italian families resident in the South (82.7%).

[8] In 2015 the average number of components in this type of family was 3.4.

The impact of the crisis on the labour market situation of households in Italy

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5 Job Quality Aspects: the Badjob Index

In addition to the employment structural features, it is useful to explore some qualitative and subjective job aspects, which allow us to better characterize the most disadvantaged households among those with at least one employed. In order to examine job quality, a specific index (named badjob)[9] was built to summarize three unfavorable dimensions: over-qualification; dissatisfaction; insecurity. Some of these data are available only from 2013, so the analysis will consider only the evolution of the most recent period, allowing to highlight the overall improvement occurred in the labour market, and to investigate some significant differences between various employment forms. In 2015 families with at least two elements of disadvantage, namely `badjob families´, are about one million (about 6% of total): approximately 160 thousand between employed single person households (5.4%), 261 thousand between family households that have only one job income (5.7%) and 551 thousand between family households that have more than one job income (9.5%). Overall, the aggregate amount decreased compared to 2013, while remaining significant. About two-thirds of employed single person households (63.7%) don't complain of any unfavorable situation, with a slight increase (1.4 percentage points) compared to 2013, generalized by gender and type of job and higher among women who have a partially standard job. Also among family households that have only one job income there was a slightly increase of those without any kind of unfavorable situation (from 63.7 to 67.2%). The absence of unfavorable elements is widespread especially in families where the man is the only employed person (68.8%) and in those families where employed persons have a standard job (the absence of unfavorable elements reaches 72.7%, increased compared to 2013, when it was 68%). In family households with two or more employed, instead, the absence of unfavorable elements concerns less than half of the families (46.9%): increasing the number of employed is, in fact, more likely that at least one of them could experience an unfavorable element[10]. In most of case (43.6% of total family households with two or more employed) it is a single element, while families who report two or more unfavorable elements are around 10%; the latter percentage is five times higher among families in which all employed persons have an atypical/part-time job (23.5%) than families in which all employed persons have standard jobs (4.7%). On the opposite, `fully satisfied´ families exceed 56% when all employed persons have a standard job (increased compared to 2013, when they were 52.5%), while they are 26.5%

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9 In particular, the badjob index is a combination of three indicators: to be over-educated (employed persons who have a higher qualification than that mostly held to exercise a certain profession); to feel unsatisfied with work (employed persons who express an average satisfaction between 0-5, on a scale of 0-10); to feel unsure about work (employed persons who, in the following 6 months, consider it is likely they lose their job and it is not at all or a little likely that they find another similar job). Badjob index ranges from 0 (absence of occupational disadvantage indicators) to 3 (the presence of all three indicators of occupational disadvantage). Two of the three indicators used are only available from 2013.

10 The badjob index, for these families with two or more employed, assumes the value of the employed person with the highest number of unfavorable elements.

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(they were 24.3% in 2013) among families in which all employed persons have atypical/part-time jobs. Therefore, despite the slight improvement in recent years, the analysis shows that even among strongest families – families supported by several job incomes – there are often unfavorable situations where employed persons say they are not fully satisfied by their jobs and concerned about their working future.

6 Conclusions

The recent labour market recovery observed at individual level, with the increase of the employment rate and the decrease of the unemployment rate, isn't clearly visible at household level. In fact jobless families in Italy, the most vulnerable, continue to grow.
The recovery of the past two years involved only some types of families. This results in a polarization between families with all working age members employed (+99 thousand; +1.7%) and jobless households, as observed in the pre-crisis period (Di Laurea & Righi, 2005).
The analysis of the labour market dynamics at household level shows a change in the distribution of paid work between families during the period 2008-2015 with an increase of some forms of inequalities. In particular inequalities from generation to generation becomes more evident: more young families are in a position of labour market vulnerability and/or with more often non-standard jobs. More and more families are affected by the labour market flexibilization and by the increase of precarious jobs; in fact, the incidence of households in which two or more employed persons have atypical/part-time jobs continue to grow. These types of jobs, are not only instable works, but more often are associated with a lower job satisfaction or quality of work. Considering the one million of badjob families, the majority is composed by households with at least one family member with a non-standard job. However there are some improvements in the quality of work: from 2013 to 2015 the incidence of badjob families decreases from 9.9% to 7.3%.

Contemporary, it becomes less widespread the household working pattern with all members employed in standard jobs, whose incidence falls below 50% of total households with more than employed family member.

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