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So close, so far? Part-time employment and its effects on gender equality in Italy and Spain

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Abstract

This chapter analyses the cleavages among the insiders and outsiders of different groups of women in Italy and Spain with a particular focus on part-time employment. Given the prevalence of dualisation in Southern European labour markets, people employed in part-time work and non-standard employment are particularly vulnerable to precarious conditions. Only a minority of part-time contracts are voluntarily entered into by women. The authors argue that, in comparison with other European countries, part-time employment in Italy and Spain appears to be a form of implementing external labour market flexibility rather than an instrument created to ease work/family conflicts for women. Using an intersectional analytical approach, the authors show how the distribution of non-standard and involuntary part-time work is unequal among different groups of women, exposing young (in Italy) and low educated (in Spain) women in particular to deteriorated labour market conditions. The situation of disadvantage is magnified when there is a particular combination of lack of education, age and childcare requirements.

Keywords: non-standard work, part-time, Italy, Spain, women, dualisation

Introduction

In comparison with most other European countries, part-time employment does not make up a high percentage of employment in Spain and Italy. Part-time work by men is negligible in both countries and is also limited for women. A different picture is drawn, however, when other forms of non-standard employment are considered. When compared with countries such as France, the Netherlands, Sweden or the United Kingdom, both Italy and Spain show a high level of involuntary work either in the form of fixed term or permanent part-time contracts. In Spain, involuntary part-time work increased steadily during the economic crisis, in parallel with the sharp rise in unemployment, consolidating at about 16% of all employment once the crisis ended. It has now become a form of underemployment and is a way for employers to avoid dismissals.

In this chapter the authors assess the extent to which the process of destandardisation in labour contracts has turned part-time work into a form of precarious employment in these two countries rather than a way to ease work/family conflict. They aim to analyse insiders/outside's cleavages among women working part-time in Italy and Spain, assuming intersectionality as an analytical strategy (Collins, 2015). To do so, they use an intercategorical approach to intersectionality, as put forward by McCall (2005). This approach implies a strategic use of intersectional categories in order to stress multiple inequalities that arise when different dimensions of disadvantage collide (McCall, 2005; Winker and Degele, 2011; Walby et al, 2012). The idea is to look at the multiplicative effects that specific intersections might have on the general condition of disadvantage suffered by women in order to understand the dynamics that lie beneath the integration of women in non-standard working positions. The intersectional approach puts in question the intra-group similarity of women, highlighting the differences that occur among women with different educational levels, of different ages, having different childcare responsibilities.

In highly dualised labour markets, the chances for part-time to escape from insider/outsider dynamics are limited. And yet, while the 'voluntariness' of part-time is in itself a reflection of the type of part-time available, there are multiple differences among various groups of workers that require more nuanced observations. The focus of this chapter is on the differences between women with regard to access to the labour market and their different working arrangements. The authors will show how particular combinations of educational level, age and household composition increase marginality within the labour market.

Italy and Spain belong to the 'corporate' welfare regime cluster that has certain 'Mediterranean traits' distinct enough, according to some authors, to fall under an altogether different typology. Despite the centrality of occupational welfare and because of a certain degree of fragmentation in social provision, the Southern European welfare model has always performed rather poorly in the development of universal services and family policy. As is to be expected in a conservative welfare regime, the state relies on the 'caring family' but does not do so through specific policies that preserve the role of the traditional family and, specifically, the role of women within the family, as in continental Europe. What Saraceno (1994) has termed "unsupported familialism" refers to a limited capacity of these welfare states to foster employment and social policies that enhance women's chances to reconcile their work and family life (such as, for instance, part-time work). The

lack of effective work/family balance mechanisms and care policies has a negative impact on fertility dynamics and the participation of women in the labour market.

In the last two to three decades, the two countries have gone through what Rueda (2015, p 109) calls the protectionist processes of industrialisation where labour market regulations to protect insiders have contributed to reduced labour productivity and high income inequality. In many countries, deregulation and flexibilisation of employment has led to an across-the-board increase of atypical forms of employment, with the subsequent deepening of insider-outsider labour market dynamics (Emmenegger et al, 2012). The origins and reasons for this labour market dualisation is beyond the aim of this chapter but is nonetheless essential to understand 1) the extent to which flexibility conveys a very different meaning in countries of the South; and, 2) the specific ways it affects women and young people. In Spain, the rapid increase in female employment has coincided with a very strong increase in occupational polarisation, which means that differences between women belonging to different occupational groups have widened over recent years. In Italy, labour market deregulation has always been proposed 'at the margins', meaning that those who were already employed when the new regulation was implemented have not been affected by the worsening of working conditions (for instance, more flexible dismissal procedures) (Firinù and Maestripieri, 2018). Differences due to gender and age have been widening. As in Spain, women and young people are more exposed to precariousness and underemployment; differently from Spain, however, women and young people are only partially protected by a higher educational level (Villa, 2015).

In both countries, part-time employment is right at the heart of this process of differentiation between categories of workers with unequal access to social and employment rights, such as unemployment benefits and old-age pensions. In a recent case, for instance, the European Court of Justice declared that the Spanish legislation on part-time employment was not compliant with the EU directive on equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security¹.

The implication for gender equality is that more women than men are affected by atypical employment and, together with the young and workers of foreign origin, women suffer the consequences of an increasingly precarious labour market. As will be shown later in this chapter, the incidence of involuntary part-time is much higher among women than men. Following gender, the probability of having involuntary part-time work or a fixed-term contract is highly determined by age, skill level and type of occupation. For this reason, it was important to use an intersectional approach that takes this socio-economic and socio-demographic differentiation into account.

¹ Ms Espadas Recio v Servicio Público de Empleo Estatal (SPEE): Ms Espadas Recio had been working part-time for a company for 12 years. When the unemployment insurance was calculated, the public service considered only the days of the week worked in respect of which contributions had been paid. The Court ruled that this was discriminatory against women because the vast majority of 'vertical' part-timers are women (Court of Justice of the EU Press Release No XX/17 9 Nov 2017 <https://curia.europa.eu/jcms/upload/docs/application/pdf/2017-11/cp170116en.pdf>)

Origins of part-time work in Italy and Spain

The timing of the influx of women into the labour market in Italy and Spain might have been detrimental to the development of good quality part-time work. As Ellingsaeter and Leira (2006) argue, the entry of a large number of women into paid employment in the Nordic countries in the 1970s and 1980s, many of whom took up part-time employment, coincided with favourable conditions for the introduction of labour regulations that ensured equal rights for part-timers. A few decades later, however, similar favourable conditions were non-existent further South. Italy and Spain have historically had very low rates of female employment. Prior to 1990, female activity rate was below or just above 30%, about 20 percentage points lower than other European countries. Both countries have since started to catch up slowly, although the growth rate has been more spectacular in Spain than in Italy.

Spain departed sharply from these low levels in the mid-1990s, with the rate of female employment increasing to 41,2% and 55,3% in 2000 and 2007 respectively (source: Eurostat, 15-64). While both female and male unemployment increased rapidly during the most recent economic crisis, activity rates have not decreased, which indicates a stable pattern of participation in the labour market that does not fluctuate with the economic cycle or family circumstances as in the past.

Part-time work was not introduced to foster female employment. In fact, in 1980, part-time employment in Spain was heavily restricted to specific groups of workers (the unemployed and young workers under 25 years old). Only in 1984, with the first statutory reform, was the option of part-time work opened up to the entire workforce. Even then, no social or political actor advocated an expansion of part-time work as a way to develop good working opportunities for women (Ibáñez, 2011). In Italy, the first law on part-time employment was not enacted until the mid-1980s. Prior to this law (L. 863/1984), there were sporadic and unsystematic reductions of working schedules that were applied in the context of a legal vacuum to meet the rising need of flexibility. Even in cases where trade unions opposed the new law, it established arrangements concerning part-time work through national collective agreements (Santucci, 2017).

In both countries national legislation on part-time work has been subsequently amended to comply with the European Directive (97/81/CE). However, none of the labour market reforms implemented in either Italy or Spain have succeeded in presenting forms of reduced working time that are attractive to employees. Rather, labour market reforms over the last three decades have helped in many different ways to increase dualisation by maintaining high levels of protection for a core group of insiders while allowing for the expansion of poorly protected employment at the margins. In other words, while the road to increasing internal flexibility i.e. 'good' part-time as a way to ease the tensions between work and care (or life more generally) has never been travelled, external flexibility at the contract level, whether in fixed-term employment, agency work or involuntary part-time, has been on a continuous upward trend since the mid-1990s. This form of flexibility, proposed as a way forward in the context of high unemployment and sluggish economic growth, reinforces, rather than alleviates, tensions between family life and work (Muffels and Wilthagen, 2011) and ends up being a key dualisation mechanism in itself. Within the framework of the most recent Italian reform, the Jobs Act (Decree 34/2014), part-time contracts were further liberalised (Dlgs 81/2015). Employers

can now add to the number of hours established in a part-time contract by up to 25%, in the form of overtime. At the same time, however, the new regulation offers full-time workers the chance to apply for a working time reduction for personal reasons (own illness or illness of a family member, disabled relative in the household, children under 13 years old in the household). Furthermore, the law now gives workers the possibility to use their parental leave to temporarily work part-time, that is to work up to 50% fewer hours within the limits of the parental leave (10 months shared between the two parents until the child's 12th birthday). It is quite revealing that these new measures regarding part-time work were included within the Decree which regulates employment contracts (Dlgs 81/2015) and not in the Decree which deals specifically with work-family conciliation measures (Dlgs 80/2015) (Santucci, 2017).

Non-standard employment and part-time work

From a sociological perspective, the term non-standard employment contract is used to refer to any contract that deviates from the full-time permanent dependent contract which is taken to be the standard (Bosch, 2006). In this analysis, non-standard forms of work thus include fixed-term contracts, part-time contracts and non-dependent self-employment. Several combinations of non-standard work can be given with multiple layers of destandardisation (that is, part-time contracts which are also temporary contracts). Each has a different distribution by gender and by age: self-employment is more diffuse among adult men; part-time work among adult women; part-time and fixed-term contracts are equally shared among young workers of both sexes.

This section provides an overview of part-time employment and other forms of non-standard work in the two countries on which the authors focus. To help situate Italy and Spain within a wider European comparative framework, the authors also look at the situation in France, Sweden, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. In the latter three countries, women's non-standard employment is mainly composed by part-time work voluntarily chosen by the person (see table 1, annex). Other forms of non-standard employment, such as temporary, self-employment or involuntary work are, comparatively speaking, less common. In Italy, Spain and, to some degree, also in France, non-standard employment moves away from the ideal of "good work", as it is mostly involuntary fixed-term and part-time employment.

In Spain, the hegemonic form of non-standard employment is a fixed-term job. As table 1 (annex) shows, almost 90% of non-standard contracts held by men and about 60% of the contracts held by women are fixed-term contracts: it is the only country with more women on a fixed-term than a part-time contract. The temporary nature of contracts in Spain is evident when the contracts held by the younger generations are analysed: more than 70% of the total number of employed workers under 24 years of age are temporary workers, while they are about 55% each in France, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden². The difference with other countries is salient as well for older workers: 38.5% in Spain vs about 20% in the other countries for 25-34 year olds and 23% vs about 10% for 35-49 year olds. As already argued, this high level of temporary work has serious consequences for

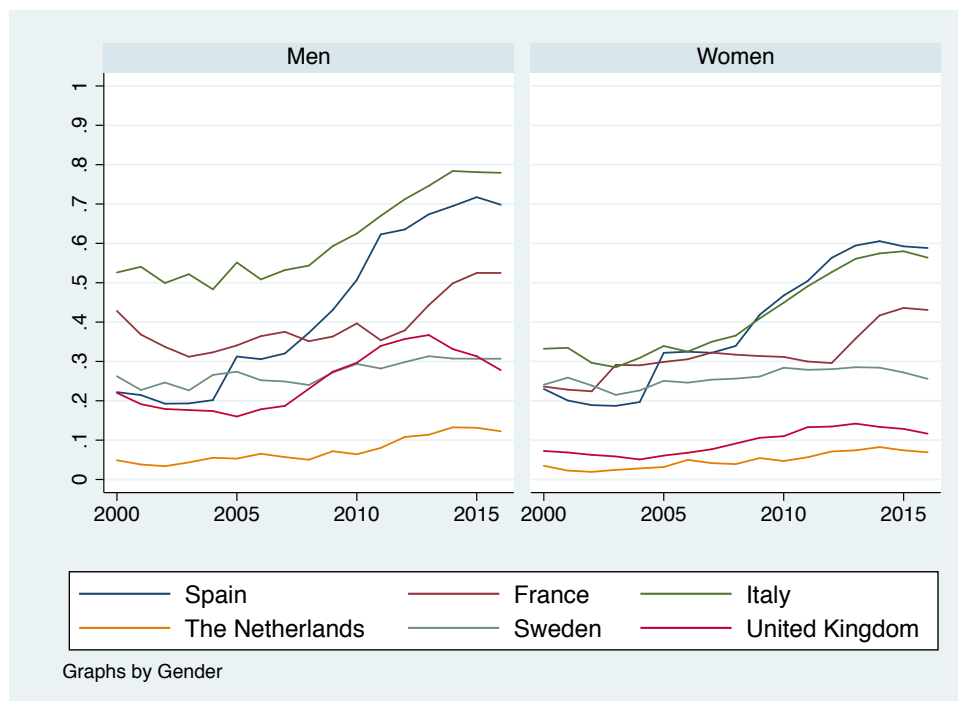
² Given the low barriers of dismissal among permanent workers in the United Kingdom, the rate of temporary work in this country is particularly low in comparison.

labour market polarisation. Spain is one of the countries where having a fixed-term contract has the highest associated penalty in the sense of larger gaps in per hour earnings (Conde-Ruiz & Marra de Artíñano, 2016). Additionally, 58% of non-standard employment in Spain is involuntary.

In Italy, on the contrary, self-employment is the most diffuse non-standard form of employment: in 2016, almost one worker in 5 was self-employed, when in countries such as Spain, the Netherlands and United Kingdom only 15% are self-employed and in France and Sweden the percentages are even lower (about 10%). Nevertheless, this type of contract is strongly gendered in all the countries considered, as it is the most popular form of non-standard work for men: self-employment represents 64% of total non-standard work in Italy and in United Kingdom and about 40% in the other countries. Non-standard employment among women is mostly represented by part-time, strongly characterised by involuntariness as in Spain.

The level of part-time work in the two countries is low in comparative terms, especially in Spain (see table 2, annex). Migrants are, in general, more likely to be employed on a part-time basis, but the difference with the native population is especially strong in Italy. Young adults under 25 years old are usually more exposed to part-time employment, but only in Italy and Spain is there a clear linear correlation between age and part-time work. In all the other countries, part-time work grows among workers older than 50 who are making their exit from the labour market, but it does not occur in Spain and in Italy. Education is linearly correlated with part-time work in all the countries: low educated workers are the most exposed to this contract, but in Spain and in Italy high-skilled workers have particularly low levels of part-time. Finally, what really distinguishes Spain and Italy is that there is a relatively lower proportion of men employed part-time, the majority being under 34 years old.

Graph 1 – Share of part-time work that is involuntary by gender, 15-64 year olds



Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (2000-2016)

In comparison with other countries in Europe, however, Spain, Italy and, to a certain extent, France, distinguish themselves by having a higher level of female involuntary non-standard work, meaning those part-time workers who would prefer to work full-time. As a matter of fact, Southern European countries have witnessed an impressive growth of involuntariness during the years of the economic crisis, affecting both women and men. Among those working part-time in Italy and Spain in 2016, more than 65% were doing so involuntarily. That is, the majority of part-timers would rather work full time. The level of involuntary part-time workers is thus much higher in Italy and Spain than in the other countries included in our comparison and the difference has grown in the last 10 years (45.2% in France; 34.6% in Sweden; 16.8% in the United Kingdom and 13.1% in the Netherlands).

Involuntary part-time workers can be considered to be sub-employed, as their condition is of partial unemployment since their working potential is not entirely satisfied by the labour market (Bodnár, 2018). According to the Spanish Labour Force Survey –EPA–, the chances of involuntary part-timers to move to a permanent position are small (about 17%); thus, part-time work does not seem to represent a stepping stone to more standard forms of employment and it represents one of the main dimensions through which we detect the “bad works” (Nicolaisen et al, 2019) and by which dualization has been implemented in Southern European labour markets (Rueda, 2015).

Intersectional analysis

The following analysis uses microdata collected for the European Labour Force Survey (2005-2016). It identifies trends in time and differences in the composition of non-standard employment in the two countries³. Comparing the two countries is somewhat interesting, since despite their apparent similarity, they exhibit different patterns in terms of integrating women into the labour market.

Given reduced numbers, the authors decided to include only women and exclude men from the analysis since the detailed observation of trends pertaining to all the intersectional categories would have been statistically difficult. The migrant working population has usually different patterns of labour market integration, which requires a specifically oriented analysis. To reduce the complexity of the analysis presented in this chapter, it was decided to focus on the native population only. Furthermore, the analysis focuses on women of childbearing age (25-50 years). Above and below this age group, part-time employment is a residual phenomenon in Southern Europe.

Microdata also allow the creation of a series of typologies that explore the characteristics of women’s labour force participation by taking into account first, their ability to access the labour market on the basis of their paid work time and, second, the type of their non-standard working arrangements. Table 5 (annex) distinguishes among standard, non-standard and involuntary non-standard work: the first category includes all the workers who work full-time with a permanent contract; the second category includes all the non-standard workers that have voluntarily chosen a non-standard job (including self-employment, fixed-term and part-time contracts) and the third

³ The analysis starts in 2005, as the data collected for the Italian Labour Force Survey prior to that date followed a different data collection strategy that comparisons between the waves before and after 2004 potentially difficult.

category includes all part-timers and fixed-term workers that are employed in a non-standard job because it was not possible to find an equivalent standard job. Levels of involuntariness among self-employment might be underestimated: in the European Labour Force Survey there is no question asking a self-employed if he/she would have rather worked as dependent worker.

Table 1 focuses on different types of part-time employment, with the idea of analysing how different groups of women are distributed within certain categories at risk of marginalisation (Nicolaisen et al, 2019), namely: marginal part-time (Hakim, 1997), including all those part-timers that work less than 10 hours/week; involuntary part-time, part-time contracts accepted because it was impossible to find an equivalent full-time job; and bogus part-time, persons who officially declare working part-time but are in fact working more than 30 hours/week on average. This latter category is derived from the concept of bogus self-employment, as introduced by Pedersini and Coletto (2010). This is a practice that, as Bodnár (2018) points out, has been liberalised in Southern Europe in recent years thanks to recent reforms in the labour market but which might cover practices of potential contractual abuses.

Marginal and bogus part-time are treated independently according to why the person has accepted a reduced hours schedule (for care reasons or involuntary), on the assumption that their actual condition in the labour market is a potential risk in itself for the welfare of that person. In the first case, marginal part-time work, there is a potential risk of becoming working poor (Hallerod et al, 2015); in the second case, bogus part-time, there is a potential risk of covering exploitative undeclared work (Firin, 2015).

The last category we take in account in our analysis is part-time for care: in this case, a reduced working schedule is chosen voluntarily to cope with care responsibility. Despite its voluntary nature, we consider that in this case part-time might constitute a potential source of gender inequality as almost no man opts for part-time because of family responsibilities. It is also important to highlight that even when part-time is voluntarily chosen by the person as in this case, a reduced working schedule is a potential source of economic dependency: working part-time provides a lower individual income, lower hourly pay and reduced career opportunities in the future, as employers perceive it as less career-oriented (Maestriperi, 2015). Moreover, less paid hours might result in lower social protection given a reduction in social security contributions. Nevertheless, we don't include this type of part-time in the group of part-timers at risk of marginalization: a voluntary part-time chosen for care obligation cannot be considered in itself at risk of a marginalised labour market condition (Nicolaisen et al, 2019).

Three periods of time are considered in the analysis: before the economic crisis (2005-2008), the acute crisis period (2009-2012) and the post-crisis years (2013-2016). During the last decade, part-time in Southern Europe has grown especially in its involuntary component. This is in line with the dualization hypothesis: rates of non-standard work in general and involuntary part-time in particular are congruent with a marginalization strategy that provides employers with a source of cheap labour, mostly offered to women and young people (Kalleberg, 2008). It can hardly be interpreted as a reconciliation strategy, offered by employers to retain workers with a preference for reduced working hours (Kalleberg, 2008).

For the empirical analysis, the authors developed a classification that simultaneously takes into account the workers' educational level (low: ISCED 1-2, medium: ISCED 3-4, high: ISCED 5-8), their age (25-34 year olds and 35-49 year olds) and gender. The resulting classification comprises 12 groups. All the gender gaps in the following section are calculated by subtracting the percentages of women from the percentages of men. The scope is to test the assumption that the marginal position of women in the labour market evidenced by part-time employment, measured in terms of how many children under the age of 14 are present in the household. Age or education (as sources of dualization in labour market) are important explanatory factors: we hypothesize that they drive labour market outcomes more than family obligations.

Access to labour market and access to standard work

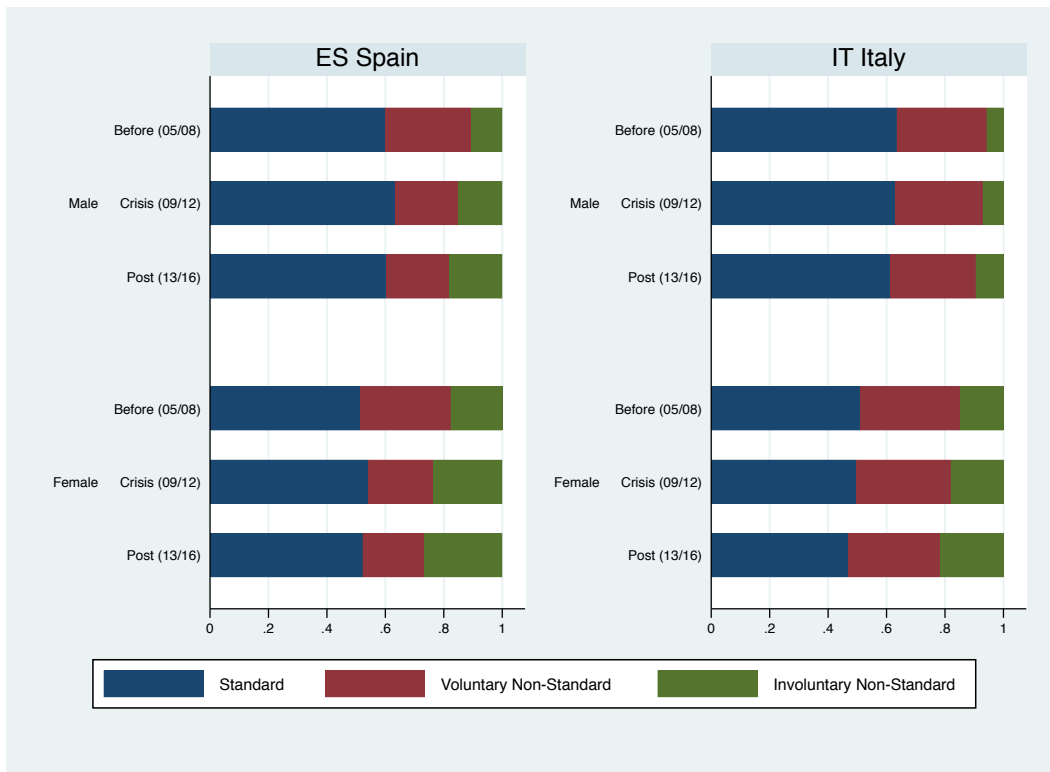
Before going in-depth into the analysis of the quality of women's employment, it is interesting to highlight how Italy and Spain differ in terms of women's participation in the labour market, focusing first on the population which is currently not in employment (see table 3a and 3b, annex). First, education counts (table 3a): Over 50% of young and adult women with a low-skill profile are inactive in the two countries. Still, Italian women with a lower educational level are more likely to be inactive when compared to Spanish women with the same age. Conversely, there is a relative advantage of young women holding high-skilled positions in Spain compared with Italy (their inactivity is 26.9% of inactivity for Spain and 37.8% for Italy). Among adult women the situation is however reverted (22.4% and 16.8% in Spain and Italy correspondingly). Education differentials explain the Spanish women's higher labour market participation compared to Italy: in Spain half of the women have a tertiary education (53.5% among young, 45.8% among adult), while in Italy only an adult women every five have a tertiary education (33.1% among young).

Family obligations impact on labour market participation as well, but the impact of children on women's employment is mediated by their age and education. The analysis of the distribution of gender gaps by the number of children under 14 years old in the household (table 3b) makes it clear that the difference in terms of inactivity is not only a matter of family responsibility: childcare responsibilities only magnify a situation of disadvantage with men that becomes more evident when women have a low educational background. Men and women are equally participating in the labour market only in Spain and if they are young and childless: just one child is enough to increase women's inactivity in both countries, but the magnitude of the gender gap is determined by age and education, and it is more pronounced in Italy.

As well as being less employed than men, women also work lesser hours (see table 4a and table 4b, annex). Gaps may be interpreted as a persisting division of roles between partners: when there are children involved, households tend to follow a more traditional division of labour - men increase hours of paid work while women reduce their working hours. The higher the number of children in the household, the less paid work women take up: the correlation between number of children and women working less is more evident among the lower educated and stronger in Italy. This interpretation is nevertheless not entirely satisfactory, as even high-skilled childless young women work about 3 hours/week less than men. A concurrent interpretation regards the role of involuntary

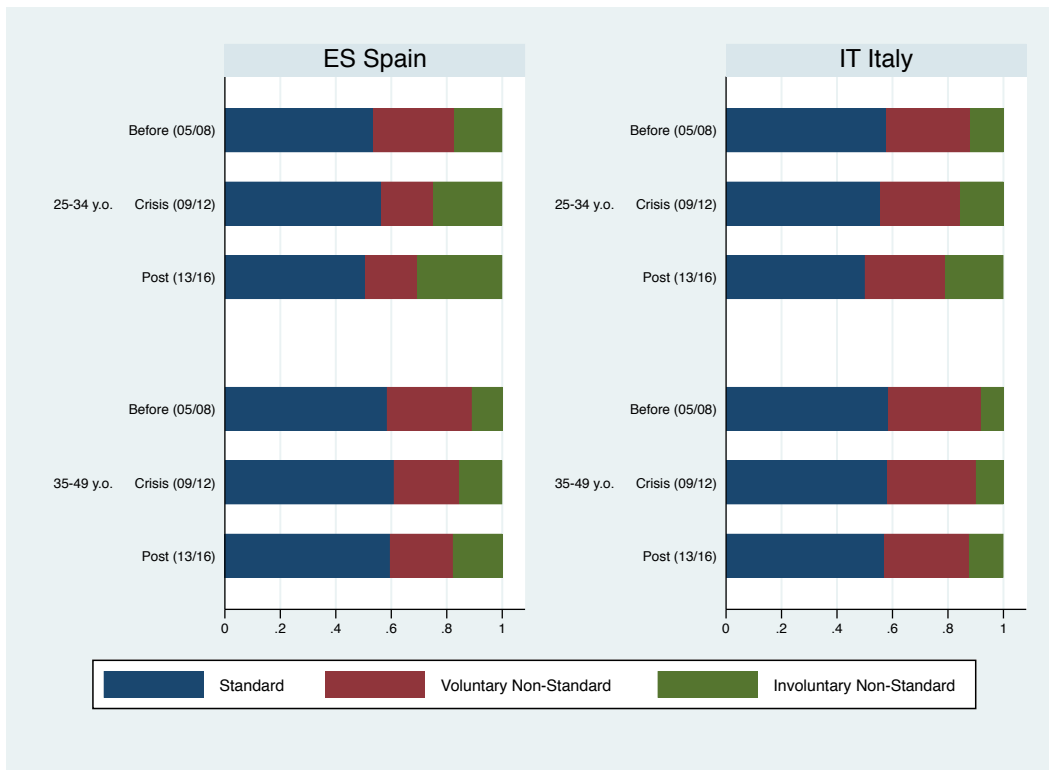
part-time in determining women’s involvement: graph 2 and 3 show how involuntary non-standard employment has grown in all groups during the crisis, but the growth has been stronger for women and young people.

Graph 2 – Standard and Non-Standard employment by gender, 25-49 year olds – Spain and Italy



Source: Authors’ own elaboration from the European Labour Force Survey (2005-2016)

Graph 3 – Standard and Non-Standard employment by age in Spain and Italy



Source: Authors' own elaboration from the European Labour Force Survey (2005-2016)

The two graphs confirm the lower quality of the jobs undertaken by women and by young people. There is no evident difference between Spain and Italy: but Spain has a higher rate of involuntary non-standard employment given the wider diffusion of temporary jobs. Men are more likely to have more standard employment and were better able to maintain their standard contracts even during the crisis. Women, on the contrary, are more likely to have non-standard employment: the last few years show also a clear trend towards involuntary work at the detriment of voluntary non-standard jobs.

What characterises workers in involuntary non-standard jobs?

There is extensive literature that demonstrates that non-standard jobs are associated with worse social and economic conditions (Maestripieri, 2015). The data presented in table 5 (annex) confirms that when a person is involuntarily employed in a non-standard job, segmentation and occupational segregation is high. First of all, voluntary non-standard work is mostly carried out by self-employed workers. Unfortunately, the European Labour Force survey data does not provide information on the voluntariness of self-employment, which is one of the most important types of non-standard jobs, especially for adult men. Thus, it cannot be established whether freelancers that are now active in the labour market have been pushed into independent jobs or whether they were attracted to self-employment by better working opportunities (Pedersini and Coletto, 2010). As a consequence, rates of voluntary non-standard employment might be over-estimated among adult men.

Secondly, of the total number of workers in fixed-term employment, involuntary job takers represent 81.6% in Italy, and 88.2% in Spain. Similarly, 63.8% in Spain and 52% in Italy of part-timers are involuntary part-timers. Indicators of segmentation show the greater exposure of involuntary non-standard workers to underemployment (42.2% in Spain and 14.1% in Italy of non-standard workers would like to work more hours) and the reduced investment of employers in their human capital demonstrated by the low access to in-job training (more pronounced in Italy). Involuntary job takers are mostly skilled and unskilled service workers in women's segregated sectors such as the traditional services (i.e. retail, accommodation and restauration), care, and education. Quite remarkably, there is a minor but not negligible percentage of 18% of involuntary non-standard workers that are employed in advanced business services. Among professional and managers, involuntary non-standard workers represent 18.3% and 13.4% in Spain and Italy accordingly. This evidence questions traditional theories of labour market segmentation (Yoon and Chung, 2016).

Focusing only on involuntary part-timers (see table 6, annex), our empirical evidence shows how this phenomenon has an intersectional dimension. First, even if it is true that involuntariness in part-time is higher among men, it still remains a residual phenomenon affecting one young worker every 10 and one every 20 for adults, and especially when they are low educated. Secondly, involuntary part-time among women is not homogeneously distributed across groups: Italian women are more exposed than Spanish women and young women are more exposed than adult women. Among the adult population, there is a linear correlation between education and involuntary part-time: adult women with higher education are the least exposed to the phenomenon in all the intersectional categories.

The impact of children on part-time types

The percentage of part-time employment on total employment rises when there is at least one child in the family, with different percentages in Italy and Spain. In both countries, the lowest percentage of part-time on total employment is found among tertiary educated adult women with no children (see table 1a). Among the lower educated young and adult women, the percentages of part-timers grow, especially when women have childcare responsibilities (40.5% in Spain, 46.2% in Italy) (see table 1b). But, higher educated women with children are more likely to voluntarily choose part-time work, while lower educated women are in the majority involuntarily employed on a part-time basis even when there is at least one child in the family (about 46% for young adults and about 38% for adults).

Here table 1a and table 1b

Childcare responsibilities influence the reasons behind the choice of part-time work among women, but only partially the quality of part-time employment that women undertake. In fact, table 1a and 1b show how the percentage of women working part-time for care reasons varies significantly in the intersectional categories. But, types of part-time that the authors considered to be at possible risk of marginalisation (involuntary, marginal and bogus part-time) still represented over 70% of the total number of workers in part-time employment in the case of childless women and over 50% in cases where there is a child in the household. Higher educated women in both countries are less

exposed as part-timers at risk of marginalisation when they have children, especially when they are adults. Nevertheless, they are still more likely to be bogus part-time employed than their childless counterparts, that is, working more than 30 hours per week while officially being employed on a part-time basis. In total, over 50% of part-timers can still be considered at risk even among those who possess the highest human capital.

Further inferences can be made about childless women on the basis of the survey data. In the case of childless women, the role of part-time for care reasons is almost negligible. Only a minority of childless women (not more than 15% in any category) voluntarily choose to work on a part-time basis. Apart from this involuntariness, they are also affected by marginal part-time work (on average 15% in the two countries) and bogus part-time work (15% in Spain, 20% in Italy). Bogus part-time is especially high among higher educated adult women, perhaps because of an abusive use of this type of contract by employers. The level of education does not seem to protect against marginal part-time work, which is nonetheless prevalently involuntary. Bogus part-time is especially frequent in Italy, while marginal part-time is more frequently found in Spain. However, involuntarily part-timers remain the most frequent category of part-timers in the two countries for all the intersectional types identified in the analysis if the woman has no children.

Conclusions

In many countries, part-time employment developed during the 1970s and 1980s in parallel with the incorporation of women into the labour market in large numbers. At a time when caring responsibilities were placed squarely upon the shoulders of women, part-time was put forward as an attractive solution to women of childbearing age who wanted to work but could not do so on a full-time basis. Although this has created strong gender wage gaps, working conditions have been by and large good. The discussion of part-time employment in Italy and Spain, however, takes a very different direction. In these two countries part-time work, together with other forms of non-standard employment, expanded much later as a response to severe constraints on the core of the labour market, such as strong restrictions on dismissals of permanent workers. Non-standard contracts, such as fixed-term and part-time work, started to rise in this context of labour market rigidity and strong hindrances to job growth. Hence, it is virtually impossible to disassociate the evolution of part-time work from the logic of labour market dualisation. This is indeed very different from how part-time work developed in other European countries. Part-time employment as a long-term activation strategy in the Netherlands, for instance, allowed for a positive inclusion of non-standard work in the form of equal treatment in wages and access to social security rights. Dutch trade unions played a key role in the creation of this win-win scenario of working time and organisational flexibility (Visser and Hemerijck 1997; Hemerijck 2013). In the two Southern European countries the security element of flexible working arrangements has always been conspicuously absent. The power of insiders in organised labour and the political weakness of left cabinets have been major hindrances to the introduction of more secure forms of labour market activation (Beramendi 2015). Employers' demand for greater external flexibility at the contract level has been accommodated only for non-core occupational groups and new entrants. In both countries, national legislation on part-time work has been subsequently amended to comply with

the European Directive (97/81/CE) but this has still not prevented part-time work from become an expression of deepening dualisation dynamics.

As this chapter has shown, a large majority (over 60%) of part-time workers in Italy and Spain have not voluntarily chosen to work part-time. If they were given the chance, they would work more hours. The proportion of part-time workers who consider their status involuntary has increased with the economic crisis, as it offers a way for employers to reduce labour costs while saving face. It could be argued that, overall, part-time work in these two countries did not become an option for workers who prefer to work shorter hours but became a way to make employment more flexible in the context of increasing labour precariousness.

Using an intersectional perspective, the authors investigated possible interlocking effects of disadvantage that occur when multiple factors intersect to define the living and working conditions of individuals. Through their common set of structural features but differentiated outcomes, the comparison between Italy and Spain is interesting on several accounts. The analysis presented in this chapter has shown the relative advantage of women with high skill levels in both countries, although more so in Spain. Highly skilled women have lower employment gaps and are penalised less when they become mothers. In almost every category, gender gaps are stronger for women with low to medium education level, including number of hours worked. The presence of children in the household magnifies a situation of disadvantage that characterises all women, which situation is linked to educational level in Spain and the age group in Italy, where the youngest adults and lowest educated are the most exposed to non-standard contracts. Only a minority of part-time contracts is chosen for reasons of care: over 80% of female part-timers with no children are affected by marginalised working conditions in part-time work, including extremely reduced working hours (less than 10 hours/week), involuntariness and an officially stated part-time contract when the worker usually works more than 30 hours per week. Recent years have shown an increasing level of involuntariness behind non-standard employment, while involuntary non-standard employment magnifies the exposure to segregation and segmentation that characterise these types of contracts.

The intersectional analysis also shows that involuntary part-timers in both countries present higher occurrences of segmentation such as underemployment. Furthermore, involuntary part-time is growing among all categories of workers, especially among young women without children. Bogus part-time grows among medium and highly skilled women with young children but, at least, marginal part-time (that is working less than 10 hours/week) remains stable and residual. While the younger generations are the most affected by this dynamic, a significant difference between the two countries is the extent to which education protects women against involuntary part-time in Spain but not in Italy, where the disadvantage is driven by age.

Reflecting upon the typology presented in the introduction chapter, the evolution of part-time employment in Italy and Spain place these two countries in the 'marginalised part-time workers' type. The lagged position of the two Southern European countries in relation to their economic development, democratic consolidation and welfare state expansion made them miss the train of the *flexicurity* momentum in other European countries. The involuntary character of most part-time work signals a supply-side driven development with the worst possible consequences for workers in the farthest part of the prevailing insider-outsider divide.

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Table 1a – Types of part-time by intersectional categories, childless women 25-49 years old – Spain and Italy (percentages, only women)

	Spain						
Young adult (25-34)	PT	Care	Marg	Invol	Bogus	Tot Marg[1]	% tot
Low educated	3.5	0.8	12.9	67.9	14.9	95.7	21.6
Medium educated	13.4	0.7	15.5	57	13.3	85.8	23.4
High educated	11.4	0.5	16.8	58.7	12.6%	88.1	22
Totals by age	10.8	0.5	16	59.6	13.1%	88.7	22.2
Adult (35-49)							
Low educated	13.4	6.2	25.3	48	7.2	80.5	33.3
Medium educated	15.5	3.5	14.3	54.1	12.5	80.9	18.5
High educated	12.9	4.9	14.4	52.6	15.2	82.2	11.6
Totals by age	13.7	5.3	19.8	50.6	10.6	81.1	19.5
	Italy						
Young adult (25-34)	PT	Care	Marg	Invol	Bogus	Tot Marg[1]	% tot
Low educated	7.1	2.5	9	63.6	17.7	90.3	36.2
Medium educated	11.3	1.5	7.6	59.1	20.4	87.1	31.3
High educated	12.3	0.9	15.3	51.4	20.1	86.8	22.7
Totals by age	11.2	1.4	10.5	56.9	20	87.4	28
Adult (35-49)							
Low educated	10	9.1	14.2	51.3	15.4	80.9	37.7
Medium educated	12.4	13.6	8.3	43.8	21.9	74	25
High educated	15.2	7.1	15.1	42.7	19.9	77.7	16.3
Totals by age	11.9	10.8	11.7	46.6	19	77.4	26.4

Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (averages 2013-2016).

[1] Part-time at risk of marginalization is the sum of marginal part-time (less than 10 hours per week), involuntary part-time (part-timers who would like to work full-time but didn't find a full-time job) and bogus part-time (official part-time contract when workers usually work more than 30 hours per week).

Table 1b – Types of part-time by intersectional categories, women with children 25-49 years old – Spain and Italy (percentages, only women)

	Spain						
Young adult (25-34)	PT	Care	Marg	Invol	Bogus	Tot Marg[1]	% tot
Low educated	6.7	23.2	14.1	46.1	9.8	70	39.9
Medium educated	9	34.6	12.4	32.7	11.3	56.4	33.3
High educated	8.9	36.3	10.2	27.9	16.7	54.8	23.6
Totals by age	8.1	30.7	12.3	36.3	12.6	61.2	30.9
Adult (35-49)							
Low educated	9.1	21.7	21.9	38.6	8.7	69.2	40.5
Medium educated	10.4	35.1	11.5	30.2	12.8	54.5	30.4
High educated	10.8	37.4	8.2	24.2	19.5	51.9	22
Totals by age	10.2	32.2	13	29.8	14.7	57.6	27.5
	Italy						
Young adult (25-34)	PT	Care	Marg	Invol	Bogus	Tot Marg[1]	% tot
Low educated	3	23.5	13.9	46	13.6	73.5	46
Medium educated	4	30	6.6	34.7	24.6	65.9	41.8
High educated	5.2	31.7	8.8	30.3	24	63.1	28.9
Totals by age	4.1	29	8.6	36.1	22.2	66.9	38.8
Adult (35-49)							
Low educated	5	25.7	13.6	38.6	17.1	69.3	46.2
Medium educated	5.4	36.7	5.9	25	27	57.9	41.1
High educated	5.6	33.2	9.4	22.1	29.6	61.1	28.6
Totals by age	5.3	33.3	8.5	27.4	25.4	61.3	38.1

Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (averages 2013-2016).

[1] Part-time at risk of marginalization is the sum of marginal part-time (less than 10 hours per week), involuntary part-time (part-timers who would like to work full-time but didn't find a full-time job) and bogus part-time (official part-time contract when workers usually work more than 30 hours per week).

Table 1 (Annex)– Labour market indicators in the six countries, percentages 2016

	Spain	France	Italy	The Netherlands	Sweden	United Kingdom
Inactivity rate (women)	31	32.5	44.8	24.9	19.8	28.1
Inactivity rate (men)	20.5	24.6	25.2	15.6	16.1	18
Unemployment (women)	21.5	9.9	12.9	6.5	6.7	4.8
Unemployment (men)	18.2	10.4	11.1	5.7	7.6	5.1
Rate of non-standard work on employment (women), of which ^[1]	48.5	44.6%	51.4	84.3	46.2	47.2
Fixed-term	63.7	43	34.7	27.0	41	14.4
Part-Time	50.9	67.1	63.7	91.1	77.1	84.2
Self-Employment	24.5	17.1	30.7	13.6	11.4	21.3
Involuntary non-standard employment	58	41.5	48.3	13	34.3	12.6
Rate of non-standard work on employment (men), of which ^[1]	43.2	31.4	40	47.1	31	29.4
Fixed-term	88.8	79	69.5	55.1	67	36.9
Part-Time	17.4	24.5	20.5	55.3	42	37
Self-Employment	44.6	44.3	64	38.1	38	62
Involuntary non-standard employment	48.1	30.4	30.4	16.4	30.3	14.6

Source: Authors' own elaboration from the European Labour Force Survey

[1] Given the possible overlapping between different form of non-standard contracts, the sum of fixed-term, part-time and self-employment is not equal to 100.

Table 2 –(Annex) Indicators on part-time employment in the six countries, percentages 2016

	Spain	France	Italy	The Netherlands	Sweden	United Kingdom
part-time employment (women)	24.7	29.9	32.7	76.8	35.6	39.8
part-time employment (men)	7.5	7.7	8.2	26	13	10.9
part-time employment (native)	14.8	18	17.4	50.1	23.7	25
part-time employment (migrant)	19.4	24.8	28.2	42.7	27.1	20.5
part-time employment (15-24)	40.3	24.5	29.6	80.2	49.1	35.7
part-time employment (25-34)	18.3	15.4	22	40.6	21.9	18.4
part-time employment (35-49)	13.9	17.4	18.9	43.7	19.6	22.7
part-time employment (50-64)	11.6	20.6	14.6	47.5	21.3	26.9
part-time employment (low edu)	17.1	25.4	19.4	58.5	34.4	27
part-time employment (medium edu)	16.6	18.8	19.2	51.7	23.4	27.4
part-time employment (high edu)	13.2	15.1	15.7	42.8	21.2	20.8
Overall total part-time employment	15.3	18.4	18.5	49.8	23.9	24.5
Rate of involuntary part-timers on total part-time employment	68.4	45.2	65.6	13.1	34.6	16.8

Source: Authors' own elaboration from the European Labour Force Survey

Table 3a – Not in employment by intersectional categories, with gender gaps 25-49 years old – Spain and Italy (percentages)[1]

	Spain				Italy		
Young adult (25-34)	Men	Women	gaps	Young adult (25-34)	Men	Women	gaps
Low educated	40.1	50.7	-10.6	Low educated	41.7	66	-24.3
Medium educated	30.6 (ns)	35.7	-5.1	Medium educated	29.5	45.5	-16
High educated	24.3	26.9	-2.6	High educated	35.6	37.8	-2.2
Totals by age	31.8	34.7	-2.9	Totals by age	33.9	46.7	-12.8
Adult (35-49)	Men	Women	gaps	Adult (35-49)	Men	Women	gaps
Low educated	35.1	51.8	-16.7	Low educated	25.4	59.4	-34
Medium educated	20	35.5	-15.5	Medium educated	11.2	33.3	-22.1
High educated	12	22.4	-10.4	High educated	6.3	16.8	-10.5
Totals by age	22.8	34.7	-11.9	Totals by age	16.2	38.8	-22.6

Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (averages 2013-2016)

Table 3b – Not in employment by intersectional categories and number of children under 14 years old, 25-49 years old – Spain and Italy (gender gaps: men - women)

	Spain						Italy				
Young adult (25-34)	0	1	2	3+	tot	Young adult (25-34)	0	1	2	3+	tot
Low educated	-0.6	-16.7	-25.8	-16.1	-10.6	Low educated	-12.3	-29	-41.9	-45	-24.3
Medium educated	-0.9	-16.5	-22.3	-25.6	-5.1	Medium educated	-11.2	-27	-39.5	-59.2	-16
High educated	-0.6	-12.3	-17.3	-42.4	-2.6	High educated	-2.2	-15.6	-16.5	-30.8	-2.2
Totals by age	2.3	-11.7	-20.6	-20.5	-2.9	Totals by age	-7.3	-22	-34.4	-46.1	-12.8
Adult (35-49)	0	1	2	3+	tot	Adult (35-49)	0	1	2	3+	tot
Low educated	-5	-24.8	-33.2	-33.7	-16.7	Low educated	-24.4	-41	-45.6	-54.7	-34
Medium educated	-7.3	-20.9	-24.2	-23.9	-15.5	Medium educated	-14.6	-25.1	-30.9	-38.5	-22.1
High educated	-4.1	-14.2	-15.9	-16.4	-10.4	High educated	-5.3	-13.7	-15.4	-19.2	-10.5
Totals by age	-4,1	-17.9	-19.9	19.7	-11.9	Totals by age	-16.4	-26.9	-28.9	-35.2	-22.6

Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (averages 2013-2016)

[1] Proportions with (ns) means that the proportion of the category is not significantly different from the rest of the population, measured at .95 probability with a two-sample test of proportion. Overall significance test anova has confirmed that the difference in means by country and intersectional categories are statistical significant.

Table 4a – Worked hours (self-declared)[1] by intersectional categories, with gender gaps 25-49 years old – Spain and Italy (averages)[2]

	Spain				Italy		
Young adult (25-34)	Men	Women	gaps	Young adult (25-34)	Men	Women	gaps
Low educated	39.9	34	5.9	Low educated	40.2	32.1	8
Medium educated	39.9	34.6	5.3	Medium educated	39.7	33.7	6
High educated	38.9	35.1	3.8	High educated	38.6	33.9	4.7
Totals by age	39.4	34.8	4.7	Totals by age	39.6	33.6	6
Adult (35-49)	Men	Women	gaps	Adult (35-49)	Men	Women	gaps
Low educated	42	32.5	9.5	Low educated	41.1	32.2	8.9
Medium educated	41.7	35.1	6.6	Medium educated	41.1	33.1	8
High educated	41.1	36.2	4.9	High educated	40	32.5	7.5
Totals by age	41.5	35.1	6.5	Totals by age	40.9	32.7	8.2

[1] Using the self-declared usual working time allows us to track the real working involvement of the person into the labour market, that might be different from

[2] Overall significance test anova has confirmed that the difference in means by country and intersectional categories are statistical significant. Means are all sig

Table 4b – Worked hours (self-declared) by intersectional categories and number of children under 14 years old, 25-49 years old – Spain and Italy (gender gaps: men - women)

	Spain						Italy				
Young adult (25-34)	0	1	2	3+	tot	Young adult (25-34)	0	1	2	3+	tot
Low educated	2.4	9	12.2	7.2	5.9	Low educated	6.2	9.3	10.6	11.2	8.1
Medium educated	4	7.2	10	13.7	5.3	Medium educated	5	7.5	9.3	10.8	6
High educated	3.2	6.8	5.5	5.5	3.8	High educated	3.7	7.6	10.5	8.7	4.7
Totals by age	3.4	7.4	9.1	8.2	4.7	Totals by age	4.8	7.9	9.6	11	6
Adult (35-49)	0	1	2	3+	tot	Adult (35-49)	0	1	2	3+	tot
Low educated	8	10.1	12.6	9.5	9.5	Low educated	7.7	9.7	10.9	12.7	8.9
Medium educated	4.5	7.6	8.9	8.2	6.6	Medium educated	5.9	8.7	10.5	11.3	8
High educated	2.6	6.3	6.5	7.1	4.9	High educated	5.2	8.2	9.8	12.6	7.5
Totals by age	4.6	7.6	8.1	7.5	6.5	Totals by age	6.3	8.9	10.4	12.2	8.2

Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (averages 2013-2016)

[1] Using the self-declared usual working time allows us to track the real working involvement of the person into the labour market, that might be different from time).

[2] Overall significance test anova has confirmed that the difference in means by country and intersectional categories are statistical significant. Means are all sig

Table 5 – Characteristics of standard and non-standard employment by involuntariness, 25-49 years old – Spain and Italy (percentages)

	Spain			Italy		
	Standard	Vol NS	Inv NS	Standard	Vol NS	Inv NS
% of Temporary contract	-	11.8	88.2	-	18.4	81.6
% of Part-Time	-	36.2	63.8	48	52	
Want to work more hours	6.7	11.6	42.2	2.2	5.4	14.1
Access to training	11.1	7.6	10.8	7.4	7.3	4.6
Managers and professionals	25.9	28.4	18.3	15.9	27.5	13.4
Technicians and clerks	29.3	16.3	19.4	40.4	28.3	25.8
Service skilled workers	18.2	26.9	23.5	12.8	19.2	27.6
Skilled manual workers	20.3	24.4	18.4	25	21.2	13.1
Manual unskilled workers	6.3	4	20.4	5.9	3.8	20
Tot	100	100	100	100	100	100
Agriculture and manufacturing	20.7	15.1	15.6	31.4	15.3	17.7
Construction	4.6	9.2	6.4	5.6	9.2	3.4
Traditional services	27.9	41.1	29.8	23.4	35	34.2
Advanced business services	21.1	21.8	18.6	15.8	29.7	18.9
Public administration	10.2	1.5	5.8	9.1	0.9	2.9
Care and education	15.5	11.3	23.7	14.7	9.9	23
Tot	100	100	100	100	100	100
% on total employment	56.6	21.4	22	55.1	30.2	14.6
% of women	42.3	45.3	55.4	36.3	44.3	62.9
% of young adult (25-34)	29.1	28.4	45.3	25.2	26.7	39.6

Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (averages 2013-2016)

Table 6 – Percentages of workers that declared to be involuntary part-timers by intersectional categories– Spain and Italy (percentages)[1]

	Spain			Italy	
Young adult (25-34)	M	F	Young adult (25-34)	M	F
Low educated	86.4	71.8	Low educated	89.8	75.2
Medium educated	68.3 (ns)	65.1	Medium educated	85.2	66.6
High educated	75.9	69.9	High educated	81.7	70.2
Rate of part-time employment in the age class	11	25	Rate of part-time employment in the age class	9.7	31.8
Adult (35-49)	M	F	Adult (35-49)	M	F
Low educated	81	67.4	Low educated	86.4	64.8
Medium educated	75.7	53.5	Medium educated	76.1	44
High educated	69.3	41.9	High educated	68.2	42.8
Rate of part-time employment in the age class	4.9	24.1	Rate of part-time employment in the age class	5.3	32.8

Source: Authors' own elaboration on the European Labour Force Survey (averages 2013-2016)

[1] Proportions with (ns) means that the proportion of the category is not significantly different from the rest of the population, measured at .95 probability with a two-sample test of proportion. Overall significance test anova has confirmed that the difference in means by country and intersectional categories are statistical significant.