

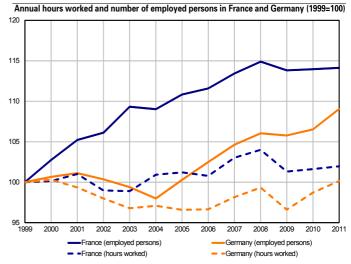
No. 141 January 2015

TRÉSOR-ECONOMICS

Part-time work and work-sharing: a comparison between France and Germany

- France and Germany post similar actual average annual working times of approximately 1,650 hours. This similarity, however, conceals a shorter average working time for full-time employees in France (about 200 fewer hours a year) and a higher proportion of part-time wage-earning jobs in Germany (26%) than in France (18%). In the past decade, both France and Germany recorded strong increases in the number of persons in employment (9.1% in Germany and 14.1% in France between 1999 and 2011) but the total volume of hours worked remained relatively stable. As a result, individual working time decreased in both countries, but in different ways: in France, through a decline in full-time working hours; in Germany, through a rise in part-time work.
- Job creation has taken different forms. In France, by far the largest share of new jobs consists of full-time positions. In Germany, all new jobs are part-time positions, and full-time employment has actually fallen slightly. The robust growth in part-time work in Germany mainly concerns women. Germany also exhibits one of Europe's highest female employment rates, approximately 10 percentage points above the euro-area average. However, female employment rates expressed in full-time equivalent terms are similar in France and Germany. This is due to the smaller volume of hours worked by German women, which reflects the higher proportion of women in part-time positions.
- In Germany, only a small proportion of part-time employment is reported as "involuntary" (17% versus 30.7% in France). Moreover, since 2005, the relative poverty rate of part-time employees has been, on the whole, lower in Germany than in France. There are several reasons for this, affording better protection of living standards for german part-time workers: multiple job-holding, a higher employment rate for spouses, a greater proportion of part-time jobs held by women living in a couple and more widespread use of flexible working-time arrangements than in

France. This explains why most German respondents do not describe their parttime work as "involuntary". There are also cultural factors - it is argued - that make part-time work less of an "involuntary" experience for German mothers. There is a greater acceptance of constraints arising from the lack of care facilities for young children and thus a better acceptance of the difficulty of achieving the work-life balance in a full-time position.



Source: LFS (employment), national accounts (hours), Eurostat, DG Trésor calculations.



MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉCONOMIE DE L'INDUSTRIE ET DU NUMÉRIQUE

1. Actual annual working times in France and Germany are similar. This, however, conceals shorter working hours for full-time employees in France and a greater number of part-time wage-earning jobs¹ in Germany

1.1 The high proportion of part-time employees in Germany, among other factors, reduces average working time

The Labour Force survey (LFS) data for 2010 shows similar actual average annual working times in France and

Germany² (table 1). This, however, conceals shorter working hours for full-time employees in France (205 fewer hours per year than in Germany) and a far greater percentage of part-time wage-earning jobs in Germany (26% versus 18% in France).

(in actual working hours per year)	France	Germany	France / Germany differential	
			(hours)	(%)
Total	1 635	1 690	-55	-3.3%
of which paid employees	1 555	1 615	-60	-3.7%
Full-time employees	1 680	1 885	-205	-10.9%
Part-time employees	980	855	+125	+14.6%
share of total paid employees	18%	26%	-8 pts	

Table 1: Comparison of actual average working times in France and Germany in 2011^a

a. The use of LFS long-term data series is distorted by breaks in the series in 2003 in France and 2005 in Germany. In what follows, we therefore express working hours as defined in the national accounts.

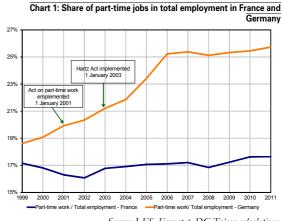
Sources: Eurostat (LFS) and COE-Rexecode. DG Trésor calculations.

1.2 Part-time work expanded sharply in Germany in the 2000s

incentives to work, to step up job-placement efforts, and to create new jobs, particularly in the service sector.

Between 1999 and 2011^3 , the proportion of part-time jobs⁴ in total employment rose from 18.6% to 25.7% in Germany. In France, by contrast, it remained stable at around 17% (chart 1). Over 80% of part-time workers in both countries are women, although their share declined slightly over the full period.

In Germany, the enactment of legislation offering incentives for part-time work in 2001⁵ facilitated flexible workingtime arrangements for employees and employers. This trend gained momentum after the Hartz reforms, particularly the Hartz II Act (2003), which promoted marginal employment ("mini jobs" and "midi jobs", which are subject to reduced social contributions) by raising the ceilings on wages⁶ and weekly working hours⁷ authorised for signing employment contracts of this type. More generally, the Hartz Acts had a triple objective: to strengthen



Source: LFS, Eurostat, DG Trésor calculations.

⁽⁷⁾ Maximum working time of 15 hours before the reform.



⁽¹⁾ For a definition of part-time work, see Pak, M. and Zilloniz, S. (2013), « Le travail à temps partiel », *Synthèse.Stat*', no. 04, DARES.

⁽²⁾ This observation also holds in the long run: between 2000 and 2011, the widest gap in actual average annual working time between France and Germany was 82 hours (in 2000) and the narrowest was 2 hours (2003).

^{(3) 2011} is the latest year for which the total volume of annual hours worked in France is known. For consistency, we have therefore taken 1999-2011 as the observation period for most of the facts examined in this document. The addition of one year to the observation period would not significantly alter our conclusions.

⁽⁴⁾ In what follows, the harmonised data on employment is taken from the LFS database. The advantage of this source is thatunlike national accounting data-it allows a breakdown by gender and by full-time versus part-time work.

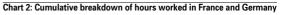
⁽⁵⁾ The Act allows employees with over six months' service in firms with 15 employees or more to apply for part-time work. In theory, the employer is required to grant the request.

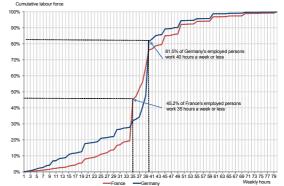
⁽⁶⁾ Increase from €325 to €400 per month for "mini jobs" and creation of "midi jobs", with a monthly wage capped at €800. See Bouvard, F., Rambert, L., Romanello, L. and Studer, N. (2013), "How have the Hartz reforms shaped the German labour market?", *Trésor-Economics* no. 110.

1.3 Short part-time work is more common in Germany

LFS data on principal activity⁸ in 2011 shows that 8% of employed persons in France work no more than 20 hours a week⁹, compared with 18% in Germany (chart 2).

Standard actual working time¹⁰ is 35 hours in France and 40 hours in Germany. However, 81.5% of employed persons in Germany work a number of weekly hours below or equal to the standard actual working time, versus 45.2% in France.





Source: Eurostat (LFS), OECD calculations, 2011 data.

Box 1: Measurement and international comparison of annual working time^a

There are three main sources for measuring annual working time: Labour Force Survey (LFS) data published by Eurostat, LFS data restated by Eurostat for the COE-Rexecode Institute^b and data from national accounts. Unlike the latter, which is administrative data, the first two categories are self-report data.

Annual working time measured by LFSs:

Actual annual working time is calculated in France from responses to the French LFS (Enquête Emploi) conducted by INSEE (the national statistical institute), in which employees themselves describe the components of their working time during the reference week. The total comprises all hours worked in the principal job during a reference week, including paid or unpaid overtime; it excludes hours not worked owing to annual leave, public holidays, illness, workplace accidents, maternity, paternity, short-time working, training and strikes. The figure is calculated using a direct method that consists in determining an actual average weekly working time for all reference weeks and multiplying it by the number of calendar weeks (52) to obtain an annualised working time.

Labour Force Surveys (LFSs) - now quarterly and conducted on a continuous basis - exist in all European Union countries. They allow the application of the direct method for calculating actual annual working time. The surveys comply with an EU regulation that defines common survey procedures and questions based on international definitions of working time. However, the surveys are managed at national level by each EU Member State. They therefore inevitably differ in terms of population covered, data-gathering methods, interpretation of the concept of hours worked in each country, questionnaire procedures, and question wording.

Annual working time measured by restated LFSs (Eurostat data for COE-Rexecode):

LFS data restated for COE-Rexecode include holiday leave and sick-leave periods in calculation of annual working time.

Annuel working time measured in national accounting:

In national accounting, annual working time is a macroeconomic indicator of working time performed by employees, which can be expressed for each economic sector. It is not measured from figures reported by employees but is based on an estimate of working-time components (this is known as the "component method") using a judicious combination of multiple data sources. In France, for example, these include the ACEMO survey, the Enquête Emploi, and data from social security funds.

Table 2: Advantages and drawbacks of sources for measuring annual working time				
	Advantages	Drawbacks		
LFS	Harmonisation of questionnaires at EU level	Breaks in series Holiday leave and sick-leave periods not included in calculation of annual working time		
LFS restated for COE-Rexecode	Harmonisation of questionnaires at EU level Holiday leave and sick-leave periods included in calcula- tion of annual working time	Breaks in series Independent of the raw data supplied by Eurostat, the COE-Rexe- code study focuses on working time of full-time employees		
National accounts	No break in series "Component method" combining several data sources	Construction methodology for national-accounts indicators may differ significantly between countries and thus make it difficult to establish international comparisons in level terms		

a. See « La durée du travail des salariés à temps complet », DARES Analyses no.47, July2013.

b. Data available on http://www.coe-rexecode.fr/public/Analyses-et-previsions/Documents-de-travail/La-duree-effective-annuelle-du-travail-en-France-et-en-Europe-en-2013.

⁽¹⁰⁾ We use "standard working time" to denote the hours worked by a large number of employed persons (26% in France and 34% in Germany in 2011). This concept should not be confused with legal working time or average working time.



⁽⁸⁾ The data therefore does not cover total hours worked, since it does not include time worked in "additional" jobs.

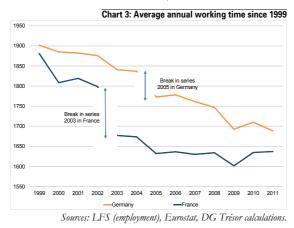
⁽⁹⁾ In France, the Job Security Act of 14 June 2013 and the Vocational Training Act of 5 March 2014 raised the minimum weekly working time from 20 to 24 hours as from 2014 (with exceptions).

2. The strong growth in part-time work in Germany was accompanied by a decrease in average working time per employed person and a rise in the employment rate

2.1 The decline in average working time was steeper in France in the first half of the 2000s. It has been sharper in Germany than in France since 2004

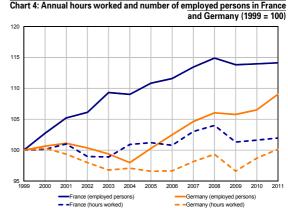
While actual working time per employed person trended down in both France and Germany between 1999 and 2011 (chart 3), France posted a sharper decrease in average working time in the first half of the 2000s. By contrast, in the second half, the downtrend was steeper in Germany.

However, the decrease in average annual working time in the past decade displayed different patterns in France and Germany. In France, the main factor appears to be the gradual implementation of the reduction in the legal working week for full-time employees from 39 to 35 hours¹¹ between 1998 and 2002. This resulted in a 3.8% reduction in full-time employees' average working time during the period. In Germany, by contrast, the decrease in average annual working time seems largely due to the expansion of part-time work (chart 1), although there was also a reduction in the average working time of full-time employees at the end of the period (it declined by slightly over 3% between 2005 and 2011).



2.2 The expansion of part-time work was accompanied by a rise in the employment rate in Germany

The total volume of hours worked grew very modestly between 1999 and 2011 (chart 4). **Concurrently, the average working time per employed person declined in both countries.** This resulted in an increase in the number of persons in employment of 9.1% in Germany and 14.1% in France during the period (box 2).



Sources: LFS (employment), national accounts (hours), Eurostat, DG Trésor calculations.

In the same period, all jobs created in Germany were parttime positions, while the number of full-time jobs actually declined slightly. Moreover, short part-time work is more common in Germany, allowing the creation of more jobs for the same volume of part-time hours worked. In France, by contrast, the number of full-time jobs continued to rise, with part-time positions accounting for only one-fifth of total job creation.

2.3 The expansion of jobs with atypical hours helped maintain the number of employed persons in Germany

In Germany, the increase in jobs with atypical hours has made it possible to lengthen the daily or weekly utilisation time for associated facilities (for example, evening shop openings) and has thus helped to maintain the number of persons holding such positions. In 2011, the data shows a more than tenpercent differential in Germany's favour in the proportion of shift work (see below)¹² and "evening" work¹³, at 27.4% and 17.2% respectively. This data indicates a higher daily or weekly utilisation rate of facilities (in the broad sense) in Germany, as each job may occupy several employed persons in the same day and/or week. Besides these differences in level terms, there are opposite trends in the two countries. Eurostat data shows a rise in "shift work" from 15.9% to 17.4% of total employment in Germany from 2005 to 2011, compared with a decline from 8.3% to 7.3% in France. Similarly, Saturday work increased in Germany (from 25.8% to 26.8%) but declined slightly in France (from 31.1% to 29.8%). And while Sunday rest remains the rule in both countries, the percentage of employed persons working on Sundays edged up between 2005 and 2011, from 13.4% to 14.5% in Germany and from 13.9% to 14.7% in France.

⁽¹³⁾ Between 8pm and midnight.



⁽¹¹⁾ In reality, the "standard weekly working time" of paid employees in France has remained fairly stable over the long run, moving from 39.6 hours a week in 1990 to 39.5 hours in 2011 (sources: INSEE, Annual Labour Force Surveys, 1990-2002; Continuous Labour Force Surveys, 2003-2010). The reduction of the legal working week to 35 hours mainly translated into additional days of leave.

⁽¹²⁾ Shift work is defined as the division of the day into two or more distinct work shifts, which employees perform under a regular rotation system. A common form of shift work consists of two or three 8-hour shifts. Employees working fixed hours-i.e., whose work schedules do not vary significantly-are not classified as shift workers.

The growth in jobs with atypical hours in Germany was driven by several factors:

Shift work, which appears to be most prevalent in manufacturing and full-time positions, has expanded under company agreements to promote working-time flexibility. The increase in shift work in Germany was facilitated by labour legislation that introduced greater flexibility in working-time arrangements. However, the higher propor-

tion of shift work in total employment in Germany also seems attributable to a structural effect due to the larger share of manufacturing in the German economy.

• The gradual extension of opening hours in certain businesses such as banks and department stores may well have stimulated the growth in evening and part-time work.

Box 2: Working time, number of jobs, and employed persons

It is important to distinguish, in a given period, between the working time specific to a job^a (*ie* length of use of facilities, in some cases used by a succession of several employed persons) and the working time of an employed person having held the position, in some cases successively with other persons. With N denoting the number of jobs, D_n the average working time per job, AO lthe number of employed persons, D_{ao} the average working time per employed person, and H the total number of hours worked, we can write:

$$D_{ao} \times AO = D_n \times N$$
 , or $AO = \frac{D_n \times N}{D_{ao}} = \frac{H}{D_{ao}}$

This accounting relationship means that, for a given number of jobs, an increase in working time specific to a job and/or a decrease in working time per employed person automatically increases the number of employed persons.

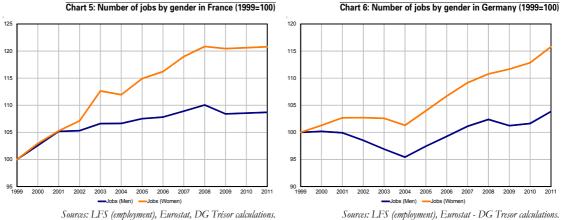
Chart 4 plots changes in *H* and *AO* in France and Germany for the period 1999-2011. Chart 3 plots those of *D*_{ao}.

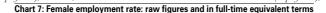
a. The notion of "jobs" used here differs from the standard definition. It does not designate the number of employed persons but the number of work positions. For example, a supermarket cashier position may be filled successively by several employees on the same day. As a result, unlike data on employed persons (number of persons and average working time), the data on the positions themselves is not known; all we know is the product $(D_n \times N)$ which gives the total volume of hours worked H.

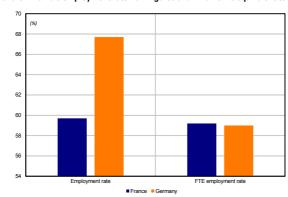
2.4 The growth in employment mainly concerns women, in both France and Germany

Female employment rose 21% in France and 16% in Germany, compared with increases of 9% and 4% respectively for men (charts 5 and 6).

Germany now posts one of the highest female employment rates in Europe, at approximately 10 percentage points above the euro-area average. However, the volume of hours worked by German women is smaller, in particular because of the larger proportion of women in part-time work (21% of total employment versus 14% in France in 2011). Consequently, the two countries posted similar female employment rates in full-time equivalent (FTE) terms in 2011, at 59% for an FTE measured on a common basis of 35 hours (chart 7).







Source: LFS (employment) and demographic data, Eurostat, DG Trésor calculations.



3. In Germany, a better protection of living standards of part-time workers helps to reduce their poverty rate and thus the proportion of "involuntary" part-time work

3.1 The poverty risk is particularly high for involuntary part-time workers

Horemans and Marx (2013)¹⁴ show a **significantly greater poverty risk for part-time employees**. Their conclusion confirms the OECD's finding (2010)¹⁵ that the poverty rate of part-time employees is, on average, twice as high as that of full-time employees.

While all part-time employees are at risk of financial poverty, the inclusion in the analysis of specific criterianotably the reasons for accepting part-time work-reveals certain variations. Specifically, Wilkins (2007)¹⁶ and Horemans and Marx (2013) show a **particularly high poverty risk for involuntary part-time employees**, above all for women.

The authors point out that part-time work is more generally regarded as "involuntary" in countries where this type of employment is less common (Booth and van Ours, 2010¹⁷; Buddelmeyer et al., 2004¹⁸). Part-time work, the authors argue, is therefore more common when it is made sufficiently attractive, especially in financial terms.

3.2 In Germany, relatively little part-time work is "involuntary". The reasons include multiple job holding, the higher employment rate for spouses and the use of flexible working-time arrangements, that is more widespread than in France

The proportion of part-time jobs reported as "involuntary"¹⁹ in total part-time employment was 17% in Germany versus 30.7% in France in 2011. The percentages were respectively 14.7% and 29.5% for women and 28.4% and 36.3% for men. The gender gap is therefore far wider in Germany.

The relatively small proportion of involuntary parttime work in Germany is due to cultural and financial factors mainly impacting female activity²⁰. German mothers' "preference"²¹ for part-time work seems due, in particular, to a better acceptance of the constraint arising from the lack of care facilities for young children in Germany-and of the resulting difficulty of achieving the work-life balance in a full-time job. Not only are care services for young children in scarcer supply, but school hours are rather incompatible with full-time work, as three-quarters of German schools are open only in the morning. Horemans and Marx²² show that female parttime work is far more often linked to the presence of dependent children in the household in Germany than in France. For German mothers, part-time jobs (particularly "mini jobs") reflect the social model of the "male breadwinner"²³ and the resulting lack of care facilities for young children.

Part-time work can be "voluntary" if the employee regards his or her living standards as acceptable. In this respect, the greater propensity to choose part-time work in Germany than in France is also determined by financial factors, which in turn depend on the situation on the labour market, the number of jobs held, and the welfare and tax redistribution system.

3.2.1 The labour market

German households have easier access to employment²⁴, and women living in a couple enjoy greater protection as their partners are more often employed than in France. Furthermore, the proportion of part-time jobs held by women living in a couple is far greater in Germany (52.4% in 2011) than in France (31.9%). Because of the resources provided by their companions, part-time work tends to be voluntary for women living in a couple. In France, this is true for nearly 80% of women living in a couple who work part-time, versus almost 60% of women without partners²⁵. Horemans and Marx²⁶ show that female part-time work is more often associated with temporary contracts and low wages in France than in Germany²⁷.

⁽²⁷⁾ This gap may, however, be due to a difference in skill levels in France and Germany. The study does not indicate if this hypothesis has been tested. The LFS data published by Eurostat shows that the proportions of low-skilled part-time workers (pre-primary schooling, primary education and first level of secondary education) and high-skilled part-time workers (higher education) are lower in Germany than in France. German part-time workers therefore include a greater proportion of persons with intermediate skill levels.



⁽¹⁴⁾ Horemans, J. and Marx, I., (2013), "In-work poverty in times of crisis : do part-timers fare worse?", *ImPRovE Working Papers* 13/14, Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy, University of Antwerp.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Source: EU-SILC, cross-sectional data 2005-2007.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Wilkins R., (2007), "The consequences of underemployment for the underemployed", Journal of industrial relations, 49-2: 247-275.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Booth, A. L. and van Ours, J. C., (2010), "Part-time jobs: what women want?", IZA DP no. 4686.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Buddelmeyer, H., Mourre, G. and Ward, M., (2004), "The determinants of part-time work in EU countries: empirical investigations with macro-panel data", *IZA DP* no. 1361.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Data on "involuntary" part-time work is compiled from statements by respondents to national labour force surveys. We can define "involuntary" part-time work in two ways according to the cause: the employee has failed to find full-time work, or (s)he would prefer to work more hours. The data published by Eurostat is based on the first definition.

⁽²⁰⁾ In both countries, over 80% of part-time jobs are filled by women.

⁽²¹⁾ Part-time work described by respondents as "voluntary" may sometimes consist in a choice by default and thus actually be, to a certain extent, "involuntary".

⁽²²⁾ Op. cit.

⁽²³⁾ Lewis, J. (1992), "Gender and the development of welfare regimes", Journal of European Social Policy, 2(3):159-73 for a typology of "male breadwinner" models across Europe.

⁽²⁴⁾ In 2011, the employment rate stood at 72.5% in Germany versus 63.9% in France.

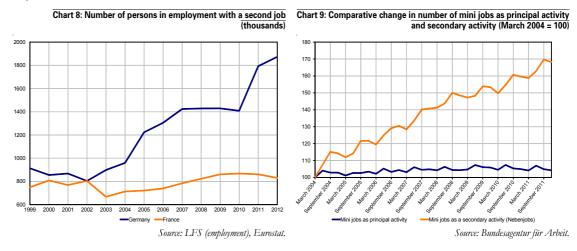
⁽²⁵⁾ Biausque, V. and Govillot, S. (2012) « Les couples sur le marché du travail », INSEE, France, portrait social, Insee Références, November.

⁽²⁶⁾ Op. cit.

In Germany, working-time savings accounts are a far more common tool for achieving work-time flexibility than in France²⁸. They allow employees to work more (without being paid overtime) in peak periods of business activity and, by contrast, to reduce their working hours without pay loss when business slows²⁹. At the height of the crisis (2009), the adjustment of the German labour market was largely achieved through a reduction in hours worked per capita, down 2.8% in 2009 from the previous year. During the crisis, Germany also achieved employment stability at the expense of hourly productivity, which dropped 2.2% in 2009 ³⁰.

3.2.2 Multiple job-holding

The low proportion of involuntary part-time work in Germany can also be explained by the **rise in the number** of persons with a second job (Nebenjob) (chart 8)³¹, which doubled in Germany but remained stable in France. In 2011, 4.5% of employed persons held a second job in Germany, versus 3.4% in France. This trend is due to the increasing reliance on "mini jobs" as second jobs³² (chart 9). A great majority (87%) of people with a second job do not spend more than 15 hours a week on it (table 3).





Weekly working hours	1-9	10-14	15-20	21- 31
Number of persons (thousands)	1 213	403	191	47
				Source: Destatis.

3.2.3 The welfare and tax redistribution system

The German tax system may offer fewer incentives to fulltime work than France. In particular, Germany's familybenefits system appears to have a stronger deterrent effect. While basic family benefits are more generous than in France, there is a greater reliance on means-testing³³. Overall, the German system of public subsidies to families seems more focused on vertical redistribution than the French system. This difference, it is argued, acts as a more powerful disincentive to labour supply from lower-income households than in France, whose system tends instead to benefit large families via horizontal redistribution.

3.3 In the final analysis, both countries display comparable working poverty rates, but that of part-time workers seems higher in France

France and Germany exhibit very similar working poverty rates³⁴, rising from just over 6% of employed persons before the crisis (2005-2008 average) to 7% during the crisis (2009-2010) and 8% in 2011-2013 (table 4).



⁽²⁸⁾ Fréhaut, P. (2012), "Short-time working schemes in France and Germany: how do they differ?", Trésor-Economics no. 107.

⁽²⁹⁾ One should, however, be cautious in drawing a statistical connection between flexible working-time and part-time work. The classification of an employee as a part-time or full-time worker depends on his or her responses and how they are processed in the survey. Employees whose working hours have been temporarily reduced may report a number of weekly hours worked that corresponds to a part-time position. As a result, they may describe themselves as part-time workers whereas they normally work full-time.

⁽³⁰⁾ See especially Ziemann, V. (2010), "What explains the resilience of employment in Germany?", *Trésor-Economics* no. 79, chart 3.

⁽³¹⁾ It has been argued that the steep rise seen in 2011 was due to a break in the series.

⁽³²⁾ Lestrade, B. (2013), « Mini jobs en Allemagne, une forme de travail à temps partiel très répandue mais contestée », Revue Française des Affaires Sociales no. 4, La Documentation Française.

⁽³³⁾ Batard, P.E., de Lagasnerie, G., Favrat, A., Fréhaut, P., Geay, C., Lalanne, G., Le Gouguec, A., Magnien, M., Prady, D., Rambert, L., Saillard, E. and Yazidi, K. (2012), « Comparaison France Allemagne des systèmes de protection sociale », DG Trésor working paper (document de travail), August.

⁽³⁴⁾ The poverty rate is defined as the percentage of people whose equivalent disposable income (after social transfers) is below the poverty line, set at 60% of the national median equivalent disposable income after social transfers.

The comparison by work intensity (full-time/part-time), however, underscores a divergence between the two countries. While poverty rates for employed persons working full-time are comparable, the poverty rate of part-time employees is higher in France than in Germany, particularly owing to the factors mentioned earlier (§3.2), which explain the lower proportion of "involuntary" part-time work in Germany. Nevertheless, in terms of trends, poverty has risen faster in Germany for employed persons working part-time, gaining 6.8 percentage points versus 4.4 percentage points for France between 2005 and 2013.

Table 4: Poverty rate* by labour force status**	Table 4:	Poverty	rate*	by	labour	force	status**
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%	Poverty rate	Poverty rate of employed persons	Poverty rate of employed working full-time	Poverty rate of employed working part-time		
		2005-2008 average				
France	13.0	6.3	5.3	10.0		
Germany	13.8	6.2	4.8	9.0		
		200	09-2010 average			
France	13.1	6.6	5.3	11.2		
Germany	15.6	7.0	5.3	10.6		
		20	11-2013 average			
France	13.9	7.9	6.2	13.2		
Germany	16.0	8.0	6.0	11.7		

Source: LFS, Eurostat.

(* threshold set at 60% of median equivalent income after social transfers).

(** pre-2005 data not available for Germany).

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