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Extent and distribution of unregistered employment in the service industries

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SCHOLARONE™ Manuscripts Extent and distribution of unregistered employment in the service industries in Europe

Abstract

Although a voluminous literature exists on the prevalence of the informal economy, few studies evaluate unregistered employment and none its prevalence and distribution across the service industries. This paper fills that gap. Reporting a 2015 European Working Conditions Survey based on 43,850 face-to-face interviews, the finding is that 7% (1 in 14) of service industry employees have no written contract of employment across the 35 European countries surveyed, although this varies from 34% in Cyprus to 1% in Sweden. A logistic regression analysis at the European level reveals significant associations between the propensity to work with no contract and various individual-, household- and firm-related characteristics, with unregistered employment more prevalent among women, younger people, those with fewer years in education, migrants, those living in households unable to make ends meet, those working in smaller businesses, and the hospitality and household service sectors. The theoretical and policy implications are then discussed.

Keywords: informal employment; undeclared work; informal sector; marginalisation thesis; Europe

Introduction

Tackling unregistered employment is now high on the policy agenda of supra-national organisations and many governments both in Europe and well beyond, exemplified by the European Commission establishing the European Platform Tackling Undeclared

Work (European Commission, 2016) and the International Labour Organisation passing Recommendation 208 (ILO, 2015). The reason for this is due to the negative impacts of unregistered employment on not only the employees without written contracts or terms of employment, but also on formal employees, legitimate businesses, governments and societies. Such unregistered employment has negative consequences for all societal groups. The unregistered employees witness poor working conditions due to the absence of a written contract. Formal employees indirectly suffer since it weakens trade union power and effective collective bargaining. Formal businesses suffer due to the unfair competition they witness due to their competitors reducing labour costs by using unregistered employees. Governments suffer due to the loss of their ability to control the quality of working conditions, collect social insurance contributions and to gather taxes. And societies thus suffer because it limits the ability to foster social cohesion and social inclusion. (Andrews, Caldera Sanchez, & Johansson, 2011; Williams, 2014).

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to advance understanding by evaluating the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment, by which is meant where a dependent employee has no written contract or terms of reference, across the service industries. Although a voluminous literature exists on the prevalence of the wider informal economy (for a review, see Williams & Schneider, 2016), only a handful of studies have evaluated the extent of unregistered employment (Hazans, 2011; Lehmann, 2015; Williams & Kayagolu, 2017), and none so far as is known the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment in the service industries. This is rather surprising considering that some of the service industries are seasonal (e.g. hospitality services) and a large range of informal activities as well as the high threat of the informal competition were previously documented for such services (Williams and Horodnic, 2017). The intention here is to fill this gap by analysing not only the service

industries by sector but also by providing a comparative perspective between the service industries and other economic sectors (i.e., agriculture, industry and construction).

In the first section, therefore, the literature is briefly reviewed on the wider informal economy in general to highlight the importance of studying this phenomenon, followed by what is known about the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment. This will display not only the extensiveness of the informal economy but also how its distribution is widely theorised using a 'marginalisation' theoretical lens. This views informal economic activity as precarious work conducted by population groups marginalised from the formal labour market, such as women, unemployed people and immigrants (Ahmad, 2008; Arnstberg & Boren, 2003; Brill, 2011; Castree, Coe, Ward, & Samers, 2004; Katungi, Neale, & Barbour, 2006; Rubić, 2013; Slavnic, 2010; Taiwo, 2013; Williams & Horodnic, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). Until now, however, there have been few studies of the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment by which is meant where a dependent employee has no written contract or terms of reference (for exceptions, see Hazans, 2011; Lehmann, 2015; Williams & Kayaoglu, 2017), and no studies of the extent and distribution of unregistered employment across the service industries. To start to do so, the second section will introduce the methodology and data used, namely a 2015 European Working Conditions Survey conducted across 35 European countries involving 43,850 face-to-face interviews, followed in the third section by the results. The fourth and final section concludes by discussing the implications of these findings for theory and policy.

Prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment: a literature review

In general terms, the non-observed economy, includes activities that are 'underground, illegal, informal sector, or undertaken by households for their own final use' (OECD,

2002). Meanwhile, the informal economy, or what is sometimes called the 'undeclared', 'shadow', 'underground', 'cash-in-hand', 'hidden' or 'off-the-books' sector/economy (Williams, 2005), includes work which is commonly defined as remunerated work that is not registered by, or declared to, the authorities for tax, social security and/or labour purposes (European Commission, 2007; Khan, 2017; OECD, 2012; Slack et al., 2017; Williams, 2004, 2017; Williams & Windebank, 1998; Windebank & Horodnic, 2017). Similarly, employment in the informal economy commonly refers to an employment relationship which "is, in law or in practice, not subject to national labour legislation, income taxation, social protection or entitlement to certain employment benefits" (Hussmanns, 2005). Therefore, the major difference between work in formal and informal economy therefore, is that informal work is not registered by, or declared to, the authorities for tax, social security or labour law purposes when it should be declared or registered. If other differences prevail, then the economic activity is not considered part of the informal economy. If the goods and/or services traded are illegal (e.g., illegal drugs) for example, then it is defined as the 'criminal' economy, and if there is no remuneration, it is considered part of the unpaid economy.

The reason the informal economy has attracted interest from both policymakers and academics is because contrary to traditional modernisation theory, which viewed the formal economy as expanding and the informal economy as a small disappearing realm persisting in a few marginal enclaves of the economic landscape (Geertz, 1963; Gilbert, 1998; Lewis, 1959), it has been recognised that 60 per cent of jobs globally are in the informal economy (Jütting & Laiglesia, 2009) and that this sphere is expanding relative to the formal economy in many global regions (ILO, 2011; Williams, 2014; Williams & Schneider, 2016). Studying the formal economy, therefore, has started to be

recognised as providing only a very partial portrait of the nature of economies and labour markets.

The informal economy is composed of various economic practices. On the one hand, there is unregistered employment, which is remunerated work where there is no legal written contract or terms of employment (Hazans, 2011; Lehmann, 2015; Williams & Kayaoglu, 2017). The present study focuses on this type of employment relationship, namely cases where a dependent employee has no written contract or terms of reference. On the other hand, however, other types of remunerated work exist not declared to the authorities. This includes informal self-employment where some and/or all of the remunerated work undertaken is not declared to the authorities, under-declared work where formal employees receive from their formal employer both an official declared wage and an undeclared ('envelope') wage, and a multifarious array of other forms of tax and social insurance non-compliance and labour law violation by employers (see ILO, 2015; Williams, 2017).

Although the informal economy as a whole has been subject to widespread evaluation in Europe in the recent years, unregistered employment, by which is meant where a dependent employee has no written contract or terms of reference has received little attention. While there are other studies beyond Europe (e.g., Lehmann, 2015), in Europe the only exceptions are two studies by Hazans (2011) and Williams and Kayaoglu (2017). Williams and Kayaoglu (2017) report the results of a 2013 Eurobarometer survey and find that in the 28 member states of the European Union, 5% of employees reported not having a written contract of employment, while Hazans (2011), using European Social Survey data on 30 countries for the period between 2004 and 2009, finds that the proportion of employees without a contract is 2.7% in Nordic countries, 9.5% in Southern Europe, and 5% in Western and East-Central Europe.

Similarly, a multitude of studies on the individual-, household-, firm- and national-level variations in the informal economy have been conducted (e.g., Williams, 2014; Williams & Horodnic, 2015a, 2015b, 2017) but only a handful of studies on the distribution of unregistered employment (Hazans, 2011; Lehmann, 2015; Williams & Kayaoglu, 2017). When studying the informal economy, a marginalisation thesis dominates, which argues that the informal economy is concentrated among individuals and households marginalised from the formal labour market and social protection (Ahmad, 2008; Arnstberg & Boren, 2003; Castree et al., 2004; Rubić, 2013; Sasunkevich, 2014; Surdej & Ślęzak, 2009). Studies show how those working in the informal economy are more likely to be individuals from population groups marginalised from the formal labour market, including women, younger age groups, those with fewer years in formal education, those with lower skills, those not born in the country or without parents born in the country, and also individuals living in single person households, and in households having difficulties making ends meet (Barbour & Llanes, 2013; ILO, 2013; Leonard, 1994; Smith & Stenning, 2006; Stănculescu, 2004). However, this is by no means clear-cut. A recent evaluation of this marginalisation thesis in relation to the informal economy across the European Union reveals that although younger people are more likely to work in the informal economy, this is not the case for those with fewer years in education, women and those with difficulties paying the household bills (Williams & Horodnic, 2015b). It has been also revealed that firm-level characteristics are influential with the propensity to employ informal workers being greater in smaller businesses and in some sectors such as construction, the hospitality and restaurant industry, and household services (Williams & Horodnic, 2016, 2017).

The only known studies of the distribution of unregistered employment in Europe produce mixed findings. Hazans (2011) finds that in relation to individual-related characteristics, the likelihood of unregistered employment is inversely related to education level, older and younger employees more likely, and women more likely than men to work without a legal contract. In contrast, Krasniqi & Williams (2017) find an inverted U-shaped relationship between the participation in unregistered employment and age, and that men are more likely to be involved in working unregistered.

Meanwhile, Williams and Kayaoglu (2017) find no significant association between the probability of unregistered employment and individual- and household related characteristics such as gender, age, educational level, and occupational status, but a significant association with firm-level characteristics such as firm size.

Until now, moreover, no known contemporary studies in Europe have been conducted on how the prevalence of unregistered employment varies across sectors, not least because the 2013 Eurobarometer survey reported by Williams and Kayaoglu (2017) did not include sector as a variable. As such, little if anything is known about how the prevalence of unregistered employment varies across the different service industries. Neither have there been any studies of who engages in unregistered employment in the service industries. Based on the above findings from the study of the informal economy in general, and the only two studies of unregistered employment across all sectors, we therefore here test for the first time the following propositions in relation to the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment in the service industries:

Individual-level marginalisation hypothesis (H1): In the service industries, the individuals from marginalised populations are more likely to work without a written contract or terms of employment compared with the rest of the population groups.

- H1a: The likelihood of participating in unregistered employment in service industries is higher for women compared with men.
- H1b: The likelihood of participating in unregistered employment in service industries is higher for younger age groups compared with older age groups.
- H1c: The likelihood of participating in unregistered employment in service industries is higher for those who spent less time in formal education compared with to those who spent longer time in formal education.
- H1d: Respondents who along with their parents were born in the country in which they currently work are less likely to be in unregistered employment in service industries than those where this is not the case.

Household-level marginalisation hypothesis (H2): In the service industries, those living in single-person households and households with financial difficulties in making ends meet are more likely to participate in unregistered employment

- H2a: Those living in single person households are more likely to participate in unregistered employment in service industries than those in larger households.
- H2b: Those living in households with financial difficulties in making ends meet are more likely to participate in unregistered employment in service industries than those who have few difficulties.

Firm-level and job related hypotheses (H3): In the service industries, participation in unregistered employment varies according to firm size, sector and type of job.

H3a: Employees working in smaller service sector businesses are more likely to be in unregistered employment than those in larger service sector businesses.

H3b: There are significant variations in the prevalence of unregistered employment across the service industries.

H3c: Those having supervision positions are less likely to be in unregistered employment than those not having supervision positions.

H4d: Those having other jobs besides the main job are more likely to be in unregistered employment than those not having other additional jobs.

Data and Methodology

To evaluate the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment in the service industries, we here report the 2015 European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS) conducted in 35 countries and involving 43,850 face-to-face interviews. The EWCS interviews those aged 15 and over (16 and over in Bulgaria, Norway, Spain and the UK) living in private households and in employment who did at least one hour of work for pay or profit during the week preceding the interview. In each country, a representative sample is collected stratified by region (NUTS 2 or equivalent) and degree of urbanization. The sixth edition of the EWCS covers the 28 member states of the European Union, five EU candidate countries (Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey), plus Norway and Switzerland. Thus, according to United Nations (United Nations, 2015), the dataset covers 30 developed economies¹ and 5 economies in transition/developing economies². Besides the individuals socio-demographic characteristics, the EWCS survey comprises a large range set of information related with the employment arrangements, working place and working conditions. The dataset collates the responses of the surveyed individuals and

¹ Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK.

² Albania, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey.

thus, represents the subjective self-perception of the respondents.

For both the descriptive statistics and regression analysis, weighting schemes have been used as recommended in EWCS 2015 technical report. Country-level post-stratification weights have been used for carrying out analysis for country comparisons. When conducting analysis on an aggregate level, a different weighting scheme was used based on the relative size of the workforce in each country. For the descriptives, we analysed all cases available for each analysed variable (do not know and refusal were excluded). However, we kept in the regression analysis the individuals for which data on each and every independent variable was available.

To analyse the results, the hypotheses are tested that participation in unregistered employment varies according to individual-related variables (gender, age, years spent in education, country where the respondents and their parents were born), household-related variables (household size, household financial circumstances) and firm-related characteristics (number of employees and sector). To investigate the validity of these hypotheses, we here use a logistic regression analysis. The dependent variable measures whether participants have a written contract or terms of employment or not using the following question: 'What kind of employment contract do you have in your main job?', with value 1 for those stating that they have no written contract or terms of employment and value 0 otherwise. Thus, the results need to be cautiously interpreted considering potential biases related to the sincerity or readiness of the respondents to give honest answers regarding an illegal working arrangement. Thus, the percentages reported might be underestimated.

The independent variables used to analyse whether marginalized populations are more likely to engage in unregistered employment are divided into individual-, household- and firm-level variables and are as follows:

Individual-level independent variables:

- *Gender*: a dummy variable with value 1 for men and 0 for women.
- Age: a categorical variable for the age of the participant with value 1 for those aged 15-24, value 2 for those aged 25-39, value 3 for those aged 40-54, value 4 for those aged 55 and over.
- *Education*: a categorical variable for the education of the participant with value 1 for up to lower secondary education, value 2 for upper secondary education, value 3 for post-secondary non-tertiary education, value 4 for short-cycle tertiary education, value 5 for bachelor or equivalent and value 6 for master/ doctorate or equivalent.
 - Respondent and their parents born in the country: a dummy variable with value
 1 if both the respondent and their parents born in the country in which they currently work and 0 otherwise.

Household-level independent variables:

- Household size: a categorical variable for the size of the household with value 1 for 1 person, value 2 for 2 persons, value 3 for 3 persons and value 4 for 4 persons or more.
- Household ability to make ends meet: a categorical variable for the ability of the
 household to make ends meet with value 1 for very easily/ easy, value 2 fairly easy,
 value 3 for with some difficulty and value 4 for with difficulty/ great difficulty.

Firm-level and job related independent variables:

- *Number of employees in the company*: a categorical variable for company size with value 1 for interviewee working alone, value 2 for 2-9 employees, value 3 for 10-249 employees and value 4 for 250+ employees.
- *Sector*: a categorical variable for the sector where the respondent works with value 1 for other services, value 2 for commerce and hospitality, value 3 for transport, value

- 4 for financial services, value 5 for public administration and health and value 6 for education.
- *Supervision:* a dummy variable with value 0 for the respondents not having people working under their supervision and with value 1 otherwise.
- *Multiple jobs:* a categorical variable for multiple jobs with value 1 if for those not having any other paid job besides the main paid job, value 2 for those having regularly other job(s) and value 3 for those having occasionally other job(s) or other cases.

Below, we report the findings.

Findings: unregistered employment in the service industries

The overarching finding is that 7% of all industries employees surveyed reported working with no contract in the 35 European nations surveyed. This, therefore, is not some minor form of employment; some 1 in 14 employees have no written contract or terms of employment. Unregistered employment, however, is not evenly distributed nationally. As Table 1 displays, the proportion of employees with no contract or terms of employment varies from 36% in Cyprus, 27% in Turkey, 23% in Malta, 17% in Albania and 16% in Greece at the upper end, to 1% in Luxembourg and Sweden at the lower end. These cross-national differences in the proportion of employees in unregistered employment are statistically significant.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

It is similarly the case when the prevalence of unregistered employment in the service industries is analysed. Again, 7% of all service employees work without a contract or

terms of employment, with the proportion of employees in the service industries in unregistered employment ranging from 34% in Cyprus, 31% in Turkey, 24% in Malta, 20% in Albania and 16% in Greece at the upper end, to 1% in Luxembourg and Sweden at the lower end. The prevalence of unregistered employment in the service industries is therefore very similar to its prevalence in all employment in most nations, which is unsurprising given that the vast majority (72.8%) of employees surveyed in these countries is in the service industries.

Across the 35 countries, nevertheless, unregistered employment is highest in the agricultural sector (where 14% of employees are in unregistered employment) followed by the construction sector (where 10% are in unregistered employment), but is lower in the manufacturing sector (where only 5% are in unregistered employment). It might be suggested, therefore, that studying unregistered employment in these other sectors is more important than studying unregistered employment in the service industries. However, despite unregistered employment being more prevalent in agriculture and construction compared with the service sector, Figure 1 reveals that the vast majority of those in unregistered employment (70.8%) are working in the service industries. As such, although 14% in agriculture are in unregistered employment and 10% in the construction sector, these constitute just 10.8% and 7.9% respectively of those working without a written contract or terms of employment.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

[INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Unregistered employment, however, is not evenly distributed across the service industries. Analysing which service industries have a higher prevalence of unregistered employment, Table 2 reveals that 43% of all service workers in the household services sector (e.g., domestic cleaners) do not have a written contract or terms of employment, and 15% of employees in the accommodation and food service industries. In consequence, although employees in the household services sector constitute just 2.3% of all service industry employees, 12.9% of all unregistered employment in the service industries is in this sphere. Similarly, although the accommodation and food service industries employ just 6.9% of all employees, 14.7% of all unregistered employees in the service industries are in these sectors. Other service industries, however, have relatively low levels of unregistered employment, namely financial and insurance services, real estate services, and information and communication services where just 2% of all employment is unregistered. Similarly, unregistered employment by service industries is unevenly distributed. For example, the unregistered unemployment in commerce and hospitality as well as in transport and financial services is more prevalent in Cyprus, while unregistered unemployment in public administration and health, education and other services is more prevalent in Turkey (details in Table A1 in the Appendix).

Unregistered employment, moreover, is not only unevenly distributed crossnationally and across different sectors. It is also the case that some employee groups are
more likely to be in unregistered employment than others. The marginalization thesis
asserts that unregistered employment is concentrated among groups who are
marginalised from the formal labour market. The descriptive statistics in Table 3 reveals
some partial support for this thesis. Although women employed in the service industries
are no more likely than men employed in the service industries to be in unregistered

employment, and there is little difference between those living in large or single person households, it is certainly the case that younger age groups, who are more likely to be excluded from the formal labour market, are markedly more likely to be in unregistered employment. Some 1 in 6 (15%) of all service industry employees aged 15-24 years old have no written contract or terms of employment compared with just 6% of 25-39 year olds and 5% of 40-54 year olds. So too are those with fewer years in formal education markedly more likely to be in unregistered employment, those not having supervision positions, as are those who live in households who make ends meet with difficulty or great difficulty (16%), and those working in smaller businesses. Therefore, for the service industries as a whole, most aspects of the marginalisation thesis appear to be valid.

[INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Table 3 also examines whether this is similarly the case when the service industries are broken down into six sub-sectors. The finding is similar in that women employees are not more likely to be in unregistered employment in all sectors, and neither are first or second generation migrants, but younger age groups, those with fewer years in formal education, those living in households with difficulties making ends meet, those working in micro- and smaller businesses and those not having people working under their supervision are more likely to work without a contract in most of the service industries. The only variations on this finding are that in financial services, those living in households with difficulty paying the bills are not more likely to be in unregistered employment, in public administration and health services younger age groups are not

more likely, and in other services, women are more likely to be in unregistered employment than men.

Analysing these descriptive statistics therefore, the tentative conclusion is that the marginalization thesis is applicable when analysing some population groups, namely younger age groups, those with fewer years in education or no supervision job, and those living in households having difficulties making ends meet, and those working in smaller businesses, but not others, namely women, those respondents and their parents not born in the country in which they currently live and work, and single-households, albeit with a few exceptions in specific service industries as stated above.

To further analyse whether these findings continue to be valid regarding the individual-, household-, job-related and firm-level variations in unregistered employment, when other variables are taken into account and held constant, a logistic regression analysis is reported in Table 4. This is based on an additive model. The first stage model (M1) includes solely the individual-level variables to examine their relationship with the propensity to be in unregistered employment, while the second stage model (M2) adds household-level characteristics alongside the individual-level variables, and the third stage model (M3) adds firm-level factors and job-related characteristics to the individual-level and household-level characteristics to examine their association with the propensity to work with no contract.

[INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Model 1 in Table 4 displays support for the marginalization thesis that women are significantly more likely to work with no contract than men (confirming *H1a*), and so too are younger people (15-24 years old) than other older age groups (confirming *H1b*).

Similarly, those with fewer years in formal education are significantly more likely to work with no contract (confirming H1c), as are those not born in the country of residence and with parents not born in the country of residence (confirming H1d). Thus, the individual-level marginalisation thesis (H1) is confirmed.

When model 2 adds the household-level factors of household size and financial circumstances households face to the individual-level characteristics, there are no major changes in the influence of the individual-level characteristics on the propensity to work with no contract. The additional finding in model 2 is that household size does not have a significant impact on the likelihood of working with no contract (refuting H2a). However, those who live in households with difficulties in making ends meet are significantly more likely to work with no contract than those not having such difficulties (confirming H2b). In other words, they are more likely to be forced to work with no contract out of necessity to make ends meet than those with fewer financial difficulties. This therefore provides partial support for the household-level marginalization thesis (H2).

When firm-level and job-related characteristics are added in model 3 in Table 4, the significance of all of the individual- and household-level characteristics discussed above remain the same in relation to participation in unregistered employment. The one difference is that when firm-level characteristics are introduced, the relevance of gender disappears. The additional finding in model 3 is that those in smaller businesses are significantly more likely to be engaged in unregistered employment than those working in larger businesses (confirming *H3a*). Model 3 also reveals that those who work in the commerce and hospitality sector, transport services, or financial services are significantly less likely to work without contract than those who work in other services (e.g., household services, arts, entertainment and recreation), thus displaying that there

are significant variations in the prevalence of unregistered employment across the service industries, even when individual- and household-level characteristics of the labour force are taken into account and held constant (confirming H3b). Those not having other people working under their supervision are more likely to be in unregistered employment (confirming H3c) as well as those which besides the main job take occasionally other jobs, compared with those which do not (partially confirming H3d). These results are in line with the results related with socio-economic characteristics and shows that those with lower skills (i.e., not having supervision positions) or those which needs to take occasionally other jobs due to financially constrains are more likely to work without a contract. Model 3 thus provides support for H3 that participation in unregistered employment varies according to job characteristics, PCL. firm size and sector.

Discussion and Conclusions

To evaluate the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment in the service industries, this paper has used descriptive statistics and logistic regression analysis to reveal that in 35 European countries, there are: cross-national variations in the prevalence of unregistered employment; individual-level variations in its prevalence, with women, younger age groups, those with fewer years in education and those respondents which themselves or their parents were not born in the country where they are currently living are significantly more likely to work with no contract; householdlevel variations with those living in households having difficulties making ends meet being more likely to be in unregistered employment; and firm-level variations with those working in smaller firms and other services (e.g., household services) being more likely to operate without a written contract or terms of employment.

Examining the theoretical implications, the most important finding is that the marginalisation thesis is confirmed. It is largely those individuals and households who have been conventionally seen as marginalised from the formal labour market that are most likely to engage in unregistered employment. This finding in relation to the service industries as a whole runs counter to the only previous extensive survey of unregistered employment in the whole economy that used 2013 Eurobarometer survey data and found that individual- and household-level characteristics were not significantly associated with the likelihood of engaging in unregistered employment (Williams & Kayagolu, 2017). The different findings in these two surveys thus highlight the need for further research on the validity of the individual- and household-level marginalisation thesis in relation to who participates in unregistered employment. At the national-level, moreover, this study, akin to Williams and Kayagolu (2017), reveals significant crossnational variations in the prevalence of unregistered employment. Future research is now required on what structural conditions might be significantly associated with the greater prevalence of unregistered employment. Studies of the wider informal economy highlight the variables that might be correlated with the greater prevalence of unregistered employment, namely lower levels of GDP per capita, unmodernised government, including less trust in authorities and higher levels of corruption, and lower levels of state intervention in the labour market to protect vulnerable groups and lower levels of social expenditure (Williams & Horodnic, 2016, 2017). A future study needs to evaluate whether this is indeed the case in relation to cross-national variations in the prevalence of unregistered employment, and more particularly, cross-national variations in the extent of unregistered employment in the service industries.

It has also been revealed that unregistered employment is far higher in some service industries than others. This requires further investigation to reveal why this is

the case. Unregistered employment is doubtless higher in smaller firms due to the absence of human resource management professionals in such businesses, thus allowing employers to adopt illegal labour practices such as employing people without written contracts or terms of employment (Barrett & Mayson, 2007; Benmore & Palmer, 2006). It is perhaps also the case that service industries requiring higher skills are less likely to employ unregistered workers, and therefore that unregistered employment is more prevalent in service industries requiring lower skills. This, however, requires more indepth analysis, including additional questions on this issue. Furthermore, whether the findings are similar when examining other global regions, and other spatial scales such as particular nations, regions and localities, now requires evaluation.

Turning to the policy implications, the first important finding is that these results display the specific countries, population groups, firm-types and sectors that need targeting when seeking to tackle unregistered employment. This displays that it is primarily South-East European (e.g., Cyprus, Turkey, Albania, Greece, Serbia, FYR of Macedonia) and Southern European (e.g., Malta, Italy) countries where unregistered employment is rife, and need to be targeted. This requires EU initiatives and structural funds that seek to modernise enforcement authorities, such as labour inspectorates, to be concentrated on this EU region and the accession countries in this region, rather than elsewhere. Indeed, under the framework of European Platform for Tackling Undeclared Work established through Decision (EU) 2016/344, the enforcement authorities involved in tackling undeclared work, including the unregistered employment (e.g., labour inspectorates, fiscal agencies, social partners etc.) from Southern and South-East European countries can learn good practices from their peers from other European countries where this phenomenon is less widespread. This can include through seminar participation, mutual learning activities, participation in joint actions with authorities

from different EU countries, sharing knowledge and so on. The results of the study also displays that for initiatives tackling unregistered employment to be effective, they should target smaller businesses operating in specific service sectors, including household services, arts, entertainment and recreation, and accommodation and food services, and that if they are effective, then they will act to protect workers from marginal populations (such as women, the younger groups, the less educated, migrants, and those in households with financial difficulties). This analysis, in other words, provides a useful assessment of the target countries, sectors and firm-types for enforcement authorities, and the different marginalised populations that will be protected by taking action against unregistered employment in the service industries.

In sum, this paper has revealed for the first time the prevalence and distribution of unregistered employment, by which is meant where a dependent employee has no written contract or terms of reference, across the service industries in 35 European countries. This has revealed that tackling unregistered employment across the service industries will indeed address the working conditions of marginalised populations, and has begun to identify the countries, service industries and firm-types that need to be targeted to do so. If this paper therefore, stimulates further studies to develop a deeper understanding of the service industries where unregistered employment is concentrated, along with why this is the case, then it will have fulfilled one of its intentions. If this then leads to a more nuanced policy approach to tackle this phenomenon, in terms of the populations targeted and how resources are allocated, then it will have fulfilled its wider intention.

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Figure 1. Unregistered employment in Europe by economic sector, as percent of all employees with no written contract and percent of all employees

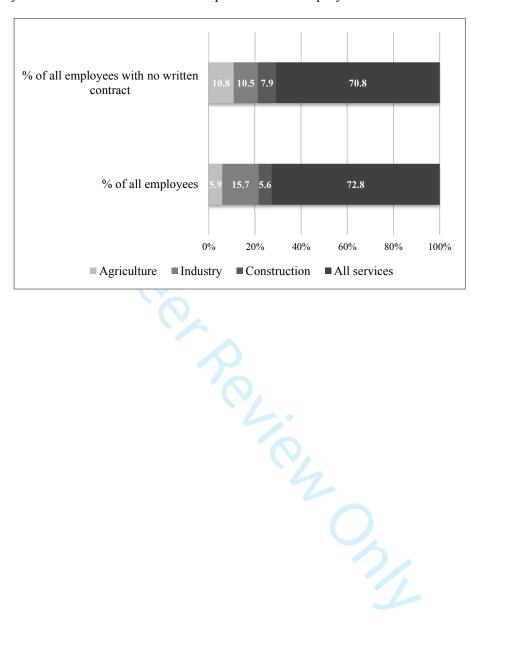


Table 1. Cross-national variations in the prevalence of unregistered employment: by sector

	Working with no	Working with no contract:						
Country	contract ¹	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	All services			
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			
Cyprus	36	32	46	42	34			
Turkey	27	12	32	36	31			
Malta	23	6	22	14	24			
Albania	17	2	27	46	20			
Greece	16	22	9	17	16			
Ireland	11	8	11	20	11			
Serbia	11	10	5	14	12			
FYROM	10	6	5	28	11			
Italy	9	18	1	7	10			
Poland	9	33	4	15	7			
Portugal	9	6	2	24	9			
Montenegro	8	4	8	19	8			
Austria	7	18	4	11	7			
Latvia	7	24	1	3	7			
Romania	5	9	1	5	5			
Spain	5	6	2	9	5			
Bulgaria	4	23	0	19	3			
Croatia	4	9	3	9	4			
Finland	4	12	1	4	4			
Hungary	4	9	1	9	3			
Slovenia	4	21	1	13	3			
UK	4	13	1	5	4			
Switzerland	4	12	5	1	3			
Czech Republic	3	6	0	5	3			
Denmark	3	16	2	2	3			
Germany	3	17	1	2	4			
Netherlands	3	19	0	4	3			
Norway	3	15	1	2	3			
Belgium	2	13	1	1	2			
Estonia	2	5	0	5	2			
France	2	3	0	3	2			
Lithuania	2	6	1	1	2			
Slovakia	2	3	1	5	2			
Luxembourg	1	20	0	0	1			
Sweden	1	0	0	1	1			
All 35 countries	7	14	5	10	7			

Note: ¹ Chi-square test of independence (survey design) between unregistered employment participation and country, converted into F statistic, p<0.01.

Table 2. Prevalence of unregistered employment in Europe: by service industries

Commerce and hospitality Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles Accommodation and food service activities Transport Transport Transportation and storage Financial services Financial and insurance activities Real estate activities Public administration and Health Public administration and defence; compulsory social security Human health and social work activities Education Education Tother services Information and communication Professional, scientific and technical activities Administrative and support service activities Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-		(%) 100 14.3 14.7 4.2	(%) 100 19.7 6.9
Commerce and hospitality Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles Accommodation and food service activities Transport Transport Transportation and storage Financial services Financial and insurance activities Real estate activities Public administration and Health Public administration and defence; compulsory social security Human health and social work activities Education Education Tother services Information and communication Professional, scientific and technical activities Administrative and support service activities Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-		14.3 14.7	19.7 6.9
■ Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles 5 ■ Accommodation and food service activities 15 Transport 15 ■ Transportation and storage 4 ■ Financial services 2 ■ Financial and insurance activities 2 ■ Real estate activities 2 ■ Public administration and Health 9 ■ Public administration and defence; compulsory social security 6 ■ Human health and social work activities 5 Education 5 ■ Education 5 ■ Cother services 1 ■ Information and communication 2 ■ Professional, scientific and technical activities 4 ■ Administrative and support service activities 8 ■ Arts, entertainment and recreation 11 ■ Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-		14.7	6.9
Transport Transport Transportation and storage Financial services Financial and insurance activities Real estate activities Public administration and Health Public administration and defence; compulsory social security Human health and social work activities Education Education Information and communication Professional, scientific and technical activities Administrative and support service activities Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-			
■ Transportation and storage 4 Financial services 2 ■ Real estate activities 2 ■ Public administration and Health ■ Public administration and defence; compulsory social security 6 ■ Human health and social work activities 5 Education 5 ■ Education 5 Other services Information and communication 2 ■ Professional, scientific and technical activities 4 ■ Administrative and support service activities 8 ■ Arts, entertainment and recreation 11 ■ Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-		4.2	6.9
■ Real estate activities 2 Public administration and Health • Public administration and defence; compulsory social security 6 • Human health and social work activities 5 Education 5 Other services • Information and communication 2 • Professional, scientific and technical activities 4 • Administrative and support service activities 8 • Arts, entertainment and recreation 11 • Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- 43			0.8
Public administration and Health Public administration and defence; compulsory social security Human health and social work activities Education Education Other services Information and communication Professional, scientific and technical activities Administrative and support service activities Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-		1.0	4.3
 Public administration and defence; compulsory social security Human health and social work activities Education Education Other services Information and communication Professional, scientific and technical activities Administrative and support service activities Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- 		0.3	1.2
Education 5 Other services Information and communication 2 Professional, scientific and technical activities 4 Administrative and support service activities 8 Arts, entertainment and recreation 11 Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-43		6.5 11.1	7.9 15.2
Other services Information and communication Professional, scientific and technical activities Administrative and support service activities Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-		7.8	11.3
 Information and communication Professional, scientific and technical activities Administrative and support service activities Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- 43 		7.0	11.5
 Administrative and support service activities Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- 43 		1.1	3.1
 Arts, entertainment and recreation Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- 		3.0	5.7
Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-			8.4 2.4
and services-producing activities of households for own use		12.9	2.3
Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies		0.2 9.5	0.1 4.7
)	9.5 3.9 12.9	8. 2 2.

Table 3. Prevalence of unregistered employment in the service industries in Europe: by individual-, household- and firm-level characteristics

	All	Service sector:								
S	services	Commerce and hospitality	Transport	Financial services	Public	Education	Other services			
_	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			
TOTAL	7	8	4	2	5	5	11			
Gender	*	**			***	***	***			
Female	7	6	2	1	4	4	12			
Male	7	9	5	2	7	7	9			
Age	***	***		**		***	***			
15-24 years old	15	17	9	6	5	15	18			
25–39 years	6	8	5	2	4	5	8			
40–54 years old	5	4	4	1	5	4	9			
55+ years old	8	6	2	2	6	3	14			
Education	***	***	***	*	***	***	***			
Up to Lower secondary	15	11	9	5	16	13	22			
Upper secondary	7	8	3	2	4	3	10			
Post-secondary/ non-tertiary		3	1	1	1	1	9			
Short-cycle tertiary	5	5 6	8	2	4	3	10			
Bachelor or equivalent Master/ PhD. or equivalent	2	6	4 0	1 0	5 3	7 2	5 2			
*	2	3	U	U	3	2	2			
Respondent and parents born in the country	**					***	*			
No	6	7	4	1	4	1	8			
Yes	7	8	4	2	5	5	11			
Household size	***	_	**		**	_	_			
1 person	6	7	3	1	4	5	9			
2 3	6	7	2	1	4	3	10			
4 and more	7 8	7 9	4 7	2 2	5 7	7 5	10 12			
	o	9	/		,	3	12			
Household ability to make ends meet	***	***	,		***	**	***			
Very easily/ easy	5	5	4	1	5	5	6			
Fairly easily With some difficulty	5 9	5 9	3 5	3 2	3 7	2 7	7 12			
With difficulty/great difficu	-	14	3 7	1	9	7	26			
Number of employees in	***	***	***	1	***	***	***			
the company 1 – interviewee works alone	18	3	6	3	30	21	24			
2–9 employees	11	13	11	2	9	4	11			
10–249 employees	5	7	4	1	4	5	6			
250+ employees	2	2	1	1	3	3	1			
• •										
Having people working under supervision	***	***		**		***	***			
No	8	9	4	2	6	5	12			
Yes	2	2	3	0	3	1	1			
Other paid job(s) besides	***				-		***			
the main paid job No other paid job	7	7	4	2	5	5	10			
Yes, regular	5	5	0	0	6	2	6			
Yes, occasional/ Other	11	11	3	1	6	5	18			
Note: Chi-square test of indepen					*** ~ ^ ^ 1 ***					

Table 4. Logistic regression of the propensity to work with no contract in the service industries in Europe

	Mod	iei i	MIO	del 2		Model 3			
Variables	Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds ratio	Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds ratio	Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds ratio
	β	se(β)	$Exp(\beta)$	β	se(β)	Exp(β)	β	se(β)	Exp(β)
Gender (Female) Male	-0.214 **	0.090	0.808	-0.208 **	0.090	0.812	-0.004	0.096	0.996
Age (15-24 years o	ld)								
25–39 years old	-0.957 ***	0.150		-0.984 ***	0.151		-1.025 ***	0.151	
40–54 years old	-0.942 ***	0.154		-0.980 ***			-1.009 ***	0.156	
55+ years old	-0.428 ***	0.164		-0.418 **	0.164	0.658	-0.534 ***	0.169	0.586
Education (up to Lo									
Upper secondary	-0.575 ***	0.111	0.563	-0.464 ***	0.114	0.628	-0.350 ***	0.116	0.705
Post-secondary/ non-tertiary	-1.049 ***	0.222	0.350	-0.945 ***	0.219	0.389	-0.837 ***	0.211	0.433
Short-cycle tertiary	-0.815 ***	0.201	0.442	-0.667 ***	0.206	0.513	-0.528 ***	0.201	0.590
Bachelor or equivalent	-1.140 ***	0.147	0.320	-0.966 ***	0.156	0.381	-0.787 ***	0.159	0.455
Master/ Doctorate or equivalent	-1.318 ***	0.209	0.268	-1.139 ***	0.216	0.320	-1.002 ***	0.224	0.367
Respondent and the	oir narents horn	in the co	ountry,	(No)					
Yes	-0.484 ***	0.141			0.142	0.654	-0.368 **	0.144	0.692
Household size (1 p	erson)			0.000	0.120	0.015	0.026	0.124	0.075
2 3				-0.088 -0.160	0.120 0.137		-0.026 -0.079	0.124 0.143	
4 and more				0.001	0.137		0.110	0.143	
Household ability to	o mako anda ma	at (Vary	oogily		0.120	1.001	0.110	0.152	1.110
Fairly easily	o make enas me	ei (VCI y	casiry	-0.108	0.130	0.897	-0.118	0.133	0.889
With some difficu	ltv			0.264 **	0.121		0.226 *	0.125	
With difficulty/ gr				0.739 ***	0.131	2.094	0.639 ***	0.132	
Number of employe	es in the compa	<i>nv</i> (1 – i	ntervi	ewee works al	one)				
2–9 employees	1				,		-0.292 **	0.118	0.747
10-249 employee	S						-0.971 ***	0.129	
250+ employees							-1.710 ***	0.157	0.181
Having people work	king under supe	rvision (No)						
Yes							-1.233 ***	0.208	0.291
Other paid job(s) be	esides the main	paid job	(No o	ther paid job)					
Yes, regular							-0.023	0.314	
Yes, occasional/	Other						0.583 ***	0.182	1.791
Sector (Other service	ces)								
Commerce and ho	spitality						-0.582 ***	0.111	
Transport							-0.739 ***	0.215	0.477
Financial services							-1.512 ***	0.306	0.220
Public administrat	tion and health						-0.035	0.127	0 966
Education	ion and nearth						-0.150	0.127	
Constant	-0.754 ***	0.242	0.471	-0.961 ***	0.286	0.383	-0.089	0.319	
Subpop. no. of obs.		2	28,589		2	28,589		2	28,589
F		_	38.81		_	35.47		_	27.90
Prob. > F		(0.0000		(0.0000		(0.0000
	** p<0.05, * p<								

APPENDIX

Table A1. Prevalence of unregistered employment in the service industries in Europe, by country

	Service sector:							
Country	Commerce and hospitality	Transport	Financial services	Public administration and health	Education	Other services		
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		
Albania	26	17	7	8	11	27		
Austria	9	3	3	5	2	10		
Belgium	2	0	1	2	0	3		
Belgium Bulgaria Croatia	3	0	0	1	0	7		
		0	7	2	2	6		
Cyprus	43	47	23	21	35	30		
Czech Republic	4	0	0	1	2	8		
Denmark	4	8	1	3	2	3		
Estonia	3	1	0	2	0	3		
Finland	3	2	0	2	3	6		
France	0	0	0	3	1	5		
FYROM	19	4	0	9	2	12		
Germany	4	1	0	3	7	5		
Greece	21	3	0	8	5	23		
Hungary	2	0	0	3	0	7		
Ireland	24	10	0	7	4	10		
Italy	6	2	1	4	0	24		
Latvia	5	1	9	1	0	18		
Lithuania	0	0	0	3	2	7		
Luxembourg	2	0	0	0	0	2		
Malta	28	28	12	27	24	18		
Montenegro	12	5	9	0	2	10		
Netherlands	4	2	0	3	1	4		
Norway	4	2	0	2	0	5		
Poland	5	4	4	8	3	11		
Portugal	8	3	12	2	8	18		
Romania	2	1	0	1		15		
Serbia	23	2	0	0	0	17		
Slovakia	3	0	0	2	2	4		
Slovenia	5	1	0	2	2	3		
Spain	5	0	0	3	1	11		
Sweden	2	0	0	1	1	1		
Switzerland	4	0	2	2	4	5		
Turkey	26	37	14	40	40	31		
UK	9	4	0	2	1	4		
All 35 countries	8	4	2	5	5	11		

Note: Chi-square test of independence (survey design) between unregistered employment participation and country for each service sector, converted into F statistic, p<0.01.