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Is the Recession a "Shecession"? Gender Inequality in the Employment Effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Germany

Katja Möhring, Maximiliane Reifenscheid, Andreas Weiland, and Klara Kuhn

Introduction

In early research on the employment consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, implications for gender inequality were widely discussed. Several early studies showed that the effects of the pandemic recession differ from those of previous recessions, as especially women are expected to be disproportionally affected (Alon et al. 2020a; Collins et al.2020). However, most research on the consequences of the pandemic for gender inequality focused on the sharing of child care and home-schooling tasks in couples facing school and day care closures, and its implications for parents' and especially mothers' well-being (Hank and Steinbach 2020; Hipp and Bünning 2020; Möhring et al. 2020; Yerkes et al. 2020). Less research has been devoted to exploring gender inequality within employment risks induced by the pandemic. The few existing studies point out that working women have been highly affected by job loss and reduction of working hours in the pandemic recession (Alon et al. 2020a; Collins et al. 2020; Möhring et al. 2021). Therefore, the current pandemic recession is described as "Shecession" (Alon et al. 2020b). In contrast, women are also overrepresented among essential workers, especially in the health and care sector (Blundell et al. 2020). However, previous studies operate either with projections based on data that were gathered before the onset of the pandemic (e.g., Alon et al. 2020a) or are based on descriptive analysis of cross-sectional data (e.g., Blundell et al. 2020). Furthermore, existing research on the employment consequences of

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the COVID-19 pandemic mostly focuses on liberal market economies such as the United States of America. These countries, with their comparatively flexible labor markets, experienced a sharp rise in unemployment (OECD 2021). In the United States, job loss among women was indeed much more severe than in previous recessions (Alon et al. 2020b). In more regulated welfare states, unemployment did not sharply rise immediately after the onset of the pandemic because governments implemented new or existing job retention schemes, as the "furlough scheme" in the UK and the "short-time work" benefit in Germany (Adams-Prassl et al. 2020; Konle-Seidl 2020; OECD 2021). The consequences of these approaches for gender inequality at the labor market are not clear and have not been investigated so far.

With this background, the present study focuses on the situation in Germany, which has a highly regulated labor market and provides a generous social security net for the core work force, but is also characterized by a high gender-based dualization of employment (Emmenegger et al. 2012). We address two research questions related to gender inequality in employment during the pandemic recession. What gender differences can be identified in the risks of short-time work, job loss, and having to work on-site in the early phase and in the further course of the crisis? Which factors related to socioeconomic status and employment explain these differences? To the best of our knowledge, this study is the first using detailed panel data to analyze how gender inequalities in employment have evolved during the COVID-19 pandemic in Germany. Our data provide weekly information on the employment status over a time span of 16 weeks ranging from March 20 to July 9, 2020. We combine this weekly data with further longitudinal information for January 2021, thereby covering the first COVID-19 lockdown and the period after containment measures were eased, as well as the second lockdown in winter 2020–2021. The data come from the German Internet Panel, a longitudinal survey representative of the German population (Blom, Gathmann, and Krieger 2015), and a special COVID-19 study carried out as part of the GIP (Blom et al. 2020).

This chapter is organized as follows: in the next section we describe gender inequality on the German labor market and the design and targeting of governmental crisis measures. Our data, sample, operationalizations, and methods are explained in the "Materials and Methods" section. Afterward, we present descriptive results on gender differences in employment between March and July 2020, and in January 2021. We then turn to our multivariate results for the risks of short-time work, being out of work, and working

on-site; first we look at *changes in work statuses for men and women during* the first wave of the pandemic in spring and summer 2020, and second at the situation in 2021. We close with a discussion of the results and conclusion.

Background

Gendered Dualization of the German Labor Market

Germany is a conservative welfare state with a coordinated market economy and corporatist structure (Esping-Andersen 1990; Hall and Soskice 2001). In the post-war decades, West Germany represented a male-breadwinner society promoting a traditional gendered division of tasks in couples (Struffolino, Studer, and Fasang 2016). The traditional division of paid work and unpaid care work between men and women was underpinned by central elements of the social security system, taxation, and wage structure (Schäfer and Gottschall 2015; Trappe, Pollmann-Schult, and Schmitt 2015). Family policy focused on cash benefits and long leave periods for mothers, and public child care remained largely underdeveloped in the pre-millennial decades (Gangl and Ziefle 2015). The marriage tax premium generally disincentivizes the increase of employment hours or the uptake of employment by the part-time or non-working spouse, thereby supporting inequality in labor market participation among married couples (Bach, Haan, and Ochmann 2013). Especially during the economic upturn in the immediate post-war decades, wage levels of industrial workers were sufficient to provide a livelihood for a family without the necessity of a second earner (Schäfer and Gottschall 2015). Men's employment careers of the post-war decades were characterized by an exceptional homogeneity and stability (Lersch, Schulz, and Leckie 2020; Möhring 2016).

This traditional arrangement has been changing for about three decades. First, changes induced by the economic crises of the 1970s and the stalled economic development of the 1980s led to mass unemployment and an increasing de-standardization of men's employment histories. At the same time, women's attachment to the labor market steadily increased. Second, with German reunification, East Germany was integrated into the Western institutional setting, which was at odds with the predominant dual-earner model in the former socialist German Democratic Republic. Today, eastern German women's labor force participation is still higher than that of western

German women, albeit converging to western German level, especially with respect to part-time work (Trappe et al. 2015). Finally, reforms in family policy since the mid-2000s toward a Scandinavian model, including the expansion of public child care in western Germany, led to a further increase in the labor market participation of women. Despite these developments, central elements of the institutional structure that supports a male breadwinner model, such as the marital wage premium, are still in place. As a consequence, the incentives for labor market participation of women, and especially mothers, are contradictory. Thus, the change in women's employment occurred mainly through higher labor market involvement of women in the form of part-time and marginal employment, the so-called mini-jobs, with the latter not being subject to social security payment and protection (Bergmann, Scheele, and Sorger 2019).

Labor market inequality intensified after the labor market reforms of the early 2000s, which included the flexibilization of the low-wage sector through incentives for employers and employees to generate and take up low-wage employment (Bosch and Weinkopf 2008; Eichhorst and Marx 2011). These changes implied an increased dualization of the labor force, including a polarization between full-time and part-time employees with employment contracts based on the regulations of the "mini-job" scheme in terms of wages and job security (Brülle et al. 2019; Emmenegger et al. 2012). This coincides with both a pronounced vertical and a horizontal segregation of the labor market in Germany. Vertical segregation in terms of underrepresentation of women in upper hierarchical positions is more pronounced in the private sector and tends to intensify with the size of the enterprise (Holst, Busch-Heizmann, and Wieber 2015). At the same time, women are overrepresented in those sectors of the economy, which are often accompanied by less favorable working conditions in terms of pay, social insurance, and job security; some examples include social and personal services, education, hotel and catering, and the beauty business (Eichhorst, Marx, and Tobsch 2015). In the traditional core sectors of the German economy, such as manufacturing, full-time employment with permanent contracts based on collective agreements and employee representation are generally prevalent. Here, the share of men among employees is also much higher. In the tertiary sector, however, where women are much more represented, part-time employment (in the social and personal services sector), marginal part-time employment (in the hotel and restaurant sector), temporary employment (in education) or solo self-employment (in the beauty industry) are much more common (Eichhorst

and Marx 2009). As a consequence, gender represents a main division in the dualized German labor market with predominantly women working part-time and in the low-wage sector (Hassel 2014; Häusermann and Schwander 2012). Although female labor force participation in Germany is above the EU average, with 72.8% of women in employment in 2019 compared to the EU average of 64.1%, a more nuanced look shows that women in Germany are often still on the margins of the labor market: 46.7% of women worked part-time, compared to the EU average of 31.3%, and just 9.9% of men in Germany (data for 2019; Eurostat 2020a). Furthermore, 26.2% of women in Germany are in low-wage employment, compared to the EU average of 18.8%; this is one of the highest shares in Europe (data for 2018; Eurostat 2020b).

Gender Bias of Government Crisis Measures

The German social security system buffers income shortfalls, providing earnings-related benefits in case of unemployment or health-related loss of work ability. These benefits are supposed to secure the previous living standard instead of just preventing poverty, and thereby serve as an automatic stabilizer of lifetime earnings and consumption (Gangl 2004; Hall and Soskice 2001). During economic crises, further instruments compensate for negative consequences. Short-time work is the main instrument of social policy to avoid mass lay-offs during economic crises in Germany. It allows companies to reduce working hours and wages of employees in times of economic hardship. The employer can then apply for a government earnings replacement that compensates for the wage loss of up to 60% based on the previous net wage, and 67% for employees with dependent children (Konle-Seidl 2020; Wachter 2020).

Generally, governmental crises measures are designed for the usual cyclic economic recessions that first and foremost hit the export-oriented German industrial sector, such as the automotive industry, as well as the construction industry. Especially during the Great Recession, these measures were successful in preventing mass unemployment. Usual economic recessions affect men's employment much more than women's: the average working hours of men are reduced more than those of women because the male-dominated industry and construction sectors are more strongly affected from job losses, making men's employment much more volatile and dependent on economic

circumstances (Doepke and Tertilt 2016). This was generally also the case for Germany during the Great Recession, but job losses here were much fewer and rather short-term, due to the rapid recovery of the German economy compared to many other countries (Rinne and Zimmermann 2012). During the Great Recession, the short-time work policy was applied and, in conjunction with direct state subsidies, mass lay-offs were prevented in the export-oriented industrial sectors, such as the automotive industry (Burda and Hunt 2011). On the contrary, the service sector had an increase in employment even in the core crisis years of 2008–2009. This led to an increase in the employment rate of women in part-time, and especially atypical, employment during this period (Kirchmann and Rosemann 2010). Hence, the fact that crisis measures are mostly targeted at male-dominated sectors of the economy did not become noticeable at that time.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the German federal government has extended existing crisis measures and adopted several new subsidies to mitigate the negative consequences. From January 2021, the government has extended the possible duration of the short-time work status to up to 24 months and decided on a temporary top-up of the short-time work benefit to up to 70% (77% for parents) of the net wage loss after four months of receipt, and to 80% (87% for parents) after seven months of receipt. These extensions of the usual short-time work framework applied until the end of 2021 (BMAS 2020). A government aid package, including direct payments for companies that had lost revenues, was launched during the spring lockdown and repeated several times thereafter (BMWI 2021). Nevertheless, the economic aid package is still largely focused on male-dominated sectors of the economy. Wiesner (2020) presents the only study to date on the distribution of aid funds in Germany from a gender perspective. According to their calculations, the largest share of the package consists of direct government subsidies for affected companies in the private sector, while payments for the social and cultural sector, including care, health, education, and art/culture, are smaller. Even investments in sectors with a high female share of the workforce, such as public child care and health, focus on construction and infrastructure measures and thus mainly benefit the largely male-dominated construction sector (Wiesner 2020).

Furthermore, gender differences also exist in the eligibility and level of the short-time work benefit. Most importantly, jobs that are not subject to social security payments are exempted from short-time work, hence the impact of the pandemic on employment among the marginally employed became very quickly apparent on the labor market. By the end of March 2020 there were

300,000 jobs less in marginal employment than three months before, while from March 2020 to March 2021 a total of 800,000 jobs in marginal employment had vanished (Deutsche Rentenversicherung 2020; 2021). As a result, many female employees working in sectors heavily affected by the pandemic crisis such as retail and hospitality, which account for almost one-third of the total marginal employment in Germany (Deutsche Rentenversicherung 2020), were excluded from receiving the short-time work earning's replacement and thus could not bridge pandemic-related closures and restrictions. Furthermore, the short-time work benefit must be applied for by the employer, which requires administrative effort that small firms in the service sector might be less capable of than large manufacturing companies. Therefore, one response to the pandemic has been to temporarily suspend employees. These furloughed employees represent a highly heterogeneous group: for some, especially civil servants in the public sector, salary is continued, while others neither receive pay from their employer, nor any government earnings replacement to compensate for their loss of income (unlike Britain's temporary furlough scheme; Adams-Prassl et al. 2020). Those in precarious employment ineligible for short-time work benefits mostly compose the latter group (Grabka, Braband, and Göbler 2020). Even for those eligible to receive short-time work benefits, gender differences exist. Sectors with collective agreement coverage grant an upscaling of the short-time work benefit of up to 90% of the previous wage. Women, however, mostly work in areas that are not subject to collective agreements (Hammerschmid, Schmieder, and Wrohlich 2020; Wiesner 2020). In contrast, women are overrepresented in the social and care professions with 83.7% of employees being female, and in nursing professions with 81.8%, as well as in retail with 71.5% (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2021). Therefore, they represent a large share of the so-called key or essential workers during the pandemic (Koebe et al. 2020). Normally they work close to patients or customers and do not have autonomy over their work location, which is potentially related to a higher risk of COVID-19 infection (Vlachos, Hertegård, and Svaleryd 2021; Möhring et al. 2021).

Data and Method

We use data from the German Internet Panel, a bimonthly voluntary online survey, which is based on an offline-recruited random probability sample of the general population of Germany aged 16 to 75 (Blom et al. 2015, 2020). On

March 20, 2020, the GIP launched a special survey to gather data about the COVID-19 pandemic, where GIP respondents were invited to take surveys every week. We merge this weekly information for the early phase of the pandemic with further information from the survey months September 2020 and January 2021. In the descriptive analysis we use GIP weights to extrapolate participants' characteristics to those of Germany's general population. In all analyses, we include only individuals who were in dependent employment in January 2020 and are below 68 years old.

With respect to the employment situation, we are interested in the risks of short-time work, being out of work, and working on-site. For the risks of short-time work we have direct information from the respondents at each weekly interview on whether they are in short-time work and receive governmental short-time work benefits. We form a common category for being out of work, in which we group the unemployed and those suspended without pay, as the latter is de facto equal to being temporarily unemployed. Working on-site is operationalized using information on the work location and summarizing those who always or mainly work on-site, with those who work always, mainly, or half of the time from home as reference category.

We complement descriptive analyses of gender differences in employment risks with multivariate regression analyses controlling for educational degree, occupational sector, personal net income in January 2020, partner, and number of children. For the weekly data of March 20 (week 1) and July 9 (week 16), we use logit random effects growth curve models; for the data of January 2021, we use cross-sectional logit regressions. All analyses include only those individuals who have been in gainful employment in January 2020, to focus on if and how they are affected by the changes induced by the pandemic (see also Tables 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4 and 8.5 in the Appendix).

Results

Gender Differences in Employment Risks During the Early Phase of the Pandemic

Figure 8.1 illustrates the development of the employment situation of individuals who have been employed in January 2020, over the first phase of the pandemic, separated by gender and complemented with indices on the intensity of non-pharmaceutical interventions (NPI, Hale et al. 2021). We use

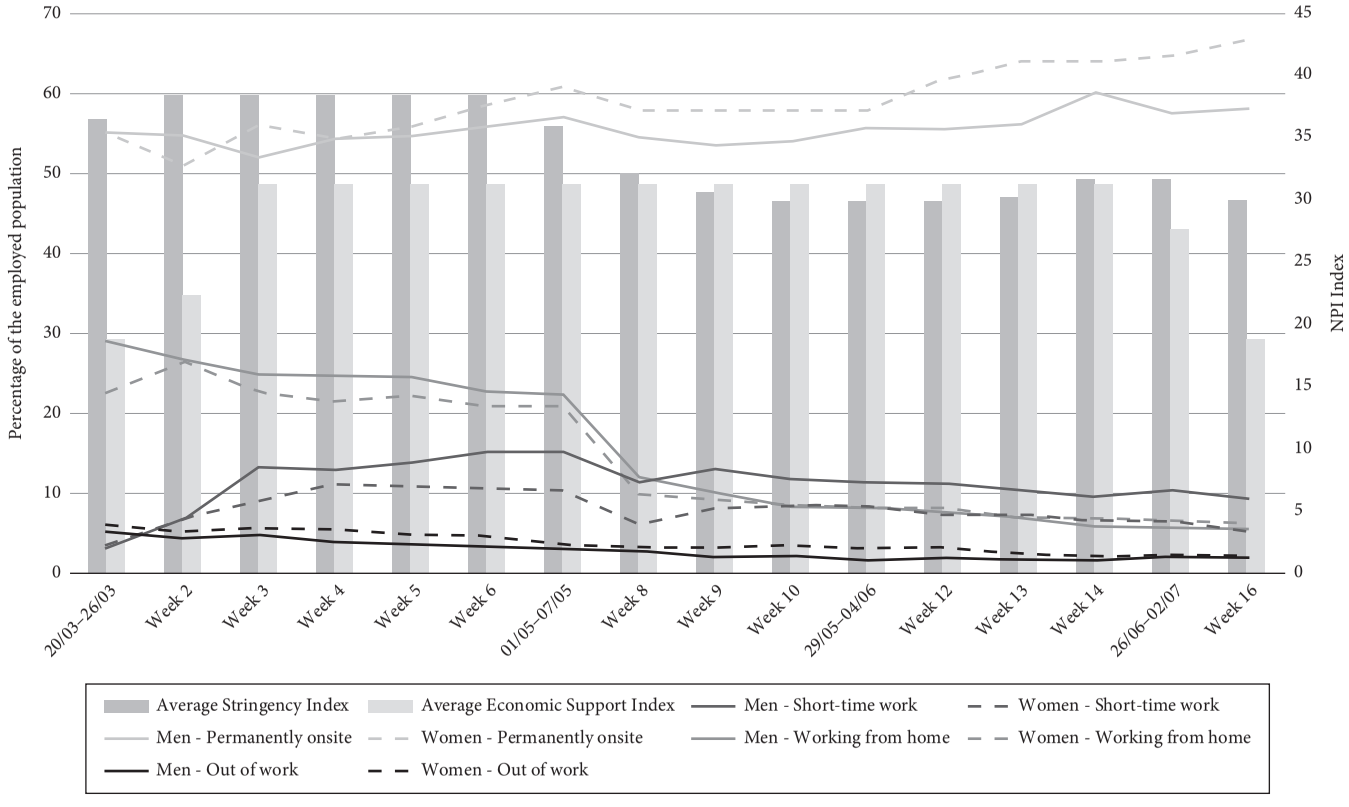

Figure 8.1 Weighted shares of employment statuses of men and women and non-pharmaceutical interventions (NPI) between March and July 2020. Source: German Internet Panel (2020) and Oxford Government Response Tracker (Hale et al. 2021), author estimation.

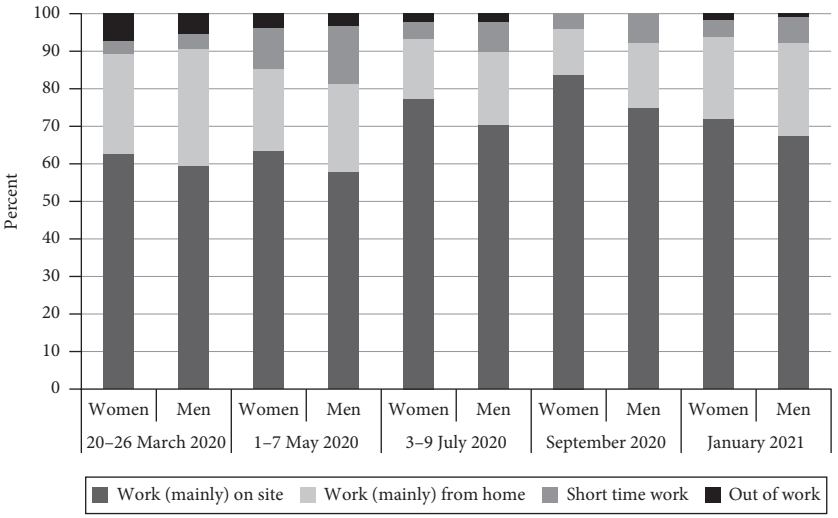

Figure 8.2 Weighted shares of employment statuses of men and women for selected time-points between March 2020 and January 2021. Source: German Internet Panel, author estimations.

two indices from the Oxford Government Response Tracker OxCGRT: the Average Stringency Index refers to a variety of potential containment measures, including school and workplace closings, stay-at-home-requirements, and travel controls; the Average Economic Support Index scales generosity and availability of state-funded earnings replacements and debt-relief measures for households (ibid). We adjusted the scales of both indices to a possible maximum of 50 scale points. In the week of March 20 to 26, 2020, under 5% of both male and female employees reported that they were receiving the government short-time work allowance; this number increased for both groups until early May 2020, however with a steeper increase for men. Also, men's share in short-time work was almost twice as high as women's in early July 2020 after the first wave of the pandemic when the restrictions were eased.

From the sixth to the seventh week, stringency of the government measures was reduced, and again a week later. This change in measures also coincides with a sharp drop in the share of women and men working from home, and a smaller share of women and men working short hours. A less steep but considerable decline in those working permanently on-site also follows the first relaxation in week seven, but subsequent increases in on-site work (for example, for women from week 12 on, and men from weeks 13

to 14) are not accompanied by changes in NPI. Overall, women had higher shares working on-site from mid-April 2020 to early July 2020.

In terms of working from home, men and women had their highest share in week one and week two, respectively. As mentioned above, a sharp decline in home-working can be observed from week seven to eight for both groups, where numbers almost reduced by half and mostly continued to decline until July 2020. In January 2021, during the peak of the second pandemic wave, rates of employees working from home were similarly high as in early May 2020. Overall, the development of working from home was similar for men and women; however, especially in the first eight weeks, fewer women than men worked from home. Also, the trend in short-time work was similar across groups, but with almost continuously higher rates among men. Furthermore, more women than men worked on-site, especially in the second half of the observation window.

To further investigate gender differences in the probabilities of short-time work, being out of work, and working on-site controlling for socioeconomic characteristics, we use logistic growth curve models as described above. The regression results are depicted in Figure 8.3 (detailed regression results are included in Table 8.6 in the Appendix). In terms of short-time work, men and women follow a similar trajectory. The probability for short-time work only slightly increases across weeks, and more so for men than for women. At first, the probability increases until week three and week four (April 10 to 16) for men and women, respectively. From this point on, men's probability of experiencing short-time work remains relatively stable and is generally slightly higher than women's, which drops lower than men's in week eight; yet these differences are not significant (see Figure 8.3; first row). We will now turn to the analysis of risk of being out of work.

Men's and women's predicted probabilities of being out of work both start out at around 4%. Whereas men's probability decreases only slightly until week eight (May 8–14), women experience a visible drop between week three and eight (April 3rd– May 14), until both trajectories converge again. From week nine until the end of the observation window (May 15– July 9), trajectories of men and women diverge visibly. Here, men experience a slight increase in their predicted probabilities of being out of work, back to their initial level. Women's trajectories, in contrast, exhibit a visible decline and decrease to a probability of about 1% by week 15 (June 26– July 2), which is significantly lower than men's (see Figure 8.3; second row). To sum up, men are at a significantly higher risk of being out of work between the end of June

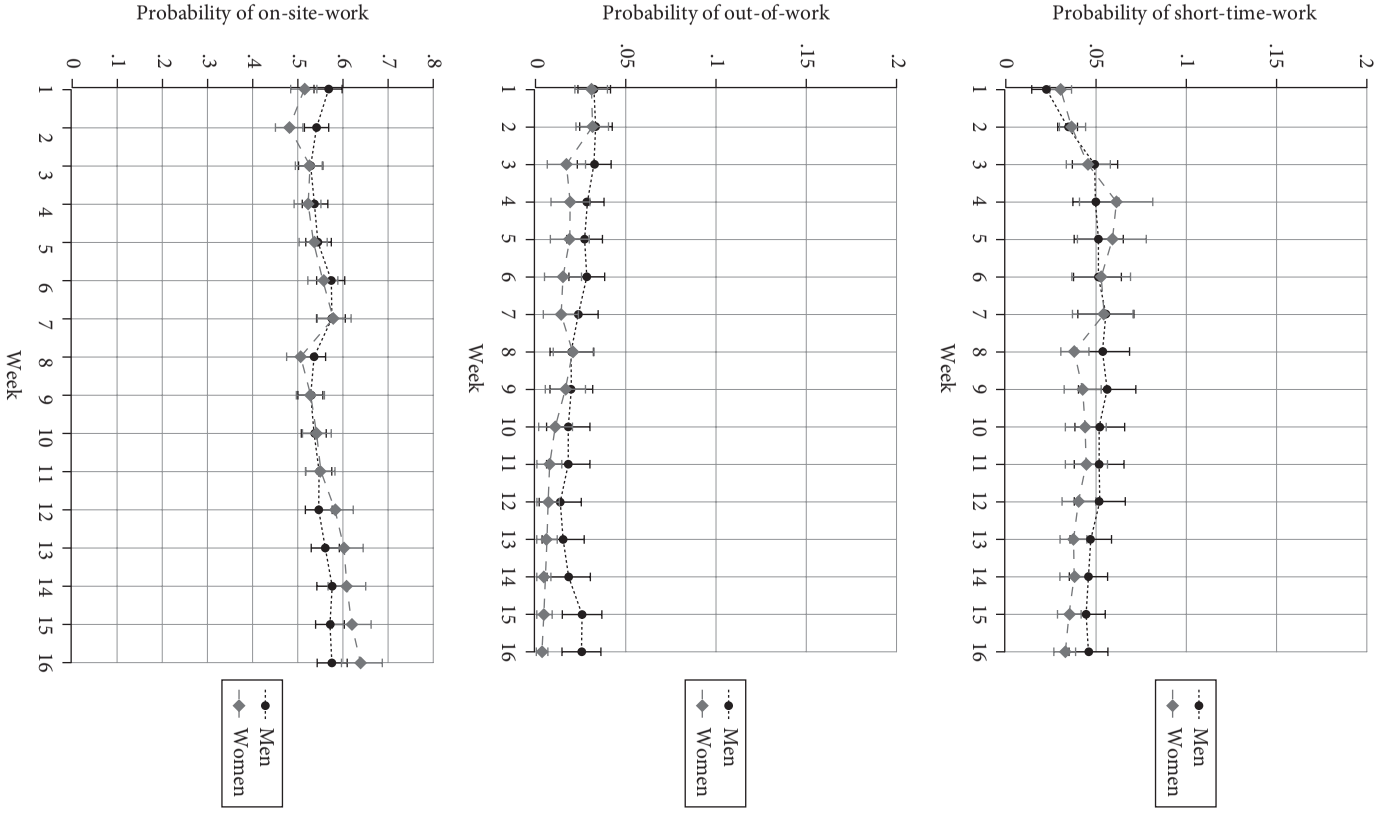

Figure 8.3 Probabilities of employment state of men and women between March and July 2020. Notes: Adjusted predictions with 95% confidence intervals. Full regression results.

and mid-July, while women's risk of being out of work seems to follow the stringency of containment measures more strongly.

Consulting predicted probabilities of working on-site at the means of covariates (Figure 8.3; bottom row), we see that men have a slightly higher likelihood than women to work on-site in week one. By week two (March 27–April 2), the likelihood of workplace presence declines more strongly for women, leaving men with a significantly higher probability of on-site work. From week three throughout week seven (April 3–May 7), probabilities slightly increase again and converge, which is followed by another substantial drop in week eight. From week nine throughout week 16 (May 15–July 9), probabilities for both men and women increase again, albeit at a higher rate for the latter. Consequently, by week 12, women's probability of on-site work becomes higher than men's, however differences are not significant. Overall, we can observe a slight increase in on-site work for both men and women between weeks 3 and 7, and 8 and 16, respectively.

Gender Differences in Employment Risks in the Second Wave of the Pandemic

Figure 8.2 complements the developments in employment risks over the early phase of the pandemic with information for September 2020, when COVID-19 case numbers were low and restrictions were eased, and January 2021 during the second wave of the pandemic. As in July 2020, women's share in short-time work was lower than men's, and their shares of on-site work and being out of work were slightly higher, although gender differences decreased as compared to the first phase of the pandemic.

This picture is confirmed in a further multivariate analysis. We again use logistic regression models to further investigate the probability of short-time work and being out of work in January 2021 (detailed regression results are included in Table 8.7 in the Appendix). There are no significant gender differences in the odds of short-time work or being out of work. Generally, higher incomes are associated with lower odds of short-time work and being out of work, whereas a higher educational attainment is only associated with lower odds of the out-of-work risk. With regard to sector, we only find that those in the public or educational sector are significantly less likely to engage in short-time work.

Discussion and Conclusion

We investigated gender differences in the risks of short-time work, job loss and unpaid furlough, and having to work on-site during the COVID-19 pandemic in Germany. Given the inherent challenges of the dualized German labor market, we were particularly interested in inequalities in the experience of crisis-related disadvantages that occurred in the early phase of the pandemic, beginning in March 2020. This early phase was characterized by high uncertainty about what the pandemic would bring in the future in terms of the health of the population but also, precisely, the robustness of the economy. During this time, governments were looking for benchmarks and blueprints that simply did not exist, making it difficult to predict which constraints and for how long would be needed, and how the economy and employment would be affected by these. In the early months of the pandemic, this was exacerbated by the fact that protective measures that can be used today to open stores or businesses did not exist at the time, due to the sheer lack of basic protective materials and appropriate technology. Our weekly data covering the time span March 20 until July 9, 2020, is suited to capture the high pace of changes that occurred.

Our results show no particularly high exposure of women to pandemic-related labor market risks. Women are not significantly less or more likely to be in short-time work; in other words, accessibility to a crisis measure that serves as buffer for risks of income loss and job loss does not differ between genders. Furthermore, we did not observe an increased likelihood of job loss and unpaid furlough among women, and women did not show a significantly higher probability than men of working on-site during the early phase of the pandemic. Regarding the unemployment risk in the first and second wave of the pandemic, our results rather suggest that individual characteristics such as low income and education are important drivers. This also applies to the likelihood of short-time work during the second wave of the pandemic. The risk for short-time work is significantly lower, both in the service sector and in public administration, education, and health than in manufacturing, but the risk of being out of work is only increased in the service sector; that fact confirms in general the dualization of the labor market and the higher protection in the traditional key industries.

Turning back to our initial question—is the pandemic recession a "Shecession"? —our results point in the direction that challenges for women were rather heterogeneous among women. Depending on the profession and employment contract, lay-offs especially in the hospitality sector might have quickly led to hiring in other sectors of the economy, where persons who lost their jobs might have had to quickly adapt to new jobs. Women in care and health professions continued to work, due to their considerable overrepresentation in occupations classified as essential during the pandemic. In the long term, the COVID-19 pandemic could exacerbate the existing shortage of qualified health workers, especially in hospitals, where workloads have been continuously very high since the beginning of the pandemic. Our results apply to the first and second wave of the pandemic; with a view to the further course of the crisis, it must be closely monitored here how changes in the markets affect employment, especially if job opportunities that have now experienced a strong upswing as a result of the pandemic, or have even only arisen at all because of it, are reduced again.

The non-significant gender differences show that women in Germany were far more affected by the pandemic crisis than by the Great Recession, when job loss was concentrated among men (Kirchmann and Rosemann 2010). Yet, this does not manifest in widespread job loss among women as in the United States (Alon et al. 2021). Rather, it is the case in Germany that men and women are much more equally affected by negative employment consequences during the pandemic recession than they have been in previous recessions. Reasons for that might be the higher level of labor market regulation, which prevents immediate lay-offs for the majority of the workforce, as well as the high share of part-time work among women in Germany, which lessens the necessity for quitting a job to assume child care. However, while mothers in the pandemic have largely compensated for the loss of institutional child care (Jessen, Spieß, and Wrohlich 2021), the exit of mothers from part-time and marginal employment is made more difficult, seeing that the child care infrastructure in Germany has repeatedly collapsed due to COVID-19.

While the data used for this study does not allow to control for mothers with small children who require adult care most of the time, for this group the incompatibility of care work and gainful employment, even on part-time basis, may have contributed to short-time work or lay-offs. As Bujard et al. (2020) show using data from the Mannheim Corona Study, the average

working time of mothers decreased by 0.8 hours, comparing working hours in 2018 with those from April 2020. This decrease seems moderate when considering that not only schools and child care facilities were closed, but also support from persons outside the household was not possible. It can be assumed that gainful employment and child care often had to take place simultaneously, or that working hours were shifted to the late evening and night hours (ibid). This indicates that there was a considerable double burden on all working mothers, especially in the first months of the pandemic, while local closures and quarantine regulations in the months that followed repeatedly made it necessary to perform care duties and work at the same time.

Table 8.1 Gender Differences Employment in January 2020 (weighted)

Employed in January 2020	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Full-time	91.71	50.97	72.52
Part-time	6.42	42.04	23.2
Marginally/occasionally employed	1.87	6.99	4.28
Personal net income	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
<1.000 Euro	5.02	21.23	12.55
1.000 - 2.500 Euro	47.26	60.2	53.27
>2.500 Euro	47.72	18.57	34.18
Employment situation	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Permanently on-site	15.33	15.39	15.36
Ever working from home	39.70	35.88	37.89
Ever short-time work	24.12	14.22	19.41
Ever out of work	8.7	7.59	8.17
Sector of employment	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Manufacturing	39.96	15.42	28.3
Service	36.13	34.89	35.54
Public administration, education, and health	20.36	43.09	31.16

Source: German Internet Panel, own estimations, based on 2385 observations, applying GIP rake weights.

Note: All numbers referring to individuals in gainful employment in January.

Table 8.2 Short-time Work Summary Statistics for All Variables (unweighted)

	Women		Men		Total			
	Mean	Stand. Dev.	Mean	Stand. Dev	Mean	Stand. Dev.	Min	Max
Employment status: short-time work	0.04	0.19	0.03	0.16	0.03	0.17	0	1
Age	46.05	11.34	46.92	10.94	46.92	10.94	20	67
Education								
Low	0.02	0.14	0.01	0.12	0.02	0.13	0	1
Medium	0.60	0.49	0.60	0.49	0.60	0.49	0	1
High	0.38	0.49	0.39	0.49	0.38	0.49	0	1
Personal net income								
< 1.000 Euro	0.14	0.35	0.03	0.17	0.08	0.27	0	1
1.000-2.500 Euro	0.60	0.49	0.38	0.48	0.47	0.50	0	1
> 2.500 Euro	0.25	0.44	0.59	0.49	0.45	0.50	0	1
Sector								
Manufacturing	0.14	0.35	0.35	0.48	0.26	0.44	0	1
Service	0.34	0.47	0.41	0.49	0.38	0.48	0	1
Public administration / education / health	0.52	0.50	0.24	0.43	0.36	0.48	0	1
Observation weeks per individual	-	-	-	-	12.9	-	2	16

Source: German Internet Panel, own estimations.

Table 8.3 Out of Work Summary Statistics for All Variables (unweighted)

	Women		Men		Total			
	Mean	Stand. Dev.	Mean	Stand. Dev	Mean	Stand. Dev.	Min	Max
Employment status: out of work	0.04	0.21	0.03	0.18	0.04	0.19	0	1
Age	46.05	11.34	46.92	10.94	46.92	10.94	20	67
Education								
Low	0.02	0.14	0.01	0.12	0.02	0.13	0	1
Medium	0.60	0.49	0.60	0.49	0.60	0.49	0	1
High	0.38	0.49	0.39	0.49	0.38	0.49	0	1
Personal net income								
< 1.000 Euro	0.14	0.35	0.03	0.17	0.08	0.27	0	1
1.000-2.500 Euro	0.60	0.49	0.38	0.48	0.47	0.50	0	1
> 2.500 Euro	0.25	0.44	0.59	0.49	0.45	0.50	0	1
Sector								
Manufacturing	0.14	0.35	0.35	0.48	0.26	0.44	0	1
Service	0.34	0.47	0.41	0.49	0.38	0.48	0	1
Public administration / education / health	0.52	0.50	0.24	0.43	0.36	0.48	0	1
Observation weeks per individual	-	-	-	-	13	-	2	16

Source: German Internet Panel, own estimations.

Table 8.4 On-site Work Summary Statistics for All Variables (unweighted)

	Women		Men		Total			
	Mean	**Stand. Dev.**	**Mean**	**Stand. Dev**	**Mean**	**Stand. Dev.**	**Min**	**Max**
Employment status: on-site work	0.51	0.50	0.52	0.50	0.04	0.19	0	1
Age	46.05	11.34	46.92	10.94	46.92	10.94	20	67
Education								
Low	0.02	0.14	0.01	0.12	0.02	0.13	0	1
Medium	0.60	0.49	0.60	0.49	0.60	0.49	0	1
High	0.38	0.49	0.39	0.49	0.38	0.49	0	1
Personal net income								
< 1.000 Euro	0.14	0.35	0.03	0.17	0.08	0.27	0	1
1.000-2.500 Euro	0.60	0.49	0.38	0.48	0.47	0.50	0	1
> 2.500 Euro	0.25	0.44	0.59	0.49	0.45	0.50	0	1
Sector								
Manufacturing	0.14	0.35	0.35	0.48	0.26	0.44	0	1
Service	0.34	0.47	0.41	0.49	0.38	0.48	0	1
Public administration / education / health	0.52	0.50	0.24	0.43	0.36	0.48	0	1
Observation weeks per individual	-	-	-	-	13	-	2	16

Source: German Internet Panel, own estimations.

Table 8.5 Gender Composition of Service Sector Fields

	Men	Women	Total
Wholesale and Retail Trade	45.98	54.02	100
Transportation and Storage	67.29	32.71	100
Accommodation and Food Service	40.9	59.1	100
Information and Communication	72.89	27.11	100
Financial and Insurance Activities	46.68	53.32	100
Real Estate	33.12	66.88	100
Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities	55.31	44.69	100
Other Service Activities	15.53	84.47	100
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	50.61	49.39	100

Source: German Internet Panel, own estimations, based on 2385 observations, applying GIP rake weights. Notes: All numbers referring to individuals in gainful employment in January 2020.

Table 8.6 Logit Random Effects Regressions on the Risk of Employment State between March and July 2020 (odds Ratios displayed)

	Short-time-work		Out of work		On-site-work	
	Baseline b(se)	Gender differences b(se)	Baseline b(se)	Gender differences b(se)	Baseline b(se)	Gender differences b(se)
Week (ref. week 1)						
2	1.45***	1.89***	0.087	0.12	−0.46**	−0.38*
	(0.31)	(0.44)	(0.40)	(0.52)	(0.14)	(0.19)
3	2.68***	3.38***	−0.69	0.017	−0.24	−0.57**
	(0.30)	(0.43)	(0.45)	(0.58)	(0.14)	(0.19)
4	2.98***	3.40***	−0.85	−0.47	−0.17	−0.42*
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.46)	(0.61)	(0.14)	(0.20)
5	3.01***	3.50***	−0.95*	−0.62	−0.026	−0.32
	(0.30)	(0.43)	(0.46)	(0.62)	(0.14)	(0.19)
6	2.88***	3.46***	−1.13*	−0.47	0.34*	0.081
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.47)	(0.63)	(0.15)	(0.20)
7	3.06***	3.71***	−1.45**	−1.00	0.50***	0.084
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.48)	(0.65)	(0.15)	(0.20)
8	2.59***	3.62***	−1.21*	−1.45*	−0.33*	−0.48*
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.50)	(0.73)	(0.15)	(0.20)
9	2.81***	3.74***	−1.55**	−1.49*	−0.22	−0.60**

Table 8.6 Continued

	Short-time-work			Out of work	On-site-work	
	Baseline b(se)	**Gender differences b(se)**	**Baseline b(se)**	**Gender differences b(se)**	**Baseline b(se)**	**Gender differences b(se)**
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.51)	(0.72)	(0.15)	(0.20)
10	2.73***	3.53***	−2.01***	−1.69*	−0.058	−0.48*
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.52)	(0.73)	(0.15)	(0.20)
11	2.73***	3.51***	−2.35***	−1.69*	0.089	−0.30
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.54)	(0.73)	(0.15)	(0.20)
12	2.62***	3.53***	−2.69***	−2.24**	0.30*	−0.31
	(0.31)	(0.44)	(0.56)	(0.80)	(0.15)	(0.20)
13	2.32***	3.24***	−2.73***	−2.04**	0.53***	−0.081
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.57)	(0.77)	(0.15)	(0.20)
14	2.28***	3.13***	−2.79***	−1.67*	0.67***	0.12
	(0.31)	(0.44)	(0.57)	(0.74)	(0.15)	(0.20)
15	2.10***	3.06***	−2.20***	−0.78	0.70***	0.055
	(0.31)	(0.43)	(0.54)	(0.68)	(0.15)	(0.20)
16	2.00***	3.14***	−2.39***	−0.81	0.84***	0.12
	(0.31)	(0.44)	(0.55)	(0.67)	(0.15)	(0.20)
Week*female						
2*female		−0.89		−0.033		−0.16
		(0.64)		(0.75)		(0.29)
3*female		−1.53*		−1.62		0.75*
		(0.63)		(0.87)		(0.29)
4*female		−0.74		−0.87		0.58*
		(0.63)		(0.89)		(0.29)
5*female		−0.94		−0.75		0.67*
		(0.62)		(0.88)		(0.29)
6*female		−1.18		−1.38		0.59*
		(0.63)		(0.90)		(0.29)
7*female		−1.38*		−0.96		0.94**
		(0.63)		(0.93)		(0.30)
8*female		−2.44***		0.31		0.35
		(0.63)		(0.98)		(0.30)
9*female		−2.15***		−0.19		0.85**
		(0.63)		(1.00)		(0.30)
10*female		−1.80**		−0.72		0.95**
		(0.63)		(1.02)		(0.30)
11*female		−1.75**		−1.36		0.88**

(*continued*)

Table 8.6 Continued

	Short-time-work			Out of work	On-site-work	
	Baseline b(se)	Gender differences b(se)	Baseline b(se)	Gender differences b(se)	Baseline b(se)	Gender differences b(se)
		(0.63)		(1.05)		(0.30)
12*female		−2.11***		−0.91		1.37***
		(0.63)		(1.10)		(0.30)
13*female		−2.16***		−1.36		1.40***
		(0.63)		(1.10)		(0.30)
14*female		−1.96**		−2.26*		1.26***
		(0.64)		(1.11)		(0.31)
15*female		−2.29***		−3.07**		1.47***
		(0.63)		(1.08)		(0.30)
16*female		−2.78***		−3.55**		1.65***
		(0.65)		(1.13)		(0.31)
Female	−0.27	1.29*	−1.02	−0.20	−0.051	−0.84*
	(0.38)	(0.64)	(0.56)	(0.66)	(0.28)	(0.35)
Education (ref. low)						
medium	0.064	0.13	−4.18***	−2.45*	1.74	1.74
	(1.14)	(1.15)	(0.54)	(1.00)	(0.93)	(0.95)
high	−0.68	−0.65	−4.11	−2.46*	−2.16*	−2.21*
	(1.17)	(1.19)	(.)	(1.05)	(0.95)	(0.97)
Sector (ref. manufacturing)						
service	−1.17***	−1.16***	2.73***	2.08***	−1.48***	−1.51***
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.73)	(0.55)	(0.32)	(0.32)
public administration / education / health	−8.14*** (0.57)	−8.07*** (0.58)	1.08 (0.82)	1.04 (0.60)	0.44 (0.33)	0.45 (0.33)
Income (ref. < 1.000 Euro)						
1.000 – 2.500 Euro	0.30	0.35	−7.04***	−3.18***	0.76	0.78
	(0.64)	(0.63)	(0.75)	(0.55)	(0.46)	(0.47)
> 2.500 Euro	−0.38	−0.35	−9.13***	−4.63***	−0.50	−0.49
	(0.69)	(0.69)	(0.88)	(0.63)	(0.51)	(0.51)
Constant	−8.97***	−9.67***	−8.65***	−8.20***	−1.52	−1.19
	(1.48)	(1.51)	(1.77)	(1.53)	(1.17)	(1.19)
n	20017	20017	20185	20185	20185	20185
N	1557	1557	1,557	1,557	1,557	1,557

Notes: Controlled for number of children, partner in household, self-employment; t statistics in parentheses; + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Source: German Internet Panel, own estimations.

Table 8.7 Logit Regressions for the Risk of Short-time Work and Out of Work in January 2021 (odds ratios displayed)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Short-time work	**Short-time work**	**Unemployed/ furlough w/o pay**	**Unemployed/ furlough w/o pay**
Female	0.703	0.452	1.783	1.874
	(−1.23)	(−1.40)	(1.03)	(0.66)
Education (ref. low)				
medium	1.109	1.121	0.0911**	0.0845***
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(−3.25)	(−3.34)
high	1.024	1.058	0.145*	0.129*
	(0.03)	(0.07)	(−2.44)	(−2.54)
Income (ref. <1000)				
1000-2500	0.481+	0.498+	0.0812***	0.0795***
	(−1.84)	(−1.75)	(−3.78)	(−3.78)
>2500	0.314**	0.324*	0.150**	0.149**
	(−2.62)	(−2.54)	(−2.90)	(−2.85)
Sector (ref. manufacturing)				
service	1.100	0.914	0.767	0.507
	(0.36)	(−0.29)	(−0.44)	(−0.72)
public administration / education / health	0.174*** (−3.70)	0.210* (−2.49)	0.469 (−1.09)	1.052 (0.05)
Age	0.996	0.997	1.009	1.011
	(−0.32)	(−0.30)	(0.42)	(0.47)
Number of children (ref. no children)				
1	1.189	1.186	0.498	0.522
	(0.51)	(0.50)	(−0.84)	(−0.79)
2	0.922	0.903	0.548	0.535
	(−0.19)	(−0.23)	(−0.55)	(−0.57)
3+	0.916	0.923	0.434	0.448
	(−0.26)	(−0.24)	(−1.03)	(−0.99)
Partner in household	1.501	1.469	0.952	0.921
	(1.13)	(1.06)	(−0.08)	(−0.13)
Female*sector (Ref. female* manufacturing)				
female*service		2.031		1.782
		(1.09)		(0.45)
female* public administration / education / health		0.973 (−0.03)		0.312 (−0.85)
N	1513	1513	1513	1513
Pseudo-R sq.	0.0715	0.0742	0.137	0.147

Notes: t statistics in parentheses; $^{+}\ p < .1$, $^{*}\ p < .05$, $^{**}\ p < .01$, $^{***}\ p < .001$.

Source: German Internet Panel, own estimations.

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