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# Labour Market Dynamics and the Rising Incidence of People Working Multiple Jobs in Ireland

Working Paper

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**IGEES**

Irish Government Economic and Evaluation Service

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**Disclaimer:** The views expressed herein are those of the authors and do not reflect the views of the Minister or Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment. All errors are our own.

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## Abstract

Over recent years, Ireland's labour market and economy have outperformed expectations and having successfully weathered the disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, employment levels reached c.2.57m in Q4 2022 (an increase of almost 40 per cent in just 20 years). In tandem with this expansion of the domestic workforce, the number of those employed in more than one job has also risen. In Q4 2022, 3.2 per cent of persons in employment in Ireland worked multiple jobs, compared to 1.9 per cent in 2002. Despite this increase, Ireland has one of the lowest rates of multiple employment in the EU27. In absolute terms, by the end of 2022 c.80,000 persons aged 15-64 years in Ireland were working in two, or more, jobs. A further 4,000 persons aged 65 years and over were doing likewise, bringing the total to almost 84,000. In the case of the former cohort, the equivalent figure was closer to 30,000 in 2002. In Ireland, males account for the majority of those working multiple jobs, although the incidence of female take-up has been rising quickly. Second (or indeed, third) jobs tend to be concentrated in the agricultural and services sectors with the latter having undergone significant expansion in recent years. This paper presents a detailed analysis of the role of secondary employment in Ireland, including by age, gender and educational attainment. It also considers the intersection between full and part-time work in both a person's principal and secondary employment and examines patterns in the volume of hours worked.

## 1. Introduction and context

The Irish labour market has recovered strongly from the COVID-19 pandemic, with employment levels now exceeding those which prevailed in late-2019. Much of the recent increase in employment has been driven by record levels of female labour market participation, with 1.2 million women in employment as of Q4 2022 – an increase of approximately 120,000 since the end of 2019. This is due to several factors, including the rising prevalence of remote working, which has facilitated access to employment by offering greater choice in terms of time management, commuting, and childcare options (Williamson, 2022). A strong post-pandemic economic recovery, combined with cohort effects, whereby older women with low participation rates have been substituted in the labour force by younger workers with much higher participation rates, have also contributed to this trend (Boyd et al., 2021). Of the 231,400 people who transitioned into the labour force during the pandemic recovery period (say, Q1 2021 – Q1 2022), 34 per cent were aged under 25 years. Employment gains for younger people during this period were mainly in contact-intensive sectors, such as Retail, and Accommodation and Food services, as the economy reopened (Boyd et al., 2022).

More broadly, additional employment created during, and after, the pandemic has been spread across several sectors. These recent labour market dynamics reflect longer-term trends, with Ireland's labour market experiencing significant sectoral reallocation over the past decade. For example, in the last ten years, the number of persons employed in the Construction, and Information and Communication sectors has increased by 92 per cent and 69 per cent respectively, while the number of persons employed in Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing has declined by 6 per cent. There is also evidence of a continuing structural change in employment in agency-assisted (IDA, EI and Údarás na Gaeltachta client companies) companies towards Services activities, particularly in the foreign-owned sector. According to the Annual Employment Survey 2022, full-time employment in all Industrial sector companies increased to 255,262 in 2022 (a 51 per cent increase from 2012), while Services employment increased to 229,716 in 2022 (an increase of 106 per cent from 2012).

### 1.1 Underlying structural changes

The pandemic has also accelerated deep structural shifts that were already in train across the economy, such as the twin digital and green transitions. These trends are transforming business models and job roles and are creating unprecedented demand for the continuous upskilling and reskilling of the workforce. There will be displacement effects on workers in 'sunset' sectors, and increased demand for skills in emerging zero carbon and high-level ICT sectors.

The digital transition has also resulted in an increased prevalence of platform work<sup>1</sup>, most often associated with younger workers. According to the European Council (European Council, 2022), there were 28.3 million digital platform workers across Europe in 2022, with numbers projected to rise to 43 million by 2025. According to the European Council, platform work is typically a person's secondary source of income, in addition to their regular work.

Due to the move online for many sectors over recent years, platform work is now almost synonymous with the 'gig economy' more broadly. The gig economy is characterised by short-term, freelance, or contract work, and is increasingly being facilitated through online platforms. Although the gig economy gives workers greater flexibility in terms of their working hours and/or location, by their very

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<sup>1</sup> Platform work is a form of employment in which organisations or individuals use an online platform to access other organisations or individuals to solve specific problems or to provide specific services in exchange for payment (Eurofound).

nature these jobs are precarious, giving little to no job security, and potentially posing challenges in terms of income stability.

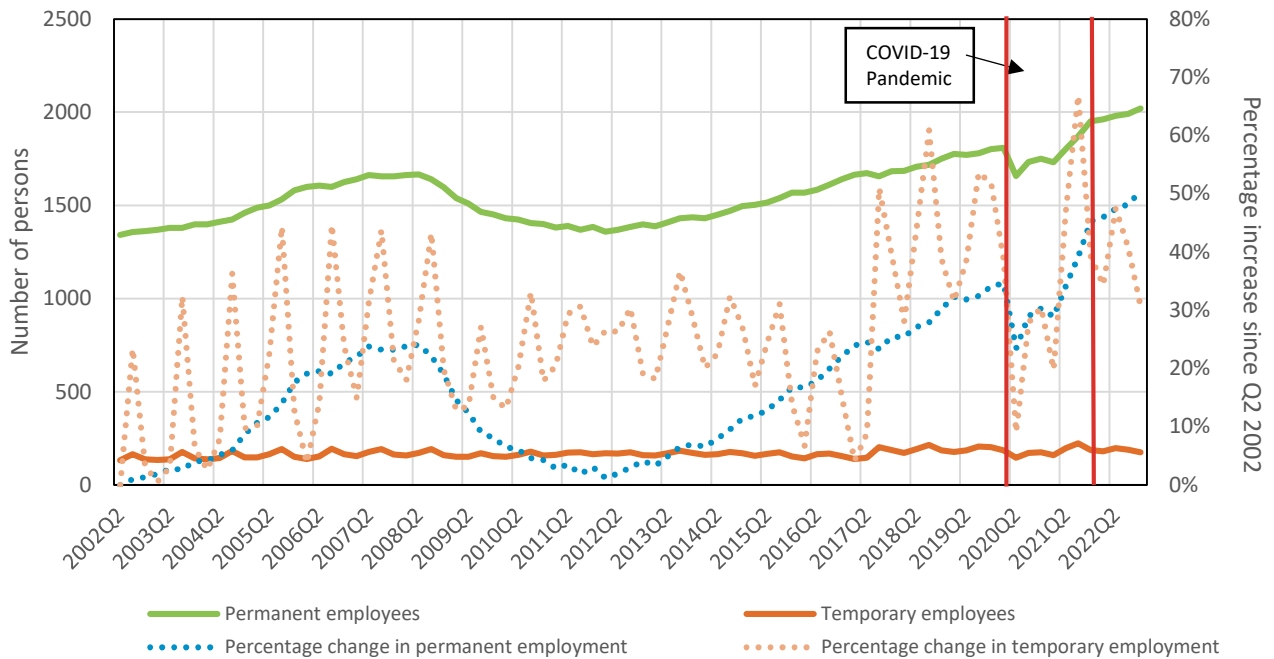
Looking again specifically at platform workers, research by the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) has found that the total amount of income earned from internet and/or platform work, such as food delivery or ride hailing services, tends to be low for most workers (ETUI, 2022). The median monthly earnings from platform work in Ireland was found to be €200, with platform workers typically working four hours per week. Median hourly earnings from platform work are therefore quite low (approximately €12 per hour). This does not mean that all gig economy roles are poorly paid, however. Indeed, research by Trinity College Dublin (2022) found that highly skilled independent contractors working in the gig economy earn an average of 56 per cent more than equivalent occupation employees.

Gig, and platform, economy workers are typically classified as being self-employed in Ireland. The emergence of the gig economy has presented challenges including “false” self-employment, i.e., working arrangements where persons are hired as self-employed workers rather than employees to avoid regulations, taxation and unionisation (OECD, 2020). This type of work disproportionately impacts younger persons. Despite this, the number of self-employed persons (in their primary job) in Ireland overall is now only slightly higher than it was in 2002, with numbers having fluctuated considerably over the past two decades. There are currently c. 320,000 self-employed persons in Ireland today, compared to c. 295,000 in 2002. As a share of total employment, however, the number of self-employed persons in Ireland has fallen from 16 percent in 2002 to 13 per cent today. This fall has been greatest since 2014, in the post-Financial Crisis recovery period. Much of this decrease has been driven by falling numbers of self-employed persons working in the Construction sector over the past decade.

Other gig economy workers may be hired directly by firms as temporary employees. At present in Ireland, c. 175,000 persons are classified as ‘temporary employees’ compared to c. 134,000 in 2002. As a share of total employees, the number of persons in temporary employment has risen from five percent in 2002 to eight percent today. All of this increase came before the Financial Crisis however, and employment shares of temporary employees have steadily fallen from 2010 onwards. Labour Force Survey (LFS) data reveals that the highest share of temporary employees work in the Wholesale and Retail Trade sector (17 per cent), followed by Education (15 per cent) and Accommodation and Food Service (15 per cent). Excluding ‘Not Stated’ responses, LFS data from Q4 2020 reveals that the highest share of persons in temporary employment (41 per cent) do so because they could not find a permanent job. This suggests that temporary employment is often involuntary. An overview of trends in temporary and permanent employment in Ireland is set out in Figure 1.1.

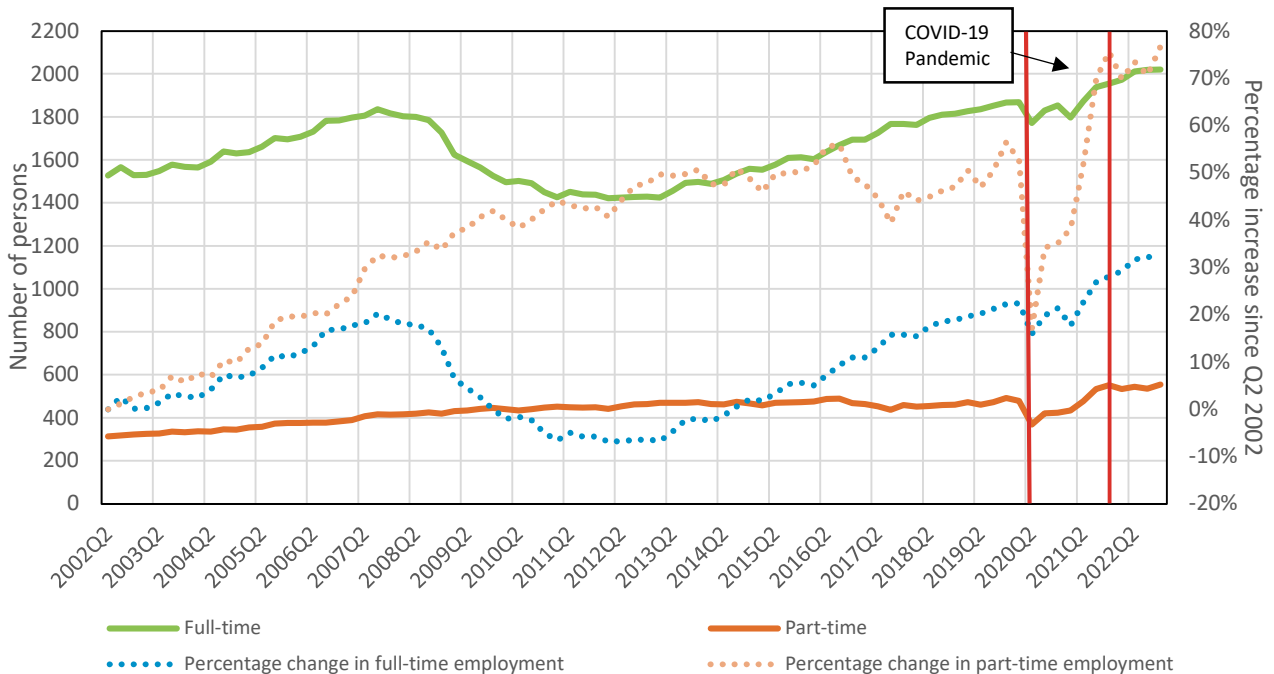
While employment shares of both temporary employees and self-employed persons have decreased in recent years, there has been an increase in the incidence of part-time working in Ireland, especially since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Between Q4 2019 and Q4 2022, the number of persons in part-time employment grew by 13 per cent, in comparison to an eight per cent growth rate in full-time employment. Part-time employment now makes up 21.5 per cent of total employment, compared to 20.8 per cent in Q4 2019. Overall, part-time employment has grown by 77 per cent since 2002, compared to a 32 per cent increase in full-time employment. Underemployment in a primary job, in other words, persons working part-time who are willing and available to work additional hours, is likely an important motivation for persons seeking out secondary employment. Trends in part-time employment in Ireland are shown on Figure 1.2 below.

**Figure 1.1: Number of persons in permanent and temporary employment in Ireland (aged 15 years +), and growth since Q2 2002, 2002 – 2022<sup>2</sup>**



Source: Authors' calculations from CSO data

**Figure 1.2: Number of persons in part-time and full-time employment in Ireland (aged 15 years +), and growth since Q2 2002, 2002 – 2022**



Source: Authors' calculations from CSO data

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the Labour Force Survey (LFS) is compiled using the ILO definitions of employment, unemployment, and inactivity. These definitions are unlikely to have fully captured the impact COVID-19 had on the labour market in Ireland. This is because people are classified as employed if they are currently 'away from work' but expect to return to work within 3 months. This could have included those availing of the emergency income supports from the Government.

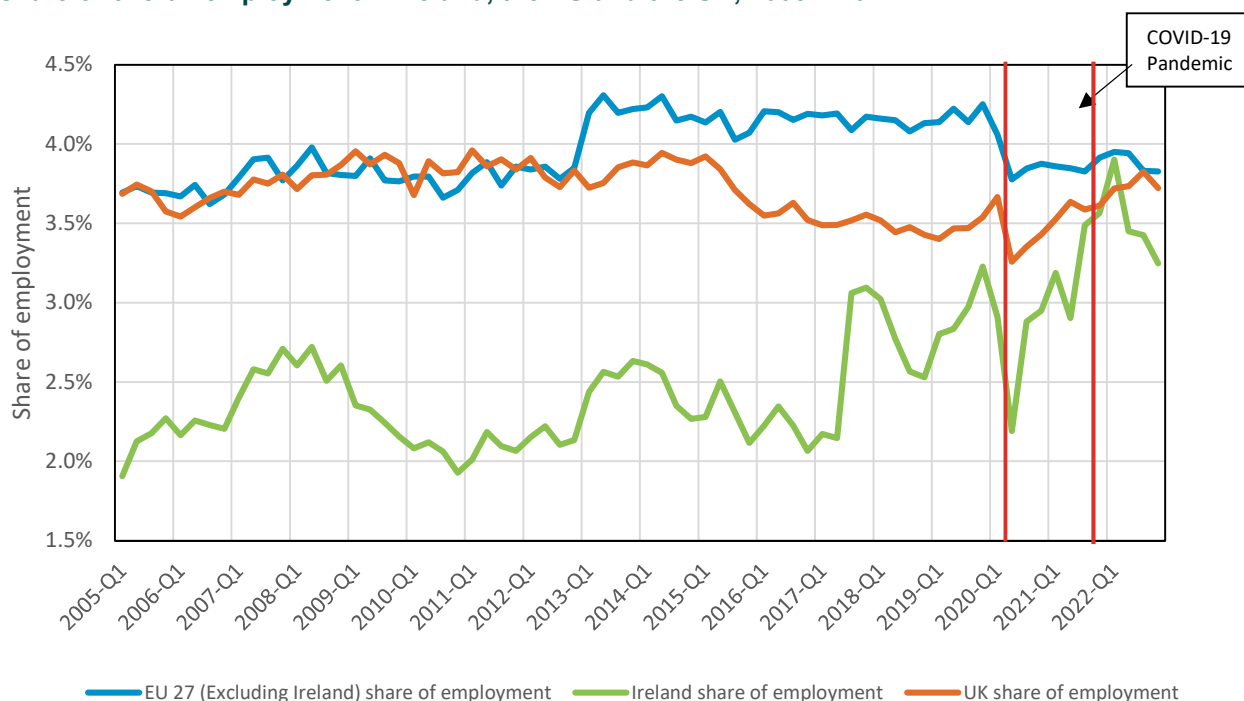
A final recent structural shift of note is the rising prevalence of remote working in Ireland. As of Q4 2022, approximately 22 per cent of persons in employment in Ireland usually work from home, with a further 12.5 per cent sometimes working from home. This is in comparison to just 8.2 per cent of persons usually working from home in Q4 2019, pre-pandemic, and 13.3 per cent sometimes working from home. Remote work enables improved access to the workplace through greater flexibility in terms of time management, childcare and commuting options and may especially improve employment outcomes for persons with disabilities and caring responsibilities.

## 1.2 Growth of ‘secondary employment’

Beyond the changes outlined above, the incidence of persons working multiple jobs (or secondary employment) also represents a significant underlying structural change in Ireland’s labour market. Over the last 20 years employment levels in Ireland have grown by almost 40 per cent, while the number of persons with secondary employment has increased by over 140 per cent in the same period. The latter term relates to the phenomenon where a person has paid work activity – whether with a public or private entity or in self-employment – in addition to their primary job (hereafter: multiple employment). Consistent with employment trends more generally, outlined in Figure 1.2, there has been particularly large increases in secondary employment rates among persons who work part-time in their primary job, since 2002. The number of persons in part-time employment in their primary job who have a second job increased by almost 300 per cent in this period, compared to an increase of 99 per cent for persons in full-time employment in their primary job.

The number of persons with multiple employment across the EU 27 has also been growing during this period, although at a much slower rate than in Ireland. As of Q4 2022 there were c. 7.9 million persons with multiple jobs across the EU, compared to c. 6.2 million in 2002 (a rise of approximately 27 per cent). In the UK, 1.2 million persons had more than one job in Q4 2022, representing an increase of just 90,000 in 20 years. Despite recent growth in Ireland, the number of multiple-job holders as a share of total employment is just 3.2 percent, below the EU average of 3.9 percent (and the UK, 3.8 per cent). These gaps have narrowed significantly in recent years, however. These shares are shown on Figure 1.3. below. Further analysis of EU/UK secondary employment rates is presented in Section 2.

**Figure 1.3: Number of persons in employment (aged 15 years +) having a second job as a share of overall employment in Ireland, the EU and the UK, 2005 – 2022**



Source: Authors’ calculations from Eurostat data

While persons may seek secondary employment for a multitude of reasons (including supplementing income, career development, increasing work time flexibility or starting a business), the factors underpinning the rise in employment more generally, outlined in Section 1.1, have potentially facilitated the rising prevalence of multiple jobs in recent years.

For example, increased working time flexibility, and reductions in commuting time associated with remote working could feasibly allow workers to dedicate more hours to a second job. The shift in sectoral allocation to the services sector meanwhile, and the increasing popularity of platform work has likewise created further opportunities for secondary employment in recent years. More broadly, it is likely that the take-up of secondary employment is linked to the economic cycle, with “necessity” secondary employment being counter-cyclical, and “opportunity” secondary employment pro-cyclical, in a similar vein to entrepreneurship and business creation (Fairlie and Fossen, 2018).

While there has been extensive research into labour market dynamics more generally over this time, there has been little research on the rising prevalence of multiple jobs in Ireland. Fundamentally, there is a dearth of research on the characteristics of people who work multiple jobs in Ireland, and the factors which determine whether someone has two jobs or not. Other questions, such as how Ireland compares to the rest of Europe for secondary employment rates, whether the incidence rate of secondary employment can be used as a proxy for primary job quality, and whether there are impacts on Ireland’s labour productivity, remain unanswered.

The dual digital and green transitions will generate demands for continual engagement with lifelong learning across Ireland’s workforce, either for upskilling within a current and evolving role, or reskilling for the purposes of transitioning to different roles or sectors across the economy. The increased prevalence of secondary employment could have implications for lifelong learning due to time constraints workers may face from taking on additional hours. Alternatively, secondary employment could assist workers in transitioning to sectors away from their primary employment. These are all themes which have received little attention in an Irish context.

### 1.3 Data and methodology

The data sources used for analysis in this paper include Eurostat custom tabulations on the number of persons with multiple jobs, split by country, age, gender, occupation, and hours worked, as well as data received directly from the Central Statistics Office (CSO). The timeframe under analysis in this paper is Q2 2002 to Q4 2022.

Standard Labour Force Survey (LFS) definitions of employment are used throughout this paper (i.e., a person who during the reference week worked for at least one hour for pay or profit, including contributing family workers). It also includes persons who were not at work due to holidays, training, working time arrangements, illness, or other leave.

In the LFS it is multiple job holders themselves who decide which job they consider to be their primary job. In cases where this is doubtful, the primary job is assigned to the one with the greatest number of hours usually worked. In line with the definition of employment above, is important to note that volunteering is not considered to be a form of employment and is thus not included in primary or secondary job rates.

One important point to note here is that official statistics capturing secondary employment are likely to underestimate the true number of persons working multiple jobs in the population. It is unknown how many persons work in the shadow/informal economy in Ireland, although research by Schneider (2018), valued Ireland’s shadow economy at 9.6 per cent of GDP in 2015.



## 1.4 Objectives and Structure of this paper

It may well be reasonable to make, in the absence of solid evidence to the contrary, a working assumption that persons working multiple jobs are typically engaged in agriculture/forestry/fishing – whether in their first or subsequent job – are younger and at the earlier stages of their careers and/or are likely to have lower levels of educational attainment. We believe that an evidence-based examination of these themes is an important aspect of the analyses presented here.

This paper aims to contribute to future policy debate on the issue of secondary employment, and seeks to address the following:

- Present a detailed analysis of those working multiple jobs in Ireland, including by age, gender, nationality, region, sector of employment and educational attainment.
- Consider the intersection between full and part-time work in both a person's principal and secondary employment and analyse patterns in the volume of hours worked.
- Position the analysis within a comparative EU context, and comment on any emerging patterns post-pandemic.

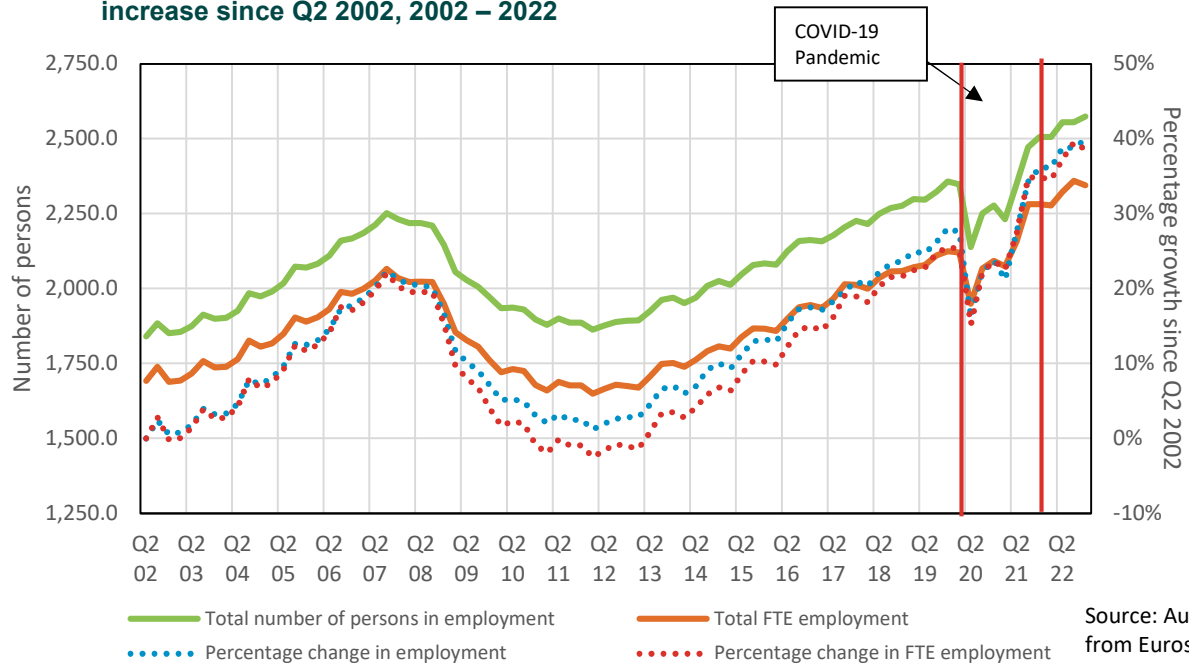
It is important to note that the available data does not allow us to comment definitively on the reasons why a person is working multiple jobs. For some persons, financial necessity may be the principal motivation. For other persons with multiple jobs, the motivation is perhaps to gain new and further experience with a view to career progression or to pursue a personal interest in some professional capacity (in say, the arts or music). Indeed, others may have broad professional and social networks which give rise to opportunities to undertake additional paid work (in, say, teaching).

Nonetheless, this analysis can offer useful insights into the characteristics of persons with multiple jobs, particularly as much focus tends to be on issues pertaining to unemployment rates and jobless households.

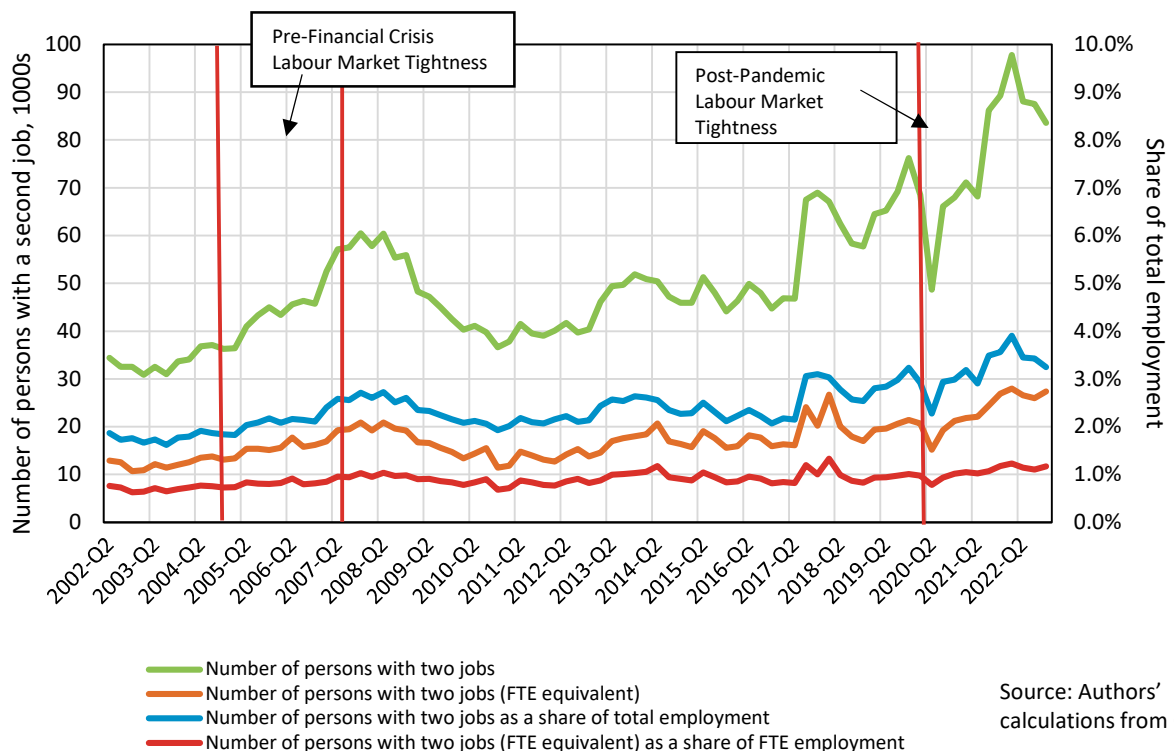
## 2. Rising incidence of multiple jobs

Over recent years, Ireland’s labour market and economy have outperformed expectations and having successfully weathered the disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, there are now a record c.2.57m persons at work – an increase of almost 40 per cent in one generation (or 20 years). In tandem with this expansion in the domestic workforce, the number of persons employed in more than one job has also risen, increasing from 34,400 (in 2002), to 83,600 today - an increase of approximately 140 per cent. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 below show how overall employment levels and the number of persons in employment with a second job have changed over time.

**Figure 2.1: Number of persons in employment (aged 15 years +) and percentage increase since Q2 2002, 2002 – 2022**



**Figure 2.2: Number of persons in employment in Ireland (aged 15 years +) having a second job, and as a share of overall employment, 2002 – 2022**



Both the overall number of persons in employment and number of persons in employment with secondary employment has followed a similar cyclical pattern over the past 20 years. Labour market conditions deteriorated drastically after the 2008 Financial Crisis, with employment (both overall, and FTE) only recovering to pre-Crisis levels in 2017, a trend which similarly applied to the number of persons with second jobs in Ireland. One might expect worker demand for second jobs to rise during times of economic downturn where real wages fall. High levels of unemployment, widespread hiring freezes, and a fall in consumer spending would have limited any scope to take on additional employment for those already employed in the aftermath of the financial crisis, however. More recently, the economic shock caused by the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in a temporary drop in employment, but job numbers have since strongly rebounded. The number of persons with second jobs likewise reached record levels in 2022.

As a result of this rapid increase in the number of persons with multiple jobs, the number of multiple-job holders as a percentage of total employment has risen from 1.9 per cent in Q2 2002 to 3.2 per cent in Q4 2022. Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) secondary employment as a share of total FTE equivalent, was 1.1 per cent in Q4 2022, compared to 0.8 per cent in Q2 2002. Much of these increases have occurred over the past few years.<sup>3</sup> In Q2 2017 the number of persons with multiple jobs equated to 2.1 per cent of total persons employed, which was just 0.2 percentage points more than the share in 2002. By contrast, since Q2 2017, the share has risen by 1.1 percentage points. These shares are also depicted in Figure 2.2.

In contrast to Ireland, the proportion of persons with two jobs within the EU27 has remained relatively stable over the past 20 years, increasing by just 0.5 percentage points during this period, and has even declined in certain countries. There are currently c.7.9 million persons with a second job across the EU27, meaning that 3.9 per cent of all EU workers have multiple jobs. In the UK, the corresponding figure is currently 3.8 per cent. Ireland therefore has a lower share of persons employed with multiple jobs than the EU average (and the UK) but is converging. The distribution of secondary employment across Europe is somewhat surprising, indicated by Figures 2.4 and 2.5 overleaf.

Nordic countries, as well as the Netherlands and Switzerland, have very high shares of people with two jobs at over 10 per cent in some cases (though in Sweden and Denmark secondary employment shares have declined in the past two decades). Ireland is therefore an outlier in terms of second job holding rates among small, advanced northern European countries with well-developed services sectors. In fact, Ireland has the 11<sup>th</sup> lowest share out of the EU 27 (though in 2003 Ireland had the 4<sup>th</sup> lowest share). Why this is the case remains a puzzle, however. There are a number of reasons why workers may choose to take second jobs. As mentioned previously, these include, wanting to, but being unable to, take on more hours in their primary job, low pay and/or job; insecurity in the primary job; or wanting to diversify skillsets or set up a business. Research by Eurofound (2020) found that a substantial proportion of multiple job holders in the EU are low earners with short working hours, who take up extra work to supplement their income. These themes are explored in more detail in an Irish context later in this paper.

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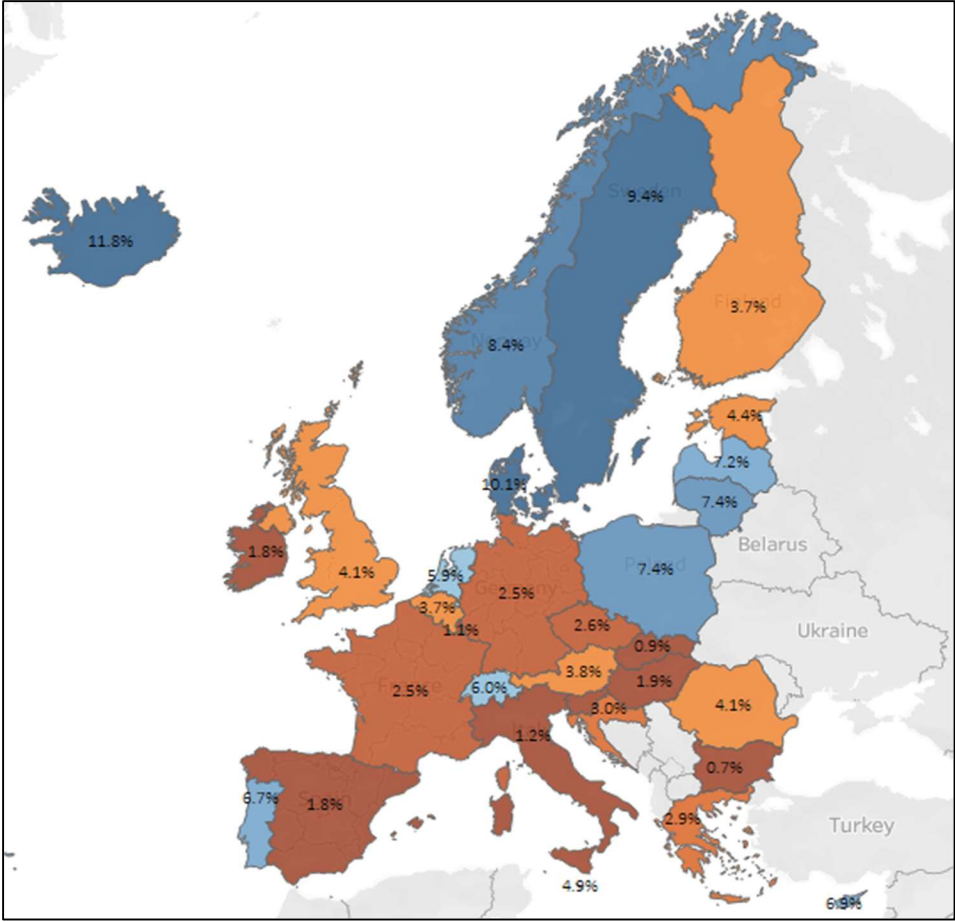
<sup>3</sup> Note: The Labour Force Survey (LFS) replaced the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) in Q3 2017. The LFS release for Q3 2017 also incorporated revisions to population estimates based on the 2016 Census of Population. Adjustments were made to the historic data in Q3 2017 and Q1 2018 to allow comparability with the new LFS for a range of indicators. For other indicators, the series before and after Q3 2017 may not be directly comparable and users should remember this when examining all changes, both quarterly and annual.

In some jurisdictions, favourable tax treatment of a second job would also incentivise secondary employment. In Ireland, for example, PRSI liabilities are calculated independently across multiple jobs, potentially reducing the amount of tax paid for someone who has two part-time jobs rather than one full-time job. This is also the case in the UK.

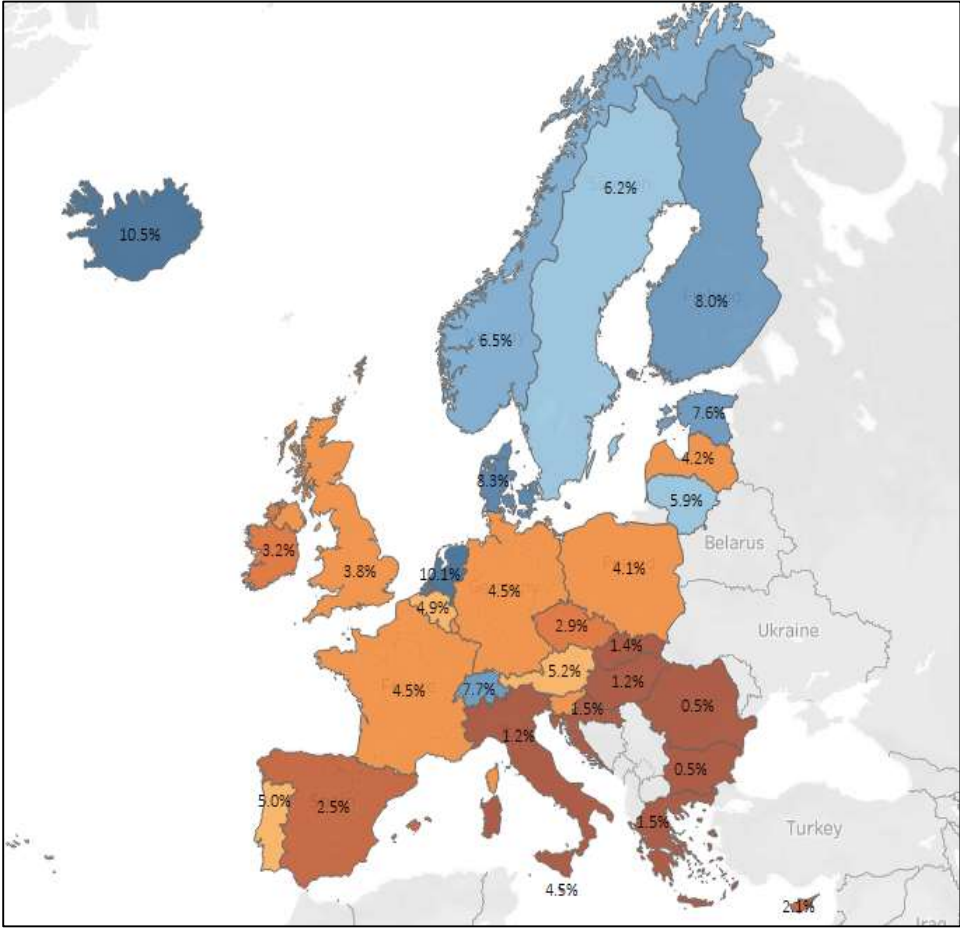
Another factor influencing the level of secondary employment in a country is likely to be the size of the shadow economy. One element of the shadow economy is the 'shadow labour force'. Shadow labour force activities can include undeclared income from a primary job, unreported secondary employment, or being involved in the sale of illegal goods/services. Empirical research on the shadow labour market is limited due to challenges around measuring its size. A recent survey by Revenue found that 6 per cent of SMEs believed that shadow economy activity has had an impact on their business (McLoughlin and O'Donnell, 2023).

Looking at the distribution of secondary employment rates across Europe in Figures 2.3 and 2.4 below, it appears to be the case that countries which have traditionally larger shadow economies (Italy, Greece, and the Balkan states) have relatively low shares of 'official' secondary employment, whereas countries with small shadow economies such as Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland have high 'official' secondary employment rates. It could be the case that true secondary employment rates are indeed higher in those southern European countries, but much of the work is undeclared. Ireland is once again an outlier in this respect. Ireland had the 6th smallest shadow economy in Europe (as a share of GDP) in 2015 (Schneider, 2018), yet at the time had the 7th lowest share of secondary employment. Whilst beyond the scope of this paper, a potentially useful piece of future research would be to examine the relationship between the shadow economy and secondary employment rates in more detail.

**Figure 2.3: Number of persons in employment in Europe (aged 15 years +) having a second job as share of overall employment, Q2 2003**



**Figure 2.4: Number of persons in employment in Europe (aged 15 years +) having a second job as share of overall employment, Q4 2022**



Source: Authors' calculations from Eurostat data

### 3. Characteristics of persons with multiple jobs in Ireland

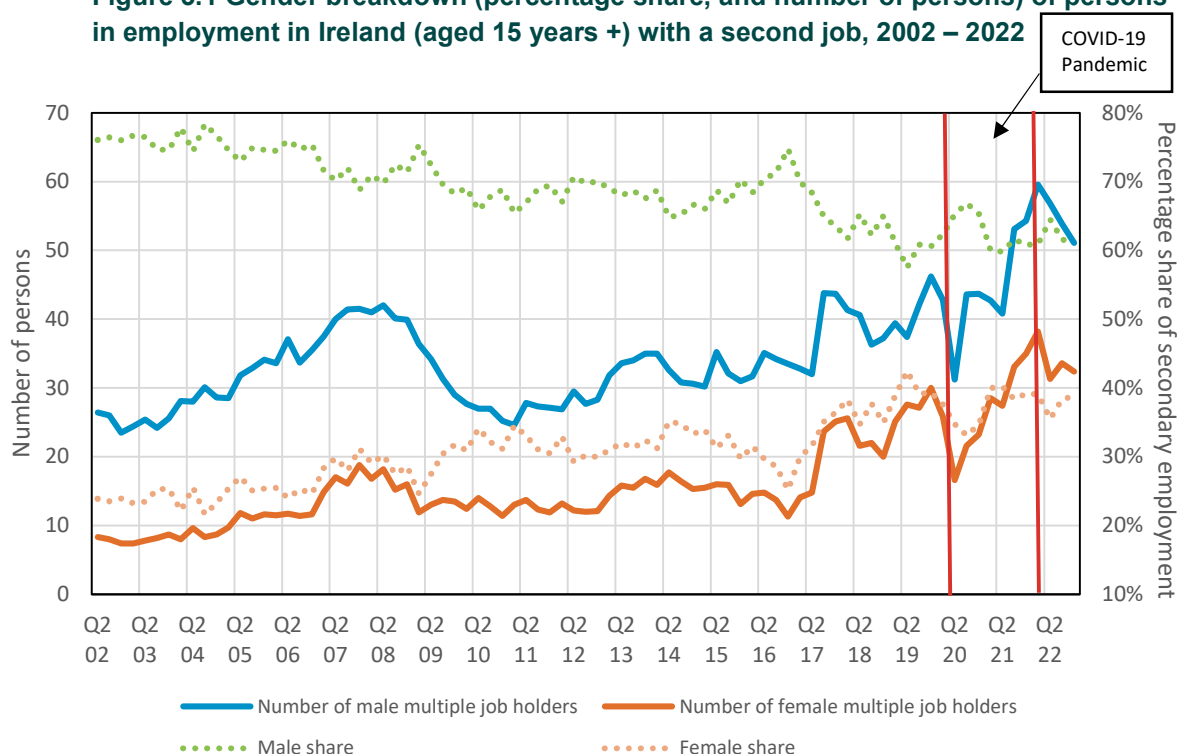
#### 3.1 Gender Breakdown

In terms of the gender split of people with multiple jobs in Ireland, indicated in Figure 3.1 below, currently 39 per cent of persons with multiple jobs in Ireland are female. This share has risen considerably over time, as the female share was below 25 per cent in 2002. Even taking into account the likelihood of being employed to begin with, males are far more likely to have a second job than females. Approximately 3.7 per cent of males in employment in Ireland have a second job, compared to 2.7 per cent of women in employment. This is despite the fact that approximately 70 per cent of persons who work part-time in Ireland are female. One possible explanation for this is that women are more likely to undertake unpaid caring duties for children or older relatives in the home, which may leave little time for additional paid employment.

Ireland performs relatively poorly within the EU when it comes to childcare policies, ranking 36<sup>th</sup> out of 41 countries in UNICEF’s 2021 “Where do rich countries stand on childcare” report (Gromada and Richardson, 2021). OECD data from 2022 suggests that childcare costs for a couple with two children in Ireland (where both parents earn the median wage), are 28 per cent of the median wage. The recent reform of childcare support in Ireland provides significantly higher benefits to low-income families, driving the net childcare costs for low-income lone parents close to zero, however (NCPC, 2023).

High costs of childcare in Ireland can act as a barrier to employment, or secondary employment in the case of those already employed. Indeed, Ireland has the 7th lowest female share of multiple job employment in the EU. On average in the EU, there is a 50-50 split between males and females having second jobs, while in the UK the female share is 57%.

**Figure 3.1 Gender breakdown (percentage share, and number of persons) of persons in employment in Ireland (aged 15 years +) with a second job, 2002 – 2022**



Source: Authors’ calculations from CSO data

### 3.2 Age Breakdown

As to the age breakdown of persons with a second job, displayed in Figures 3.2 below, the greatest share of persons are in the 45-64 age bracket (51 per cent), followed by those aged 25-44 (36 per cent), 15-24 (9 per cent), and 65+ (5 per cent). These shares have varied over time: in 2002, the largest share of persons was in the 25-44 year old age band (48 per cent), followed by 45-64 years (39 per cent). The share of younger workers (15–24-year-olds) having two jobs has fallen slightly over time, from 11 per cent in 2002, to 9 per cent today. These trends are not surprising and reflect employment trends more generally. The employment rate of 55–64-year-olds has increased by 20 percentage points over the past two decades (now at 67.3 per cent), while that of younger workers has remained more stable, and even declined for persons under 25 from pre-Financial Crisis highs.

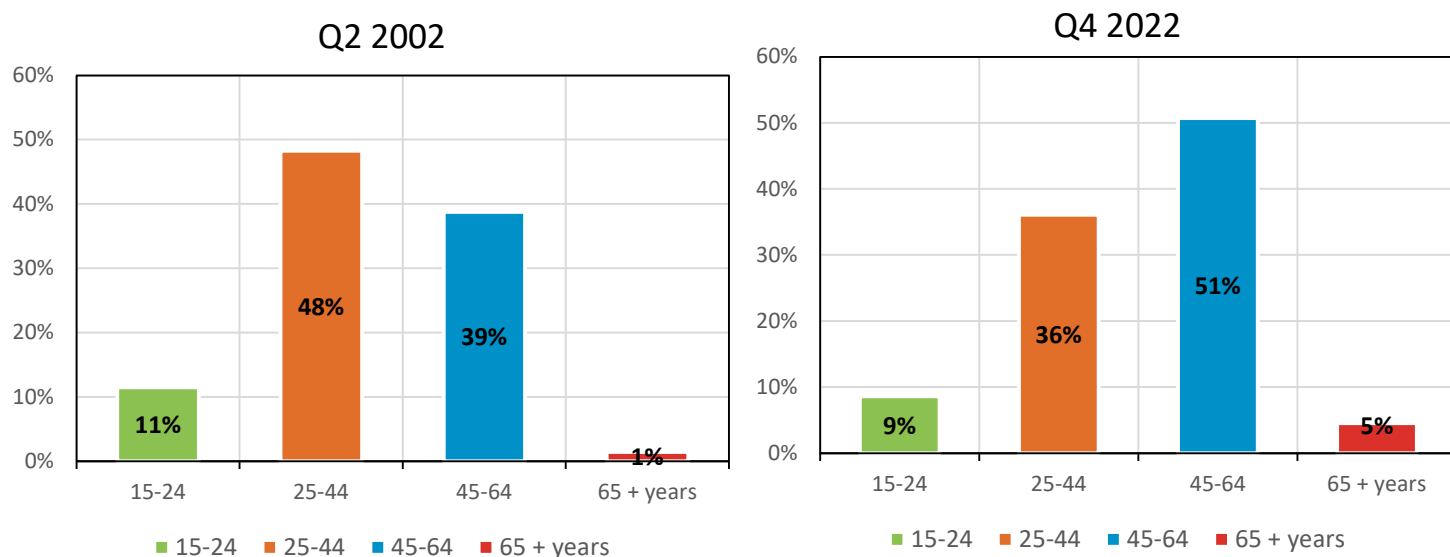
For this cohort, one likely explanation for declining employment rates is that the share of younger persons in full-time third level education has substantially increased in recent decades. Between 2013 and 2020, the share of 20–24-year-olds in tertiary education, as a share of 20–24-year-olds in the population, increased by 5.1 percentage points from 31.2 per cent to 36.2 per cent. With low shares of 15–24-year-olds in employment overall (46.7 per cent employment rate), it is no surprise that secondary employment rates are also low for this cohort.

The acceleration of digitalisation and subsequent rise in prevalence of gig-economy/platform work is therefore seemingly not resulting in increases in employment (either primary or secondary) among younger workers. It could be the case that this type of work has simply replaced other, more traditional, ‘student jobs’, rather than creating additional employment opportunities. Alternatively, it could be because platform work is more popular among older cohorts in Ireland. A survey conducted by the ETUI, found that just 18.3 per cent of platform workers in Ireland were aged between 18 and 24 years, one of the lowest rates among the 14 member states that were surveyed.

The COVID-19 pandemic may also have especially affected younger workers (including those with two jobs), who are disproportionately likely to work in sectors most affected by the pandemic, such as retail and hospitality – dampening any potential rises in secondary employment. With regard to the incidence of employment transitions and labour reallocation as Ireland began to move beyond the COVID-era, an initial examination of the transitions made by those closing their PUP claims by Q3 2021 noted that ‘as people return to work, and society reopens fully, the more likely people are to begin changing their employment to take-up new opportunities’ (Coates, Dwan-O’Reilly and McNelis, 2021). The authors found that for those returning to work post-PUP, there was evidence of significant movement between sectors and that this transitional activity was a contributory factor to the hiring challenge faced by employers. For instance, in the case of the ‘Accommodation & Food’ sector, the analysis suggested a net impact of -22,000 paid employees in this sector alone (or a fall of greater than 20 per cent in a very short period).

One final age cohort of interest is those aged 65 and over. In 2002, just 500 persons aged 65+ had multiple jobs (1 per cent of total persons with two jobs), compared to 3,800 (5 per cent) in Q4 2022. This reflects employment trends more generally; in 2002, approximately 35,000 persons aged over 65 were in employment, whereas approximately 100,000 were in 2022.

**Figure 3.2: Age breakdown (per cent) of persons (aged 15 years +) with a second job in Ireland, Q2 2002 and Q4 2022**



Source: Authors' calculations from Eurostat data

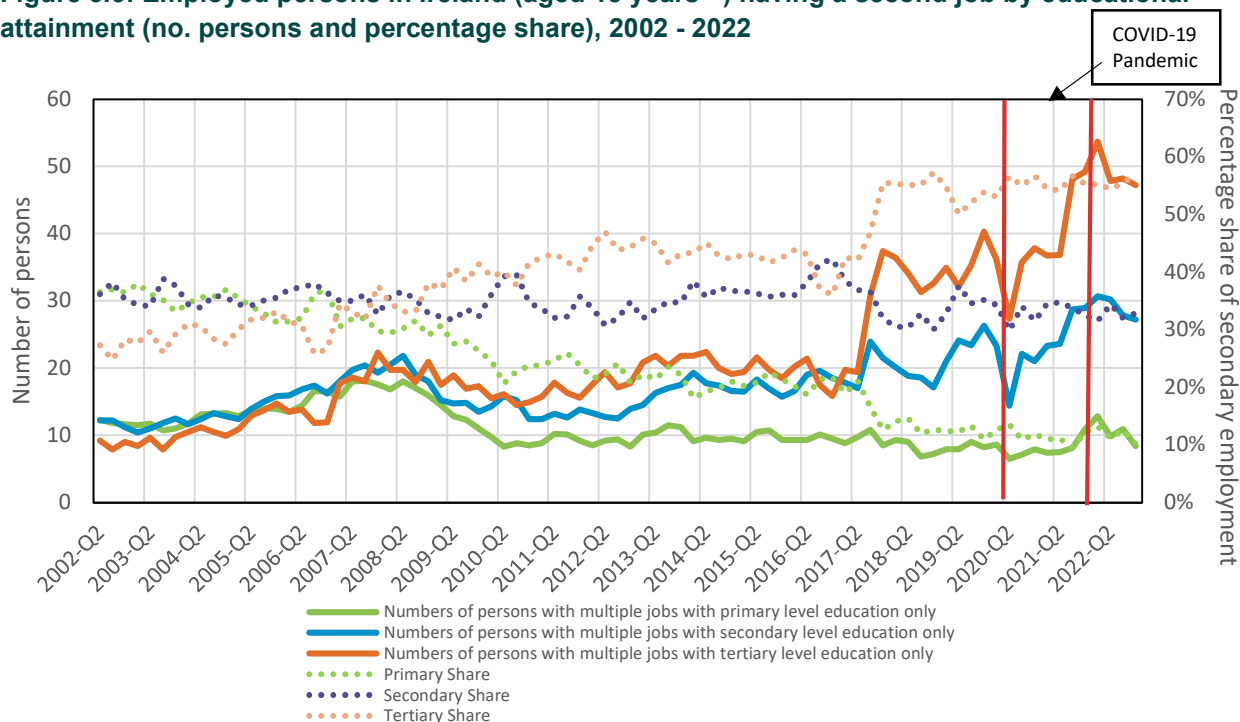
### 3.3 Education Attainment

Persons with a second job in Ireland are typically highly educated, with 57 per cent of this cohort having completed a tertiary level education as of Q4 2022. This share has grown significantly over the last 20 years. In Q2 2002, approximately 27 per cent of persons with a second job had a tertiary level education, while over 36 per cent had completed a primary level education. As a share of total employment (in Q2 2002), 28 per cent of persons had a tertiary level education, while 30 per cent of persons had completed a primary level education, indicating that multiple-job holders were slightly lower educated than the labour force as a whole at that time.

Now, multiple-job holders are slightly better educated than the workforce as a whole, on average. Of all persons in employment in Ireland, 52 per cent have a tertiary level education, compared to the 57 per cent of multiple job holders. Approximately 10 per cent of persons with two jobs have completed primary level education only, which is the same share as for the workforce at large. These shares are different for men and women, however. Just 51 per cent of male second-job holders have a tertiary level education, compared to 66 per cent of females. At the other end of the spectrum, 14 per cent of male second-job holders have a primary level education only, compared to 5 per cent of women.



**Figure 3.3: Employed persons in Ireland (aged 15 years +) having a second job by educational attainment (no. persons and percentage share), 2002 - 2022**



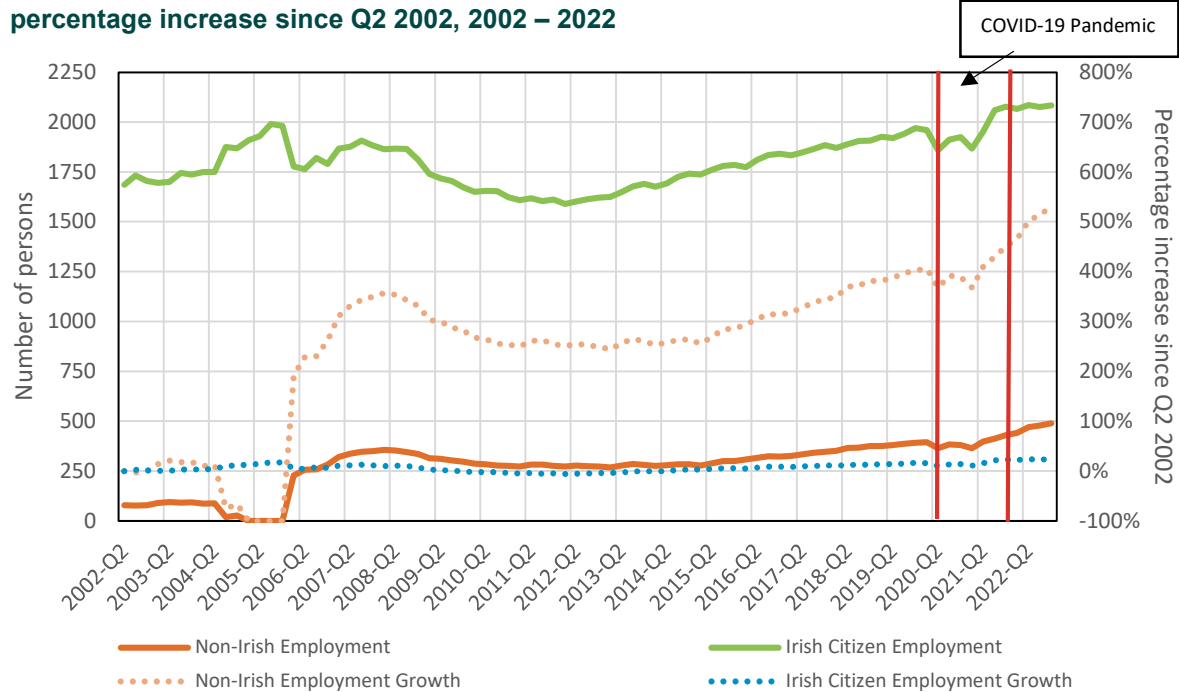
Source: Authors' calculations from Eurostat data

### 3.4 Nationality

A final background characteristic of interest regarding multiple-job holders is their nationality. Today, non-Irish nationals make up 19 per cent (490,600 persons) of total employment, compared to just 4 per cent (77,900 persons) in 2002. Much of recent employment growth has been driven by non-Irish nationals. Employment permits applications hit record levels in 2022, while 47 per cent of the 213,500 additional persons in employment since Q4 2019 are non-Irish nationals. Inward migration has played a key role in filling labour and skills shortages across a range of sectors in recent years. Trends in non-Irish employment are shown in Figure 3.4 below.

Non-Irish nationals in Ireland typically work in Professional roles (44 per cent), although a disproportionate number work in the low-paying retail and hospitality sectors (ESRI, 2023). Research by the European Trade Union Institute meanwhile suggests that 44 per cent of platform workers in Ireland are non-Irish nationals. One may therefore expect there to be increasing shares of non-Irish nationals with secondary employment over the past decade. While the share of non-Irish nationals with secondary employment has risen from 5 per cent in Q2 2002 to 10 per cent today, this still remains far below the share that non-Irish nationals make up of employment overall (19 per cent). Non-Irish nationals are therefore disproportionately less likely to work multiple jobs than the native-born population. Potential reasons for this include the high prevalence of multiple employment in the Agricultural sector, which is dominated by Irish nationals. Another factor is non-EEA nationals working in Ireland with an employment permit are ineligible to work multiple jobs. Due to small sample sizes in the LFS, there are missing values for a number of years under analysis. Any values that are shown should be treated with caution due to these small sample sizes. Trends in non-Irish secondary employment are shown in Figure 3.5. below.

**Figure 3.4: Number of persons in employment in Ireland (aged 15 years +) by nationality, and percentage increase since Q2 2002, 2002 – 2022**



**Figure 3.5: Number of persons with secondary employment in Ireland (aged 15 years +) by nationality, and non-Irish secondary employment as a share of total secondary employment, 2002 – 2022**



## 4. Where do persons with two jobs live?

The regional analysis presented in this Section refers to the region of residence of multiple-job holders, rather than region of employment. It is therefore not possible to comment on commuting patterns at present. It could be the case that some multiple-job holders work across several NUTS3 regions, or indeed in Northern Ireland.

The Dublin and South-West NUTS 3 regions have the highest numbers of persons holding two jobs, shown in Figure 4.2 below<sup>4</sup>. Over 17,000 persons in Dublin have two jobs compared to 15,200 in the South-West. The Midland, South-East, and Border regions contain the fewest number of persons employed with two jobs. This is not surprising, given that Dublin and the South-West have the highest population levels in the country, while the Midland, Border and South-East regions have the lowest.

When looking at the share of persons with multiple jobs as a share of total employment in each region, however, a different picture emerges. In fact, the Border region has the highest rate of persons employed with two jobs, when compared to the number of persons employed in the region as a whole, (4.7 per cent), while Dublin has the lowest, at 2.3 per cent. This is indicated on 4.3 below. While many jobs often associated with secondary employment, such as taxi driving, platform work, or retail/hospitality roles are more prevalent in cities, others, such as agricultural work, are not. The next Section of this paper assesses in more detail the sectors in which persons with multiple jobs are employed.

Over the past five years, the highest growth in the numbers of persons employed in multiple jobs has been in the regions surrounding Dublin. Dublin itself has experienced a 55 per cent increase in the number of multiple-job holders in this time, while the Mid-East has experienced a 56 per cent rise. This could be as a result of the continuing structural change in employment towards Services activities in Ireland, which are typically located in urban areas.

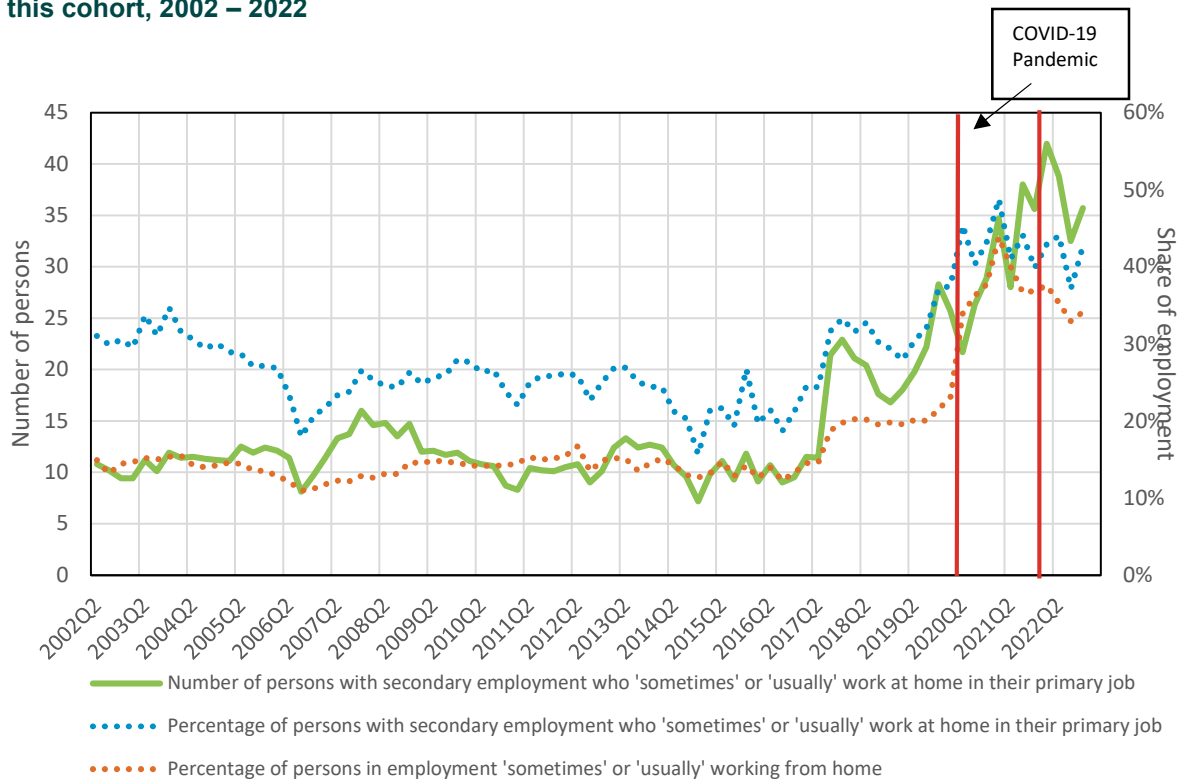
Although it is not possible to comment on commuting patterns at present, the CSO have provided bespoke data on the number of persons with two or more jobs who work from home in their main job. At present, 43 per cent of persons with secondary employment 'sometimes' or 'usually' work from home in their primary job, compared to 34 per cent of persons in employment overall. The share of persons with secondary employment working from home has remained consistently above labour force-wide work from home levels. Even in Q2 2002, 31 per cent of persons in secondary employment 'sometimes' or 'usually' worked from home, compared to 15 per cent of all persons in employment at the time. This could provide some evidence that the ability to work from home frees up (commuting) time for persons to take up secondary employment. Evidence also suggests remote working can improve employee wellbeing and reduce stress – potentially giving workers more mental and physical capacity to take on additional employment.

It should be noted however that persons in the Agricultural sector working on their own land would also be included within the figures outlined. Section 5, below, finds that there is a disproportionate number of persons working in Agriculture who have multiple jobs. This could therefore explain why it appears a large number of persons with secondary employment often work from home.

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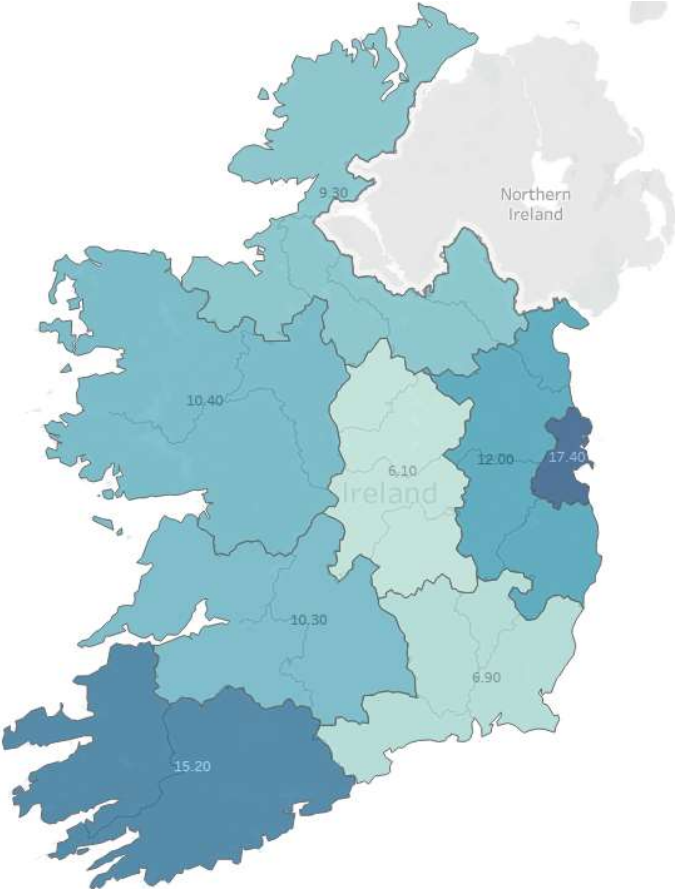
<sup>4</sup> Note: Q3 2022 data is used for the above analysis, rather than Q4 2022 data, due to more reliable estimates being produced for certain regions in Q3 2022.

**Figure 4.1: Number of persons with secondary employment in Ireland (aged 15 years+) 'sometimes' or 'usually' working from home in their primary job, and shares of employment of this cohort, 2002 – 2022**

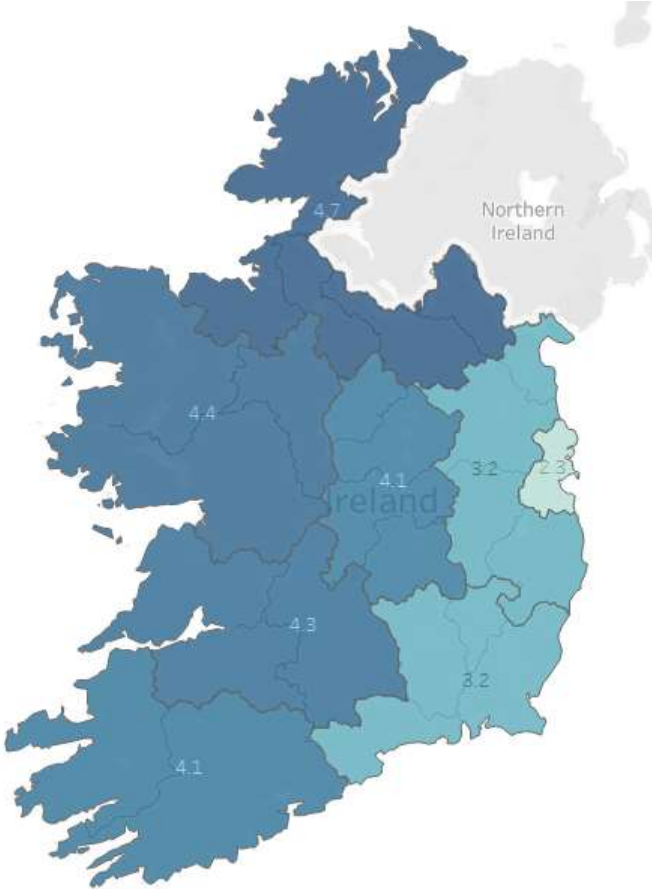


Source: Authors' calculations from CSO data

**Figure 4.2: Number of employed persons (1000s) in Ireland having a second job by NUTS3 region, Q3 2022**



**Figure 4.3: Share of persons with second job as a percentage of NUTS3 regions' overall employment, Q3 2022**



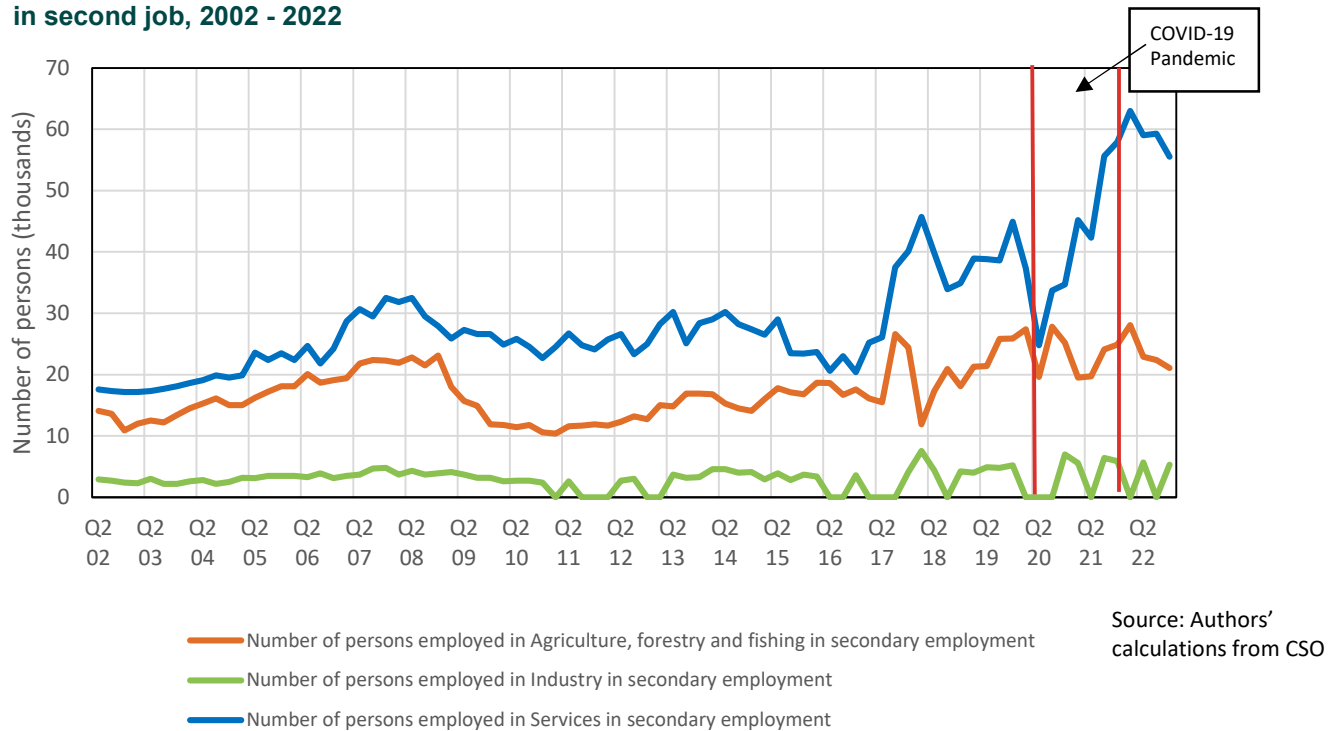
Source: Authors' calculations from CSO data

## 5. Sector of Employment

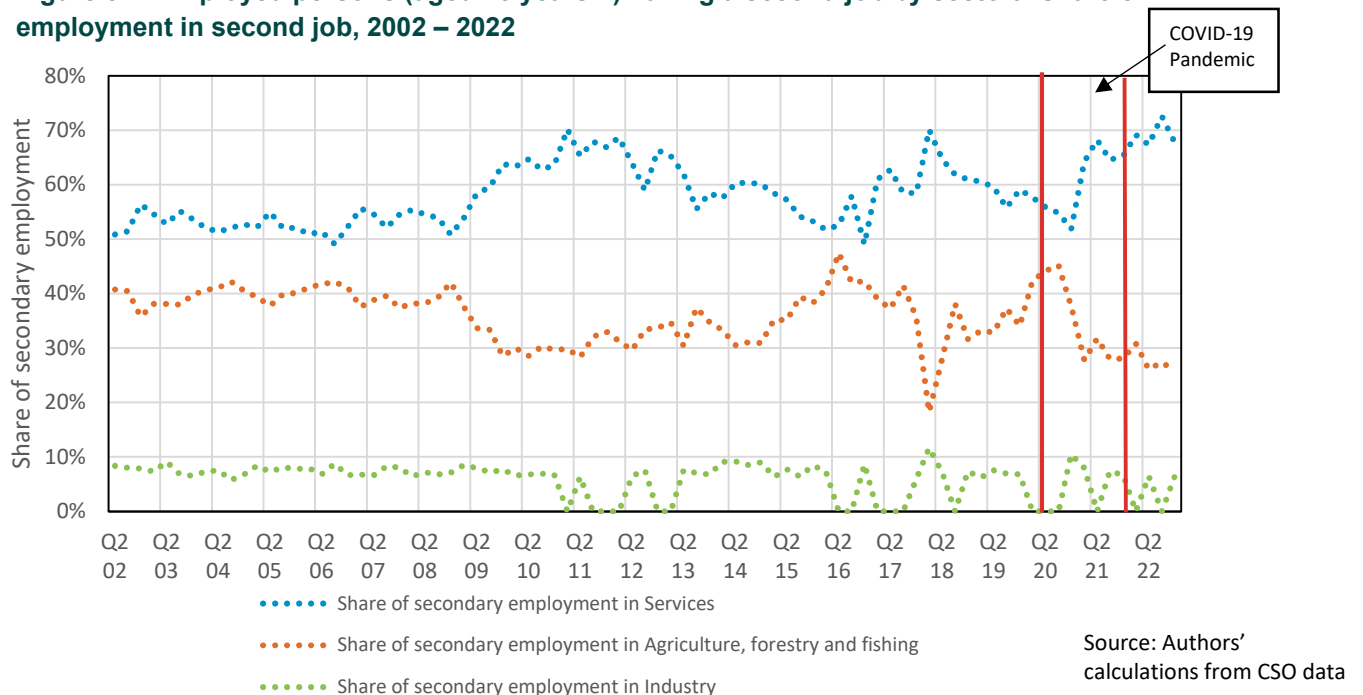
### 5.1 Sector of employment in secondary job

Next, looking at the sectoral breakdown of secondary employment, second jobs tend to be concentrated in the agricultural and services sectors with the latter having undergone significant expansion in recent years. The services sector, as defined broadly, includes a wide range of activities including transportation, hospitality, finance, healthcare, and education. Gig economy activities such as food delivery, ride-hailing or cleaning services are therefore also included within the services sector. The changing sectoral breakdown of secondary employment is depicted on Figures 5.1 and 5.2 below:

**Figure 5.1: Employed persons (aged 15 years +) having a second job by sector of employment in second job, 2002 - 2022**



**Figure 5.2: Employed persons (aged 15 years +) having a second job by sectoral share of employment in second job, 2002 – 2022**



In 2002, second jobs in the Services sector made up approximately 51 per cent of all second jobs, with over 41 per cent of persons working in the Agricultural sector. Today, 26 per cent of multiple job holders are employed in Agriculture in their second job, compared to 68 per cent in Services. Despite this fall in the share of secondary employment in Agriculture, persons with second jobs are still disproportionately likely to work in Agriculture in their second job compared to the labour force more generally, with just four per cent of the total number of persons in employment working in agriculture. It is also important to note that while the relative share of persons with a second job in agriculture fell, absolute numbers have continued to increase, with 10,200 more people now employed in a second job in the agricultural sector compared to Q4 2002.

There has been a significant increase in service sector second jobs since the onset of the pandemic, increasing by nine percentage points from Q4 2019 levels. Post-pandemic challenges for many employers in this sector in terms of filling vacant positions, could have resulted in employers being more willing to hire staff only willing to work part-time hours – thus making it easier for persons to find part-time secondary employment. Structural changes in the labour market as a result of COVID-19, such as an increased prevalence of remote working, could also have contributed to this trend. At present, 22.5 per cent of persons in employment ‘usually’ work from home in Ireland, while a further 10 per cent of persons ‘sometimes’ working from home. These shares are likely highest for persons in professional or managerial roles who do not use location-specific machinery or equipment. Furthermore, research has found that remote workers in Ireland can save an average of 93 hours per year through not commuting (in many cases this may be much higher) while there is also evidence to suggest that remote working can improve employee wellbeing and reduce stress – potentially giving workers more mental and physical capacity to take on additional employment.

While this theory seems plausible, Labour Force Survey data suggests that remote working has not had a major impact on secondary employment rates since the start of the pandemic. Since Q1 2020, the (primary) occupations with the largest increases in numbers of persons with a second job are Skilled Agricultural Forestry and Fisheries workers, Technicians and Associate Professionals and Service and Sales workers - occupations that are not particularly well-suited to remote working.

Throughout this time-series, persons are unlikely to hold a second job in industry, and the share has decreased slightly over time, from eight per cent in 2002, to six per cent in Q4 2022.

## **5.2 Sector of employment in primary job**

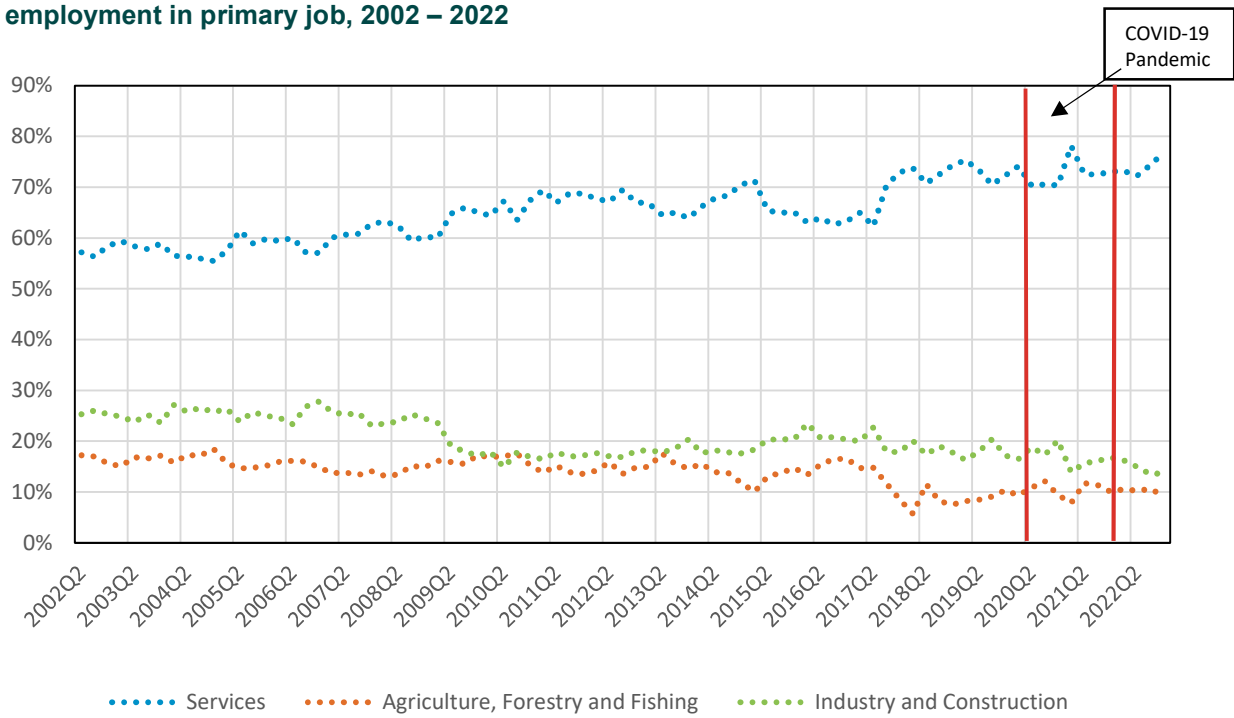
Although persons are unlikely to hold a second job in industry, approximately 14 per cent of second job holders work in ‘Industry and Construction’ in their primary job. This is lower than the sectoral share these two sectors make up of employment overall (19 per cent). The physical toil required in many jobs in industry could disincentivise persons from taking up additional employment – especially if they are working full-time in a primary job.

Approximately nine per cent of second job holders work in Agriculture in their primary job, higher than the four per cent share the sector makes up of employment overall, although significantly lower than its share of employment within second jobs (26 per cent).

Over three quarters of second job holders work in the Services sector in their primary job. This sectoral share has risen by 22 percentage points in the last two decades, in-line with employment trends more broadly. Unfortunately, due to small sample sizes it is not possible to provide a detailed breakdown of sector by 1-digit NACE, however the limited data available shows that within the broad Services sector, the Education sector, Human Health and Social Work sector, and Professional, Scientific and Technical

sectors are the most popular 'primary job' sectors among second job holders. The changing 'primary job' sectoral shares of those with secondary employment is shown in Figure 5.3 below.

**Figure 5.3: Employed persons (aged 15 years +) having a second job by sectoral share of employment in primary job, 2002 – 2022**



Source: Authors' calculations from CSO data

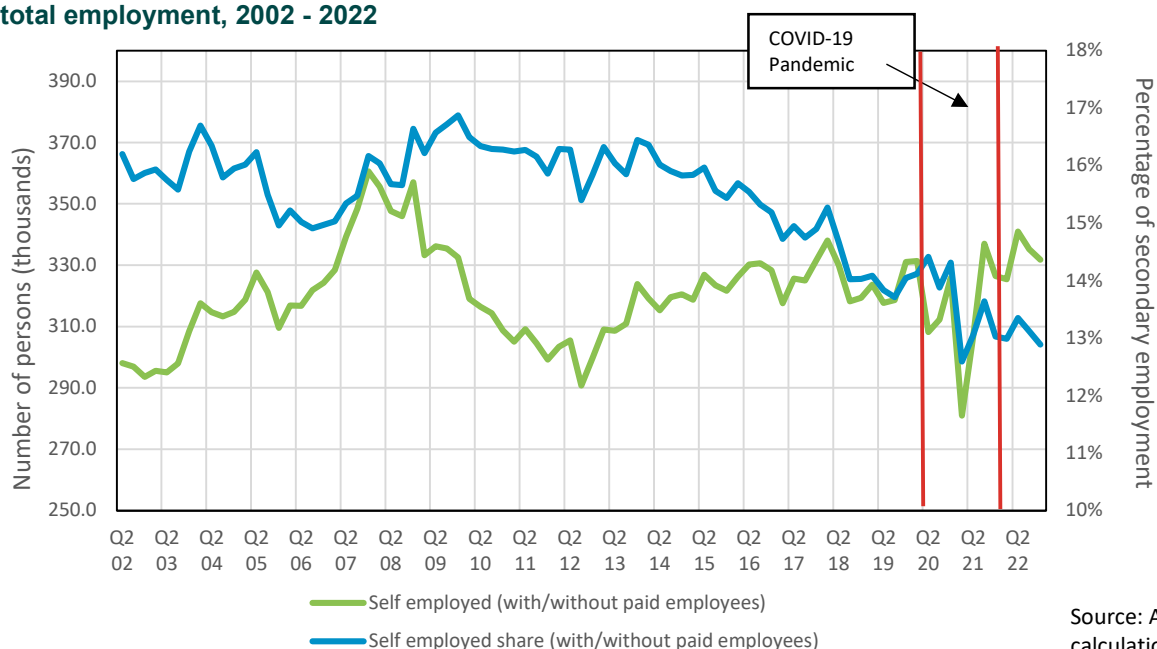


## 6. Employment Status

### 6.1 Employment status in both jobs

As mentioned in Section 1, the number of self-employed persons (in their primary job) in Ireland overall today is only slightly above levels seen two decades earlier. There are currently c. 320,000 self-employed persons in Ireland today, compared to c. 295,000 in 2002. As a share of total employment, however, the number of self-employed persons in Ireland has fallen from 16 percent in 2002 to 13 percent today. This is despite the fact that many platform/gig economy workers are classified as self-employed in Ireland. Research suggests however that many gig/platform economy workers perform such work as a secondary job. If this is the case, it is not necessarily surprising that there has not been an increase in the number of self-employed persons in Ireland in recent years.

**Figure 6.1: Number of self-employed persons (aged 15 years +) in Ireland, and as a share of total employment, 2002 - 2022**



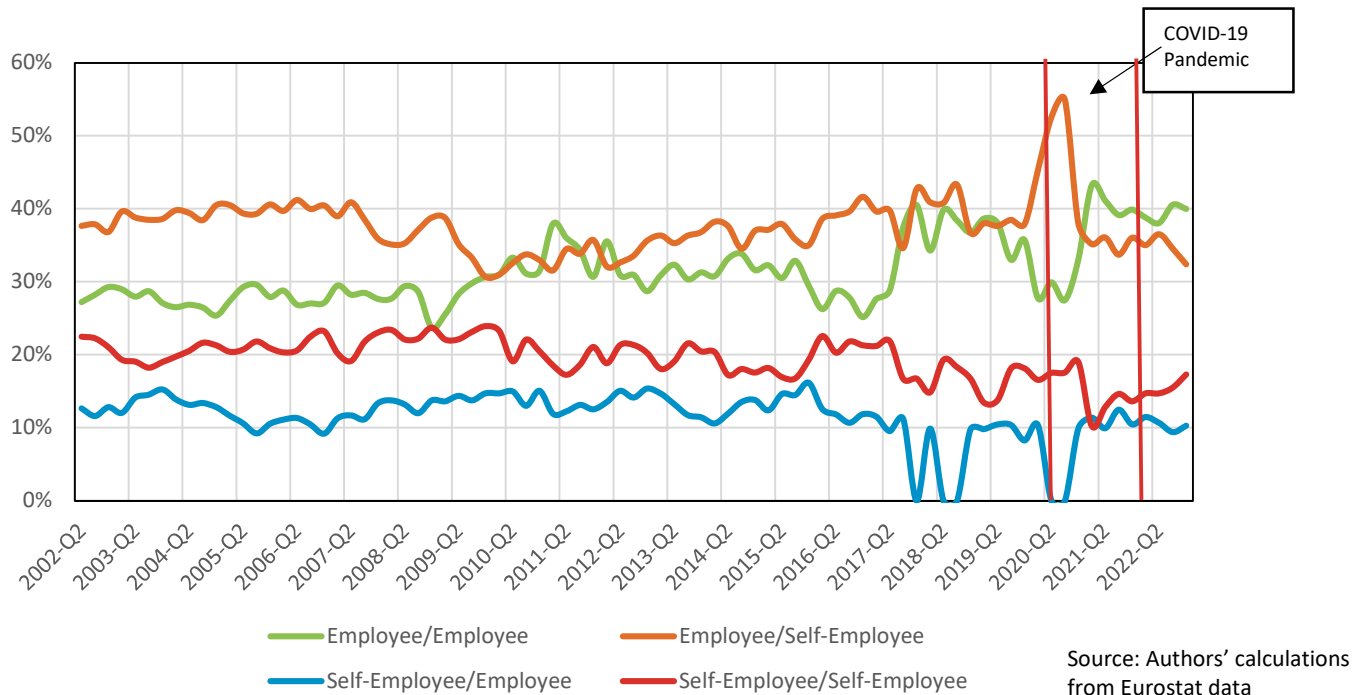
Source: Authors' calculations from CSO data

Looking now specifically at employment statuses of persons with multiple jobs, there are four potential combinations of employment status to be considered here: (i) persons who are employees in both their primary and secondary employment; (ii) persons who are self-employed in both jobs; (iii) persons who are an employee in their primary job but self-employed in their second job; and (iv) persons who are self-employed in their primary job but are an employee in their second job. Self-employment is typically defined as the employment of employers, workers who work for themselves and members of producers' co-operatives (OECD).

Most multiple-job holders in Ireland are either employees in both their first and second jobs (40 per cent) or employees in their first job and self-employed in their second (32 per cent). The combinations self-employed–employee (17 per cent) and self-employed–self-employed (10 per cent) are less common.

These splits are somewhat surprising, with the employment status in someone’s first job having seemingly little impact on whether they are an employee or self-employed in their second job. Over 86 per cent of persons in the labour market as a whole are employees in their primary job, compared to 72 per cent of multiple-job holders. One might have expected a similar pattern to emerge for a person’s employment status in a second job, however there is a 50-50 split between persons who are self-employed and employees in their secondary employment.

**Figure 6.2: Employed persons having a second job by employment status in both jobs (per cent), 2002 – 2022**



These shares are not uniform for males and females, however. Figure 6.3 below shows how the splits differ by gender.

**Figure 6.3: Employment status in first and second job in thousands of persons, split by gender, Q4 2022**



Women are far more likely to be employees in both jobs (59 per cent of women are employees in both their primary and secondary employment) compared to men, perhaps providing some suggestion that men and women hold second jobs for different reasons. Overall, 40 per cent of persons with multiple jobs are employees in both jobs. This proportion has grown over time, particularly in the years just preceding the COVID-19 pandemic. An employee-employee combination may be related to underemployment in a primary job – persons may be willing to undertake more hours in their primary job but are not offered the chance to do so. Research by Panos et al. (2014), however, has found that second-job holding is typically transitory in nature, and is often associated with career shifts. It therefore might not necessarily be the case that persons in this employee-employee category are underemployed in their primary job, but rather they are seeking to develop skills in a different sector to their primary job, before making the switch permanently.

It is interesting to note the change in popularity of the “employee-employee” combination over the course of the pandemic, as shown in Figure 6.3. Although the share of persons in this group temporarily fell between Q1 2020 – Q4 2020, it has bounced back strongly since, rising from accounting for 28 per cent of secondary employment in Q1 2020 to 40 per cent in Q1 2021. This could be linked to the concept of “necessity” secondary employment, where workers, whose incomes had perhaps taken a hit during the COVID-19 pandemic, felt the need to find additional paid employment.

Men are most commonly (40 per cent) an employee in their primary job and self-employed in their secondary employment. Just 20 per cent of women fall into this category however, giving it an overall share of 32 per cent. In contrast to the employee-employee employment status combination, the employee-self-employee combination has fallen in popularity over time. The share of secondary employment accounted for by this cohort two decades ago was greater (38 per cent) and rose as high as 43 per cent in 2018. The decline from 43 per cent in 2018 to 32 per cent today is unexpected in the context of the rising prevalence of platform work in that time (platform workers are generally considered to be self-employed).

Taken together, the falling share of younger workers participating in secondary employment, discussed in Section 3, and the falling share of self-employed second job holders, seems to suggest that platform work is not impacting secondary employment rates in the way one might expect. Unfortunately, it is unknown exactly which activities this cohort perform in their second job. It seems probable that platform work is indeed popular among second job holders in Ireland but has replaced other second-job activities rather than stimulating additional secondary employment.

It should also be noted that although the employment share for this cohort has declined in recent years, in absolute terms the number of persons in the employee-self-employee category increased by 11,700 (55 per cent) between Q1 2020 and Q1 2022 (although has fallen by 7,200 from that peak since). This sudden growth during the pandemic could be linked to the concept of opportunity self-employment, where persons temporarily furloughed by their primary employer might have used their newfound free time to explore self-employment opportunities. These persons would have been classified as having a second job in the LFS if they anticipated returning to work (in their primary job) within 3 months.

Alternatively, persons in the employee-self-employee cohort may take up secondary employment for business development reasons. A stable ‘employee’ primary job may help to insure against the possible revenue fluctuations of a fledgling (or start-up) business. Other persons in this category may have broad professional and social networks which give rise to opportunities to undertake additional paid work. Similar ‘insurance’ reasoning may apply to workers who are self-employees in their primary

job, and employees in their secondary employment (with the secondary employment in this case helping to smooth income).

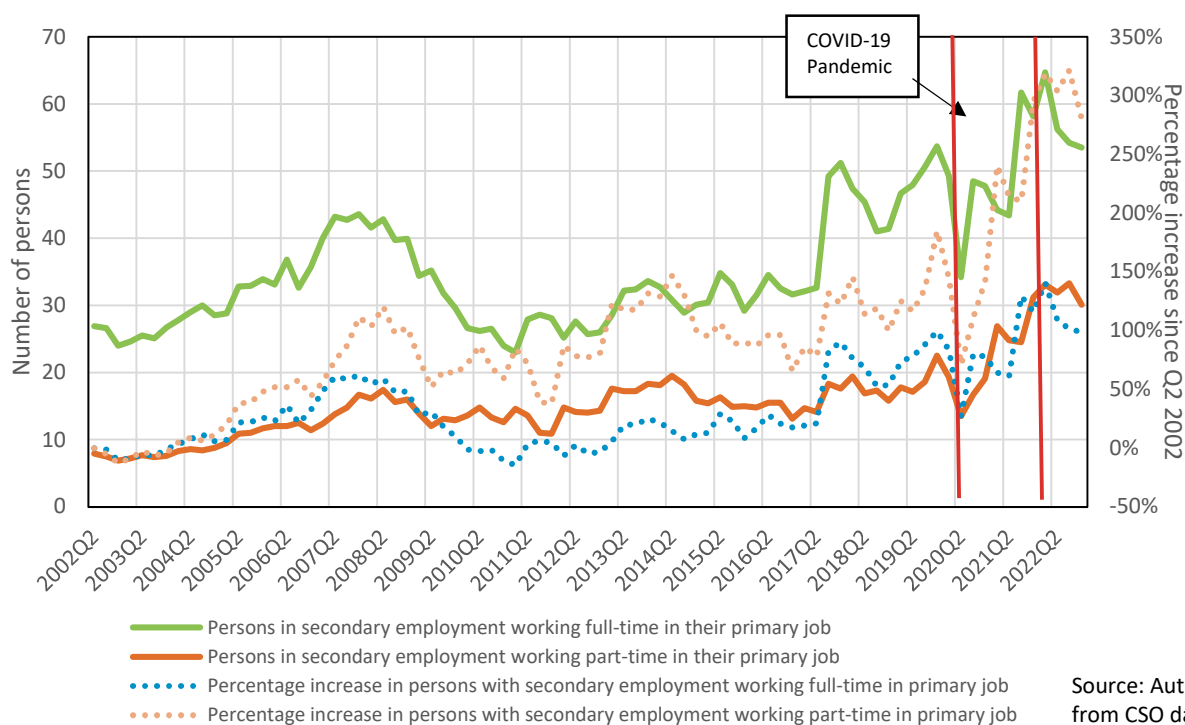
A final cohort of interest related to those that are self-employees in both jobs. Approximately 21 per cent of male second-job holders fall into this category, compared to 11 per cent of women. Again, it is unknown exactly which activities persons in this group undertake in either job – whether they are two related trades, in Agriculture, for example, or two completely different sectors of employment. The overall share of persons in this employment status category has fallen over time, from 22 per cent in 2002, to 17 per cent today.

Once again, this data has highlighted the diverse motivations for secondary employment across different cohorts, and how they are changing over time. The rising popularity of the ‘employee-employee’ cohort is consistent with the increasing popularity of multiple-job holding amongst women – who are disproportionately likely to fall into this category. The falling share of persons working as self-employees in their second job, however, is unexpected given the rising prevalence of platform work in Ireland. Employment statuses of multiple-job holders in Ireland are not dissimilar from EU averages, although employee-employee combinations are typically higher in Europe, linked to the fact a higher proportion of females have multiple-jobs in Europe compared to Ireland.

## 7. An analysis of hours worked

This Section analyses the working hours of persons with multiple jobs. One surprising finding is that the majority (64 per cent) of those with secondary employment report working full-time in their primary job. The rate at which persons report working part-time in their primary job take up secondary employment has been increasing rapidly, however. The number of persons in part-time employment in their primary job who have a second job has increased by almost 300 per cent since 2002, compared to an increase of 99 per cent for persons in full-time employment in their primary job. This is depicted in Figure 7.1 below. The data is consistent with data presented in Figure 1.2, which showed that the number of persons employed part-time in Ireland overall had outstripped the growth rate of full-time employment since 2002. It should be noted that full-time employment usually refers to employment of 30 hours of more per week in a primary job (OECD).

**Figure 7.1 Number of persons with a second job split by part-time and full-time employment status in primary job (aged 15 years +), and percentage increase since Q2 2002, 2002 – 2022**

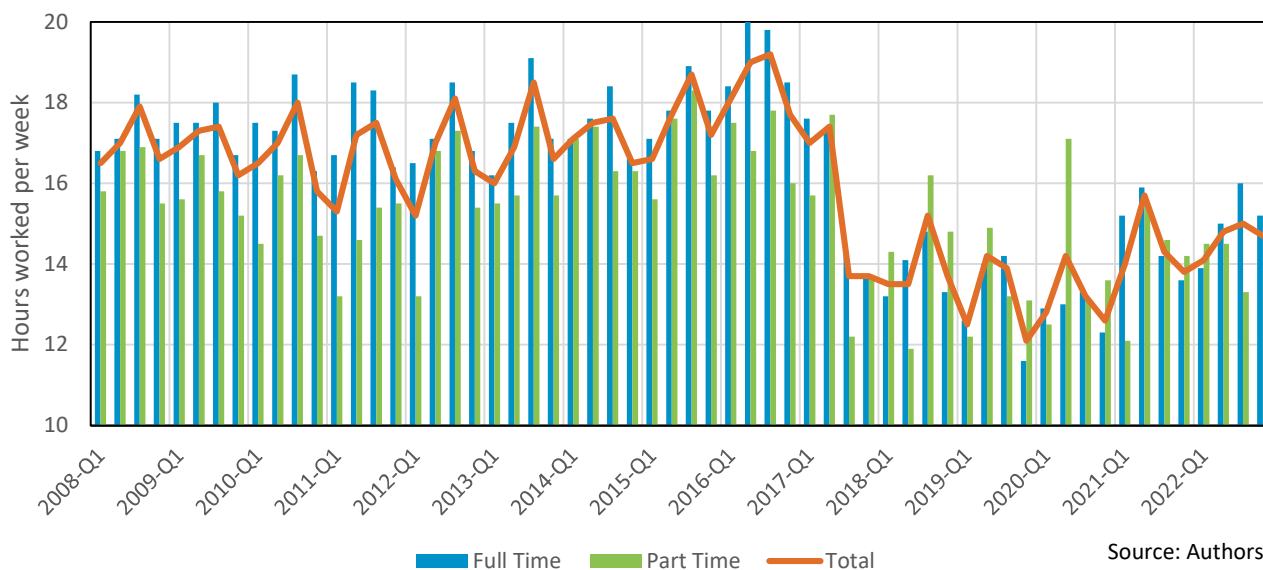


In terms of hours worked, the average number of weekly hours reportedly worked in a second job in Ireland has fallen over time, although not uniformly. The average number of hours worked in a second job was 16.4 in Q1 2008, rising as high as 19.2 hours in Q3 2016. The most recent data (from Q4 2022) shows that the average number of weekly hours worked in a second job in Ireland is 14.7 hours.

Figure 7.2 below presents the average number of weekly hours worked in a second job for people who work full-time in their primary job versus part-time in their primary job. Interestingly, persons who work full-time in their primary job tend to work more hours in their second job than people who work part-time in their first job (15.2 hours vs 13.8 hours average). Given that 53,500 persons with secondary employment work full-time in their primary job, there is therefore a large cohort of persons who are working at least 45 hours a week (those that work full-time in their primary job and work an average of 15.2 hours per week in their second job). This is a conservative estimate, as many full-time

employees would work far more than 30 hours in their primary job. Since 2008, hours worked in a second job for persons working full-time in their primary job have fallen by 10 per cent, compared to a 13 per cent fall in hours worked for persons working part-time in their primary job. There appears to be seasonality effects in terms of average hours worked (in a second job) by persons with secondary employment too. Figure 7.2 below illustrates how there are spikes in average hours worked in Q3 each year. One likely reason for this is that harvest time falls in Q3 and there are a relatively large share of multiple-job holders working in the Agricultural sector.

**Figure 7.2: Average number of hours worked in second job by full time/part-time status in primary job, 2008– 2022<sup>5</sup>**

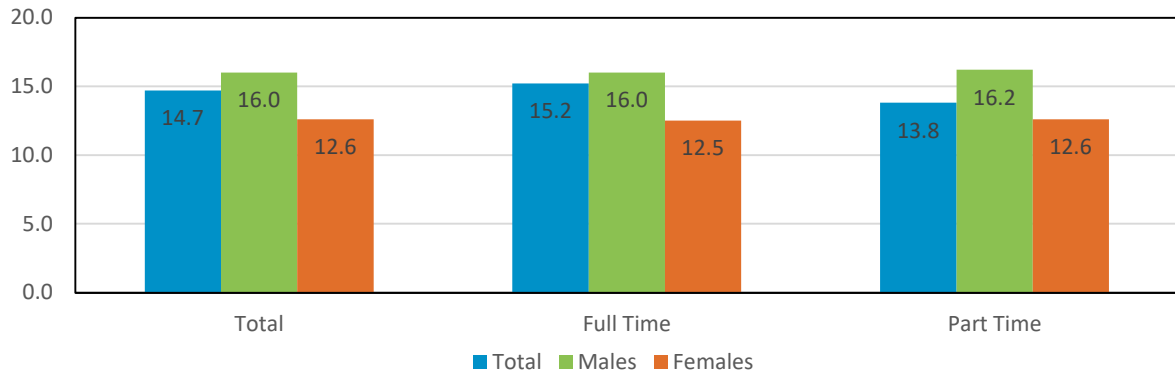


Once again, these effects are significantly different for men and women. Males with secondary employment work an average of 3.4 hours a week more in their second job than women. This differential is present whether persons are working full time or part-time in their primary job. The differential in average hours worked in secondary employment between males and females has reduced over time, however. In Q1 2008, males worked an average of 18.3 hours in a second job, hitting a peak of 21.6 hours in Q4 2016, before falling to 16.0 hours today. Conversely, females worked an average of 11.6 hours in a second job in Q1 2008, which is just 0.1 hours more than the average hours worked in a second job today for that cohort. Differences in average weekly hours worked in a second job by gender are presented in Figure 7.3.

The long weekly hours of certain cohorts will potentially have implications for health and safety in the workplace, as well as for an individual's work-life balance. Long working hours have been identified as a contributing factor to serious health problems, while mistakes leading to injury in the workplace may increase due to the greater incidence of fatigue associated with working longer hours. There could also be implications for labour productivity for the same reasons. Output per hour worked may decrease if workers are fatigued from working too many hours across multiple jobs.

<sup>5</sup> Note: The Labour Force Survey (LFS) replaced the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) in Q3 2017. The LFS release for Q3 2017 also incorporated revisions to population estimates based on the 2016 Census of Population. The series before and after Q3 2017 may not be directly comparable and users should remember this when examining all changes, both quarterly and annual'

**Figure 7.3: Average number of weekly hours worked in second job in Q4 2022, split by gender and full-time/part-time status in primary job**



Comparing Ireland to the EU, Irish residents with second jobs work significantly more hours in those jobs than the EU average, although at present, a lower share of persons hold secondary employment in Ireland than the EU average. In Ireland, persons with second jobs work an average of 14.7 hours per week in that job, compared to an EU average of 11.0 hours. Hours worked in a second job varies significantly across countries, however. While Scandinavia has very high rates of persons with second jobs, people tend to work fewer hours in that job than the EU average. The opposite is true in eastern and southern European countries. These differences are displayed Figures 7.5 and 7.6, overleaf.

Why Ireland once again remains an outlier amongst small, advanced, European countries is unknown, although the high proportion of males in secondary employment in Ireland is likely a contributing factor. Cultural differences, the share of secondary employment in Agriculture, and the degree to which secondary employment is a necessity to supplement income would all also influence levels of hours worked in a second job, for example, but the available data preclude any definitive conclusions from being drawn here (particularly given the events of recent years). As with the numbers of persons with a second job overall, hours worked in a second job in Ireland has been converging on the EU average in recent years. There appears to be a slight inverse relationship between the number of persons employed in multiple jobs across the EU27, and the number of hours worked in a second job, highlighted in Figure 7.4 below. Each dot represents a country in the EU 27. This is an interesting finding, although the reasons for why this is the case are currently unknown. As with secondary employment's relationship with the shadow economy, discussed in Section 1, the relationship between incidence rates of secondary employment, and average hours worked is an area that could merit further exploration in future research.

**Figure 7.4: Relationship between average hours worked in second job, and number of persons with two jobs as a share of employment, across the EU, Q4 2022**



Source: Authors' calculations from Eurostat data

Figure 7.5: Average number of hours worked in second job across the EU, Q1 2008

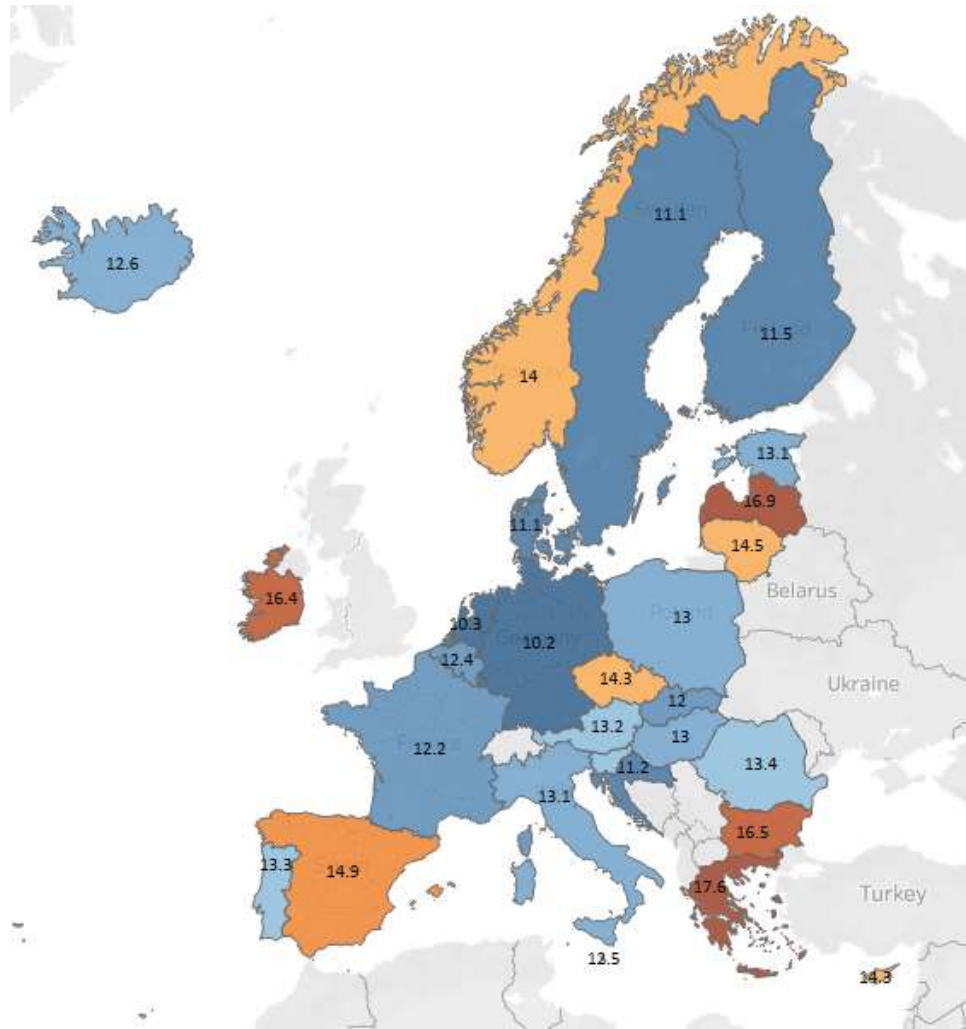
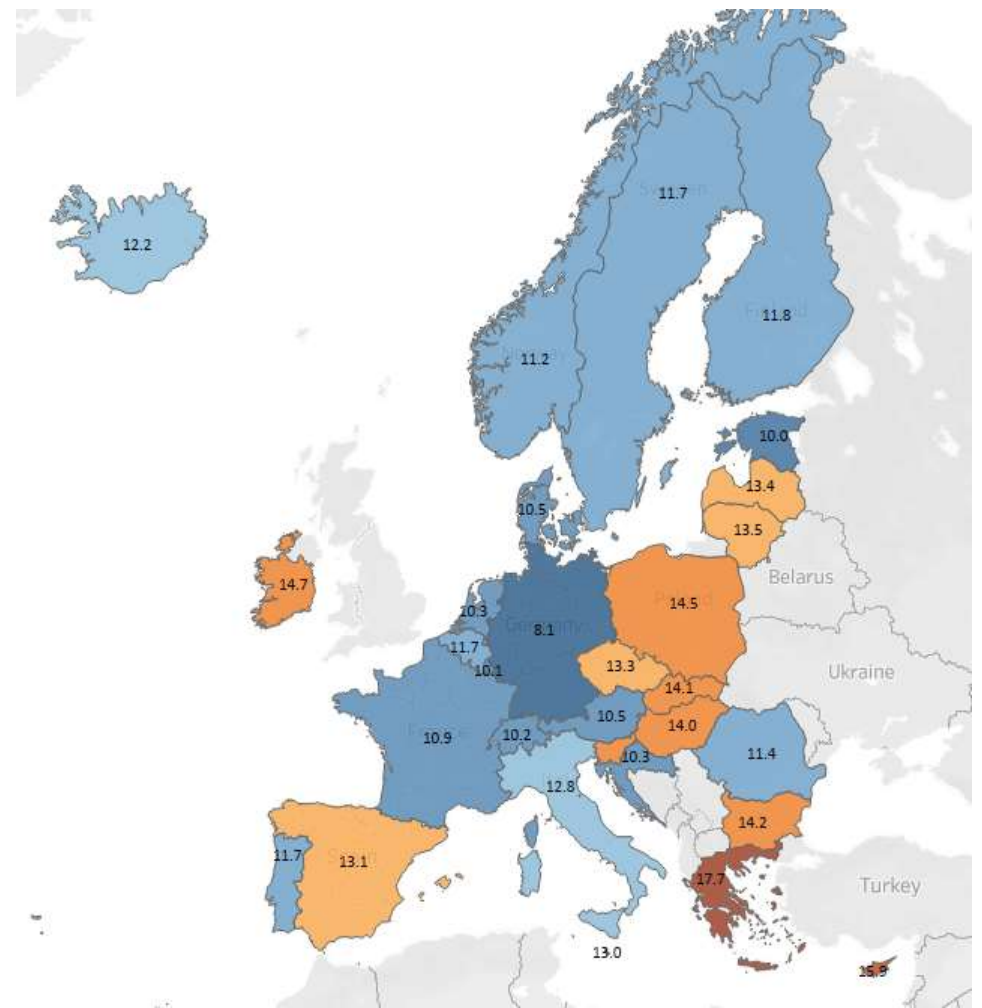


Figure 7.6: Average number of hours worked in second job across the EU, Q4 2022





## 8. Concluding comments

The analyses presented in this paper has provided a detailed overview of the characteristics of people who work multiple jobs in Ireland, and the factors which influence whether someone has two jobs or not. Whilst it may have been reasonable working assumption at the outset that multiple-job holders were more likely than not to be low-income workers and male (perhaps working in the agricultural sector), this paper demonstrates that secondary employment is a multifaceted phenomenon.

While there is no such thing as a ‘typical’ multiple-job holder in Ireland, this paper has found that persons with multiple jobs are more likely than not to be male, middle-aged and highly educated. It also demonstrates that they tend to work in the Services sector in their second job, are equally likely to be an employee or self-employee in their secondary employment and that whilst most of those with secondary employment are indeed males, female workers account for an increasing share of the broader cohort.

The question of whether the incidence rate of secondary employment can be used as a proxy for primary job quality can therefore be answered: it is not necessarily a reliable proxy. The high share of highly educated Services sector workers who take up secondary employment suggest that multiple-job holders take up additional employment for a multitude of reasons, with a need to supplement income being just one. Skills diversification, favourable tax treatment, setting up a business, or using a second job as a stepping-stone to career advancement are likely also important reasons behind secondary employment.

Despite the rapid recent rise in secondary employment in Ireland, the incidence rate here remains some way below the EU average. The relatively low share of female multiple job holders in Ireland compared to other EU countries may explain some of this gap. High costs of childcare can act as a barrier to work for women in Ireland, or a barrier to additional employment in the case of those already in employment. The rising levels of female participation rates, and the growing number of female workers with secondary employment, may well see Ireland converge with the EU average over time.

At the outset it seemed possible that the rising prevalence of platform work, as well as remote working, have also been driving the rise in secondary employment. This paper finds little evidence to suggest that either trend has been a major driver, however. Although the number of persons who are self-employed in their second job has increased in recent years, this growth has been far outstripped by the number of persons who are employees in their second job (40 per cent versus 82 per cent growth in the past 5 years). This, combined with the low, and declining, share of younger workers with two jobs, points towards platform work having, at most, a modest impact on the second jobs market in Ireland. Given the increasing rate at which young person’s stay in third level education, it is possible that platform work is largely utilised as a primary job amongst young people, alongside full-time study.

It is important to note however that this paper has only explored secondary employment that is captured in official statistics. There is evidence to suggest that ‘informal’ digital platform workers outnumber persons working in informal jobs in the traditional offline economy in parts of Europe (Aleksynska, 2021). Furthermore, Williams, Llobera Vila and Horodnic (2020) found that many workers operating on digital platforms in the EU lack clarity on how to legally provide services and thus may inadvertently not comply with employment/tax regulations.

There is similarly limited evidence that remote working has been a factor behind increasing secondary employment rates. In theory, time-savings from reduced commuting, and potentially reduced workplace stress, would present opportunities for persons wanting to take up additional employment. The share of persons with secondary employment working from home has remained consistently above labour force-wide work from home levels over the past 20 years, potentially due to the high share of second-job holders working in the Agricultural sector. Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, persons working in primary occupations particularly amenable to remote working, such as Professionals or Managers, have not been any more likely to take up secondary employment since than other workers, however.

In terms of the regional distribution of second jobs in Ireland, while the majority are found in urban areas, rural regions have the highest rates in terms of the proportion of total regional employment. This suggests that (secondary) agricultural employment continues to play an important role in rural communities, despite its relative fall in incidence in recent years.

The paper also examined patterns in the volume in hours worked for those with secondary employment. Hours worked in second jobs are high in Ireland, but there are once again heterogenous effects across genders. There is a large cohort of persons who work full time in a primary job, and long hours in a second job – raising concerns around health and safety, labour productivity, and work-life balance. There are also implications for a person's ability to engage with lifelong learning. A useful piece of future research would be to examine this group in more detail, to better understand the motivations behind working such long hours, and the impacts on the policy areas discussed above.

This research has shed light onto a previously under-researched area. Many questions still remain, however, including the exact motivations behind the take-up of secondary employment, the relationship between secondary employment and shadow labour markets and the extent to which Government policy can influence incidence rates. Although requiring supplementary income is just one factor behind secondary employment, current inflationary pressures could result in more persons seeking additional employment over the coming year or more. Incidence rates should be monitored carefully, specifically for those cohorts whose primary sectors of employment are typically characterised by low pay.

Finally, the authors intend to return to these analyses with a view to publishing a deeper analysis of some of the trends outlined above. This will involve engagement with the Department of Social Protection and Revenue regarding administrative datasets as these may provide an alternative or complementary assessment of whether persons have two jobs (LFS data only captures persons working more than one job in the previous week, not persons who might have a second job with more limited hours).

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**Quality Assurance Process**

To ensure accuracy and methodological rigour, the authors engaged in the following quality assurance process:

- Internal/Departmental review
- Line management review
- Presentation of initial findings at IGEEES Annual Conference 2022 and at the NERI 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Labour Market Conference