Transitions to Retirement

Thomas Kruppe, Klaus Schömann & Heidi Oschmiansky

Introduction

Age structure plays a special role in the current discussion on social developments. Thus, the United Nations (UN) has declared 1999 to be the “International Year of Older Persons”; the World Health Organization (WHO) has launched the “Global Movement for Active Ageing”, and the “ageing workforce” will be the theme of Finland’s presidency of the European Union (EU) in the second half of this year. Within the context of our analyses of employment dynamics in the EU (cf. Schömann & Kruppe, 1996; Kruppe, Oschmiansky & Schömann, 1998), in this article we look at transitions to retirement and hope to contribute to the current debate by again putting the interpretation of dynamic flows at the forefront of our discussion. With respect to the underlying data – the European Labour Force Survey (LFS) – it is important to remember that only entries into retirement from dependent employment and unemployment, and not those from inactivity, can be examined. Nor is it possible on the basis of the available data to differentiate between different forms of retirement (e.g. early retirement or retirement for reasons of invalidity or old age). In some cases, the data available for the individual countries vary considerably. Thus, only the entries into retirement of persons aged 51 or older are considered. Moreover, the calculations refer only to dependent employees.

The discussion is polarised by conflicting basic theses. Whereas some people call for a substantial extension of the length of working life in order to combat rising pension contribution rates while maintaining prosperity in old age (cf., for example, OECD, 1998), others demand possibilities for older people to exit early from working life with a view to reducing open unemployment. The latter appeal is linked to the idea of offering young people better prospects for entering working life. This exchange was the aim, for example, of the introduction of partial retirement, an early retirement measure that allows full-time hours to be reduced with an insubstantial loss in income against the recruitment of an unemployed worker or trainee as a replacement (cf. inforMISEP “Policies” No. 55/1996 and No. 62/1998).

In recent years, the number of persons aged 65 or older in the EU has increased at a higher rate than the number of persons of working age. The “dependence ratio”, which is defined as the number of persons of “retireable age” relative to the number of persons of working age (15–64 years), increased from under 21% in 1980 to around 23% in 1995 (European Commission, 1996c). It is estimated that by the year 2005 the number of over-65s will amount to around 26% of the population of working age, and their share could even amount to almost 36% in the year 2025. This means that there will then be less than three people of working age to every person aged 65 or older (European Commission, 1996c).

However, what is more decisive as regards financing the pension systems is that the activity rate for older workers of both sexes aged between 55 and 64 has been declining for over two decades in all western industrialised countries (OECD, 1992, 1998; Guillermard, 1993). The inactivity rates for this age group have risen since 1983 in all EU countries, with the exception of Portugal (Auer, 1997). Thus, the increase in the number of pensioners in the EU since the beginning of the 1980s is less a consequence of demographic factors than of the fact that workers are exiting working life before standard retirement age (European Commission, 1996c).

The main explanation for the falling activity rates of older people is the increased use of opportunities for early retirement and disability pensions (Delsen, 1996). While the trend towards early exits from working life is visible in all western industrialised countries, its level varies considerably from country to country (European Commission, 1999). Public old-age pension schemes are hit in two ways by early entries into retirement: On the one hand, benefits are claimed for a longer duration and, on the other, fewer contributions are paid, or rather, contribution periods are shorter.

The OECD (1996a) forecasts that most of the EU Member States will be spending around 14% or more of their gross domestic product (GDP) on public pension schemes in 2030, assuming the current systems are maintained. According to the OECD, the countries with the biggest problems will be Italy, which will spend over 20%, and Germany and Finland, which will spend almost 17% and 18% of their GDP, respectively. At the moment, the GDP share amounts to under 11% in most EU countries, but – according to the forecast – only in the United Kingdom and in Ireland will the GDP share of public expenditure on pensions be under 10% in 2030. Although such long-term forecasts are tainted with considerable uncertainty, for example because of a possible increase in migration into the EU and the diffi-

2 Further information: Ageing and Health, 20 rue Appia, CH-1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland.
Table 1: Old-age pension systems in the EU (1995*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Regular age limit</th>
<th>Early retirement possible from age</th>
<th>Partial retirement possible from age</th>
<th>Required years of insurance for full pension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Between 60 and 65</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>men: 45, women: 40 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>over 50</td>
<td>between 60 and 65</td>
<td>40 years of residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>men: 65, women: 63</td>
<td>60 or 60 (in the new federal states, from age 55)</td>
<td>63 or 60 years of contributions not stipulated</td>
<td>35 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>men: 65, women: 60, 5 years earlier for physically strenuous work</td>
<td>60, 58; women: 55</td>
<td>35 years of contributions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>available from age 62</td>
<td>35 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56 years und 2 months (exception: 55)</td>
<td>37.5 years of contributions (raised to 40)</td>
<td>35 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>over 55</td>
<td>48 years of contributions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>men: 60; women: 55</td>
<td>in enterprises affected by the economic crisis: 5 years before regular retirement age (10 years in the steel sector)</td>
<td>will be made available</td>
<td>40 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>40 years of contributions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>collectively negotiated (from age 59)</td>
<td>partial retirement may also be collectively agreed: no data on age limits</td>
<td>50 years of residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>men: 65; women: 60</td>
<td>men: 60; women: 55</td>
<td>available: no data on age limits</td>
<td>40 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>men: 65; women: 63</td>
<td>60 (in certain cases 55)</td>
<td>between 55 and 65</td>
<td>40 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>63–65</td>
<td>60–64</td>
<td>40 years of residence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>61–64 (on the basis of illness or physical or mental disability)</td>
<td>between 61 and 64</td>
<td>depends on years of residence; no data available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>men: 65; women: 60</td>
<td>collectively negotiated</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>men: 44, women: 39 years of contributions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Relevant year for the interpretation of the available data.


In many of the Member States, individual welfare regulations, especially concerning retirement age and possibilities for early retirement, are presented in Table 1. While the statutory age limits for retirement are relatively similar in the various countries, the regulations on early retirement vary as regards the earliest possible entry into retirement. As a rule, entry into retirement is possible on the basis of illness, physically strenuous work, unemployment or payment of contributions over a long period. Even though the regulations have often been similar in the various Member States, they have been adapted to reflect differences in the Member States. The increase in entries into retirement, which has been observed in some cases substantially, may be traced back to low age limits for regular retirement and early retirement. In Italy, for example, employees of enterprises affected by the economic crisis can claim an early retirement pension five years in advance of regular retirement age (or even ten years in advance in the steel sector); but the 13 branch-level early retirement regulations, which were mostly enacted in the mid-1990s, usually for a limited period, have also contributed to the increase in entries into retirement.
composition of the economy in the various countries. That is, countries with larger primary and secondary sectors are inclined to have higher retirement rates because jobs have been shed in the EU especially in these sectors since the mid-1980s (cf. European Commission, 1996a). The study by Kohli et al. (1991) – although it deals only with early retirement rates – shows, however, that the sectoral differences between the countries do not correlate with the different early retirement rates. Thus, for example, the Netherlands and Germany have different sectoral structures, but similar early retirement rates.

The structure of entries into retirement: entries from unemployment and dependent employment

What was the employment status of older workers before they entered retirement? Because of the limitations of the data, here we can only weight entries into retirement from unemployment against entries from dependent employment. Figure 2 illustrates this relationship on the basis of the share of entries into retirement from unemployment. The sum of this share with the share of entries into retirement from dependent employment is 100%.

In the EU as a whole, only a good 7% of the older employees who entered retirement in 1985 came from unemployment and from dependent employment. What was the employment status of older workers before they entered retirement? Because of the limitations of the data, here we can only weight entries into retirement from unemployment against entries from dependent employment. Figure 2 illustrates this relationship on the basis of the share of entries into retirement from unemployment. The sum of this share with the share of entries into retirement from dependent employment is 100%. In the EU as a whole, only a good 7% of the older employees who entered retirement in 1985 came from
unemployment, and the share of entries from unemployment was between 1% and 7% in 1985 in most EU countries. However, there have been large-scale entries into retirement from unemployment since 1985 in France (almost 11%) and especially in Germany (a good 25%). Ten years later, the share of entries into retirement from unemployment had increased in almost all countries: the EU average was almost 13% in 1995. Denmark (almost 25 percentage points), Portugal and Germany (almost 12 and 10 percentage points, respectively) had particularly high increases. Only in France was there a significant decline in the rate of entry into retirement from unemployment compared to 1985 (7 percentage points). The high rate of increase in Denmark could have been influenced by the abolition in 1994 of the early retirement ruling for persons aged between 50 and 59 – with more people taking advantage of the opportunity before it actually expired (Bundesarbeitsblatt, 1996). Only in France did entries into retirement from unemployment decline by almost three quarters between 1985 and 1995. However, this trend cannot be traced back to the 1994 pension reform which increased the age limit for early retirement and early retirement benefits from 50 or 55 to 57 (Hardes, 1995): entries into retirement from unemployment have been falling in France since 1992. Entries from unemployment increased in Ireland and Italy between 1985 and 1995, though less sharply than entries from employment.1 The number of entries into retirement from dependent employment also rose in almost all countries, if less dramatically, falling only in Portugal and Belgium by around a fifth between 1985 and 1995. No direct link can be made between the trend for entries into retirement from unemployment and the development of the unemployment rate for older people, as illustrated in Figure 3.

While between 1985 and 1994 the number of unemployed older persons increased as a share of the labour force of this age group in most countries, and entries into retirement also increased, the unemployment rate for older people in Ireland, Belgium and Germany was lower in 1994 than in 1985. However, in these countries, entries into retirement from unemployment increased between 1985 and 1995 by between almost 3 and 5 percentage points. By contrast, in France, for example, entries into retirement from unemployment decreased by 5%, while the unemployment rate for older persons increased. In Denmark and Portugal, the unemployment rates increased between 1985 and 1994, while entries into retirement from unemployment increased at an above-average rate.

Entries into retirement from dependent employment by age group

Looking at entries into retirement by age group, we can draw conclusions about a rising or falling trend for early retirement in the EU (cf. Figures 4.1 and 4.2).1

Although the lowest age limit for entry into regular retirement was 60 in both 1985 and 1995 (with the exception of Italy), 56–60 year-olds accounted for the largest share of entries into retirement from dependent employment in six EU countries. If we include the 51–55 year-olds, we see that in five countries in 1985, and in no less than nine countries in 1995, over half of the people entering retirement from dependent employment were aged between 51 and 60. Most remarkable are the rates of increase compared to 1985 in the Netherlands (around 33%) and Portugal (22%).

While the share of 51–60 year-olds entering retirement from dependent employment was higher in most countries in 1995 than in 1985, it was almost 10 percentage points lower in the United Kingdom and in Germany. Summarising, we can classify the countries in three groups as regards entries into retirement from dependent employment:

1. Countries with a high share of “early” entries into retirement (at least half of the age group investigated entered retirement in 1985 or 1995 were aged between 51 and 60): Belgium, Germany, France, Italy and Luxembourg.

2. Countries with a comparatively high share of “late” entries into retirement (at least 15% of the group aged 51 or older entered at the age of 66 or older in 1985 and 1995): Greece, Ireland, Portugal and (to an extent) Spain.

3. Countries in which there were substantial changes in the age structure of entries into retirement in 1985 and 1995: Denmark, the

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1 Because the increase in entries into retirement from dependent employment was higher in Ireland and Italy than the increase in entries from unemployment, Figure 3 shows a slightly declining trend for entries into retirement from unemployment for these two countries.

2 However, it must be noted that the distribution of age groups only considers persons aged 51 or older. Persons from younger age groups have also entered retirement, but in insignificant numbers. Thus, the figures presented here for the older age groups (over 51s) as a share of all entries are in reality lower.
Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Thus, the data show a trend towards "early" retirement for entries into retirement from dependent employment.

Table 3 shows the various age groups as a share of entries into retirement from dependent employment in the EU. In absolute figures, the 56–60 year-olds had the highest growth between 1985 and 1995. While, in absolute figures, 61–65 year-olds were the largest age group for entries into retirement from dependent employment in 1985, 56–60 year-olds were the largest group in 1995. Moreover, the share of 51–55 year-olds increased slightly between 1985 and 1995 in the EU as a whole compared to the other age groups.

However, the share of entries by persons aged 66 or older also increased over 3 percentage points between 1985 and 1995 compared to the other age groups. In absolute figures, this group – like the group of 51–55 year-olds - increased between 1985 and 1995 by almost 90,000 persons.

Overall, entries into retirement from dependent employment by persons aged 51 or older increased by 34% throughout the EU between 1985 and 1995. What are notable here are the rates of change for the over-66s and the 51–55 year-olds, which increased by almost 70 and a good 60% respectively. Thus, we see a trend towards greater age differentiation as regards entries into retirement from dependent employment.

This view is supported by the sharp decline between 1985 and 1995 in the share of the age group of regular retirement age (61–65) compared to the other age groups.

Entries into retirement from unemployment by age group

Looking at the entries into retirement from unemployment by age group, as presented in Figures 4.3 and 4.4, we see that there is really no age group that accounts for a majority of the entries. While 56–60 year-olds accounted for the largest share of entries in five of eleven countries in 1985, in four countries it was the 61–65 year-olds who were the most significant group in quantitative terms.

Nonetheless, the high share of entries by persons aged 66 or older is notable. In five countries in 1985 (Ireland, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain and Greece), every fifth person entering retirement from the age group observed here was aged 66 or older, while well over half the retirees were aged 66 or older in Ireland and Italy (nearly 69 and 54%, respectively). Ten years later, there were again five countries (Ireland, Italy, Greece, Portugal and...
Germany) with a high share of persons aged 66 or older entering retirement from unemployment: more than a third were from this age group. The share of 51-55 year-olds increased up to 1995 in most EU countries, especially in Denmark (to 30%) and Italy (to 20%). By contrast, the share of this age group declined in Ireland, Belgium, Spain and especially in Portugal (by over 10 percentage points).

Summarising, we can again classify the countries in three groups, using “early” entries into retirement and “younger” age groups, i.e. 51-60 year-olds, as the criterion for all three groups:

1. Countries in which “younger” age groups did not account for a higher share of entries into retirement from unemployment in either 1985 or 1995 (i.e. these groups accounted for a maximum share of around 30%): the United Kingdom and Ireland. Italy is also closest to this group.

2. Countries in which the “younger” age groups accounted for a very high share of entries into retirement from unemployment in both 1985 and 1995: France and Denmark.

3. Countries in which the share of “younger” age groups entering retirement from unemployment declined sharply, i.e. by at least 15 percentage points: Greece, Portugal, Spain, Germany and Belgium (although Belgium could almost be classified in the second group).

Thus, we see that for entries into retirement from unemployment – similar to entries into retirement from dependent employment – the differentiation by age group increased in EU countries between 1985 and 1995. As we can see in Table 4, the absolute numbers of 51-55 year-olds and over-66s entering retirement from unemployment increased substantially between 1985 and 1995. However, the rate of change for the 51-55 year-olds is much more marked: the number from this group more than trebled between 1985 and 1995, against almost double the number of persons aged 66 or older.

Summarising, we can note two points here. First, there was greater differentiation in the age of entry into retirement from unemployment and dependent employment throughout the EU between 1985 and 1995. The 51-55 year-olds and the over-66s had the highest growth rates. Second, it is notable that entries into retirement from dependent employment increased by around 34% for the EU as a whole between 1985 and 1995, while entries into retirement from unemployment only increased by a good 20%.

An important question – although it goes beyond the scope of this analysis – is whether the trend towards greater age differentiation in entries into retirement could be linked to an increase in social inequality. Research on the possible reasons for late entry into retirement (at age 66 or older) could provide answers. A significant number of these entries might be due low income prospects.

Entries into retirement by gender
Table: Entries into retirement from unemployment by age group, 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60-65</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-65</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-70</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: European Labour Force Survey; authors' calculations.

Figure 5 compares entries into retirement in 1985 and 1994 from dependent employment and unemployment for women as a percentage of the female labour force aged 51 or older to male entries into retirement.

In almost all the countries examined here – with the exception of Germany, the United Kingdom, Greece and Italy – the retirement age for women was lower in 1985 and 1994 than that of men. In most countries, male and female entries into retirement developed relatively uniformly between 1985 and 1995, i.e. they increased. There were different trends only in Ireland, the United Kingdom, Germany and Portugal: female entries increased in the first two countries, while male entries declined slightly. The trend was the opposite in the latter two countries.

A substantial difference between 1985 and 1994 for female entries into retirement can be seen in Portugal, Greece and Italy. Entries into retirement increased by 7 and almost 9 percentage points respectively in the latter two countries, while in Greece, female entries into retirement increased at a higher rate than those of men. In Portugal, by contrast, over 5% less women entered retirement. This development in Portugal was probably due only to a relatively small extent, however, to the gradual increase in the retirement age for women since 1994 (from 62 to 65): the retirement rate has been falling since 1991.

A comparison of the activity rates of older women and men in the EU shows that women exit working life earlier, regardless of the statutory retirement age (cf. Table 5).

The share of employed women in the age groups under 60 increased between 1985 and 1994, whereas the activity rate for men decreased in the same period in all age groups. However, only a good 37% of women aged 55-59 were in employment in 1994, while the share for men was still almost 70%. Nonetheless, overall it is possible to see a cohort-specific trend towards a narrower differential for male and female activity rates, which is more marked for the younger age groups.

These findings, which appear to be contradictory at first glance – average low rates of entry into retirement alongside low activity rates for older women – can be explained by the fact that not all women exiting working life immediately enter retirement, rather many become inactive first (OECD, 1995). Moreover, many
women transfer into inactivity and remain there, because more often than men they do not (or are unable to) accumulate pension entitlements. Because women are much more likely to (have to) look after children or relatives in need of care, they more often interrupt their careers and accept atypical forms of employment. Thus, women more frequently work part time and on average earn less than men (cf. Schömann & Kruppe, 1993; European Commission, 1997; Schömann, Rogowski & Kruppe, 1998). This is why women have greater difficulty fulfilling the conditions for receipt of a full pension; or they must be employed for longer to receive a pension of a similar rate to that drawn by men. In countries with statutory pension insurance which is primarily financed from employer and employee contributions, periods of part-time employment and missing years of contributions reduce future income from a pension. In the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland and Sweden, by contrast, all citizens – regardless of their occupation – are paid a basic pension. This pension is, however, very small, and the supplementary pensions which exist in all four countries are again income-based (cf. European Commission, 1996c).

Reform of the old-age pension systems in the EU
While early retirement was actively promoted in many EU Member States during the early 1980s (cf. Casey, 1996), policy-makers have been turning away from this course since the beginning of the 1990s. In most countries, priority is now being shifted to reducing expenditure on pensions (cf. European Commission 1996c). The most important measures since the beginning of the 1990s – whether planned or already implemented – can be summarised as follows (cf. European Commission, 1996b, 1996c; Reday-Mulvey, 1997):

- higher statutory retirement age (Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Finland and the United Kingdom);
- introduction of a flexible retirement age (Italy, Spain and Sweden);
- longer contribution periods for a full pension (France and Portugal);
- restrictions on pension rates (Denmark, the Netherlands and Finland);
- restrictions on possibilities for early retirement (Germany, France, the Netherlands and Austria);
- introduction or modification of partial retirement models as possibilities for early retirement (Belgium, Denmark, Germany and Austria).

Many of the reforms aim to extend life working time. However, the actual effect of higher retirement ages on the length of working life can also be viewed sceptically. Even financial incentives, which are intended to postpone claims for statutory pensions, have only worked to an extent in the past. Early entry into retirement was then financed using private savings, private pension plans or company pensions. Thus, the probable result of higher retirement ages will be further

Table 4: Entries into retirement from unemployment in the EU by age group, 1985 and 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>1985</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>Rate of change¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aged 51-55</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 56-60</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 61+</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Not including S, L, A and D.
² I: 1983; B: 1986; E: 1987; P: 1988; not including FIN.
³ GR: 1994; not including NL.
⁴ Standardised rate of change: 1995 (1,000s) - 1985 (1,000s) - 1.
⁵ Notes: In view of the special circumstances following German unification and in order to avoid possible distortions of an EU-wide trend, data from Germany were not included in this table.
⁶ Sources: European Labour Force Survey; authors' calculations.

Figure 5: Entries into retirement from dependent employment and unemployment by gender (aged 51 or older), 1985 and 1994

Note: Figure based on female entries into retirement; data refer to 1994.

Sources: European Labour Force Survey; authors' calculations.
privatisation of retirement, i.e. the costs would be shifted from the state to the individual, and not everybody is equally able to afford to choose freely between work and retirement. In addition, raising the statutory retirement age will only result in later entry into retirement if there are also sufficient jobs for older people. The precondition for this is that enterprises are willing to further qualify older workers instead of replacing them by younger, already qualified workers. This current trend can be reversed if enterprises have an economic interest in continuing to employ older workers. Special further training measures (as, for example, in France) and health schemes for older workers (as, for instance, in Finland and Sweden) can contribute to maintaining and improving productivity.\textsuperscript{10} In Austria, enterprises have been obliged since 1994 to notify dismissals of more than five older workers. The federal employment office then tries to avoid the dismissals, for example through the provision of in-company training or arrangements for short-time working (cf. BIR Austria).\textsuperscript{11}

The employment guidelines for 1999 (cf. introductory article in this issue) also call, in Guideline No. 4, for the development of measures that maintain the ability of older employees to work and that provide them with lifelong learning, flexible forms of work and possibilities for active participation in working life. These aims are to be given unlimited support. At the same time, however, such participation is not to be denied to young people. Thus, a link between voluntary early exits from working life including financial compensation and replacement and recruitment has a positive effect not only from a labour market, but also from a social policy point of view. However, the most important strategy – also with a view to relieving the public pension schemes – remains the struggle, on principle, against mass unemployment, because only a high employment rate for persons of working age will guarantee the necessary transfer of income in the future too.

\textbf{Selected literature}


BIR (Basic Information Report), all Member States. Published by I.A.S., Berlin on behalf of the European Commission.


\textsuperscript{10} In addition, a bonus-malus system has been introduced in Austria by virtue of the Labour Market Policy Act 1996 and the Structural Adjustment Act, which offers firms cost advantages for recruitments that improve discourage the dismissal of persons aged over 50 (cf. inforMISEP: "Policies" No. 55/1996, p. 9).

\textbf{Table 5: Activity rates of women and men in the EU (in %)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aged 25–49</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>93.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 50–54</td>
<td>90.4</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 55–59</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 60–64</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 65–69</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 70 or older</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employment Policies in Focus
Labour Markets and Labour Market Policy in Europe and Beyond - International Experiences

Edited by Peter Auer

This book consists of a collection of "Focus" articles that originally appeared in the quarterly "Policies" during the years 1994 to 1997. Under the general topic of employment policies, contributions are thematically grouped together under one of the following subjects: "country reviews", "new forms of employment", "implementation and monitoring of labour market policies", and "labour force participation, inactivity and labour market dynamics". This is a one-time publication brought out in 1998, available in English and French (bound together in one volume).

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