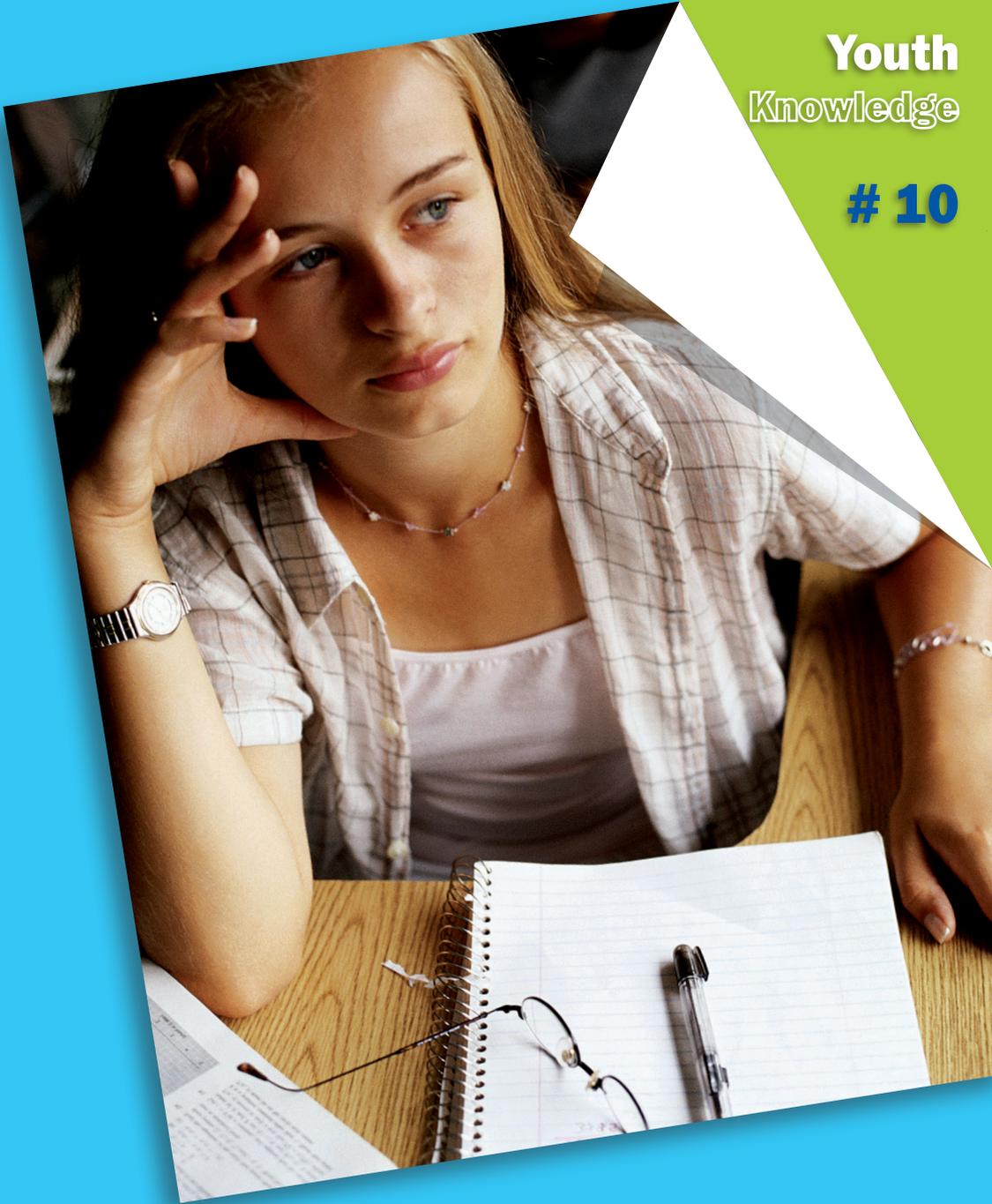


**Youth
Knowledge**

10



Youth employment and the future of work

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Partnership between the European Commission
and the Council of Europe in the field of Youth

Youth employment and the future of work

edited by Jonathan Evans and Wei Shen

Council of Europe Publishing

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Preface

Despite differing circumstances, young people in Europe are facing a number of common problems and challenges within their respective societies. The issue of (un)employment of young people remains one of the crucial challenges for youth policy in general. At the same time it is one of the most closely monitored aspects of the situation of young people. Available data indicate that young people in nearly all European countries go through a prolonged transition period between leaving the education system and entering the labour market, and that this entry is often problematic. The school-to-work transition of young people is extended and punctuated by frequent spells of unemployment, precarious jobs, attempts to start a business and/or find work abroad and combining education with paid work of some kind. Rates of unemployment among young people are very high. Large numbers of jobless young people are discouraged, are no longer seeking employment and are not even included in unemployment statistics. The widespread phenomenon of unregistered work in the grey economy with no written contracts, social or other benefits or security remains one of the main challenges in some European countries. Disadvantaged groups, such as young people with little education, young women, disabled youth and minority youth like the Roma are disproportionately affected.

Against this background, the European Commission and the Council of Europe, in the framework of their partnership in the field of youth, organised a research seminar in May 2007 on “youth employment and the future of work”. It took place at the European Youth Centre in Strasbourg, France, bringing together participants from all over Europe and beyond to discuss and exchange their views on youth employment. It was the ninth in the series of research seminars aimed at achieving a better understanding of youth issues, each focusing on a key topic of European youth policy.

One of the aims of the seminar was to reveal the main problems young people face in the area of employment and the search for opportunities. It also sought to contribute to the political debate and the development of an effective policy for managing and improving the employment and employability of young people.

A wide range of perspectives and backgrounds were represented in the seminar, cutting across borderlines in academic disciplines, professional fields and geography. Contributions from a political perspective were provided by the Council of Europe and the European Commission, regarding their respective policies on the seminar theme, its place on the current political agenda and the issue of governance in respect of youth employment across Europe.

The first thematic workshop was on education-to-work transitions and European labour mobility, followed by a session entitled “Youth Employment – Policy and Practice”. The third workshop discussed the issue of gender, family and work. The session was concluded with a keynote address from Professor Janine Goetschy of the Universities of Nanterre and Brussels. She provided a comprehensive assessment of both the Lisbon Strategy and the Open Method of Co-ordination and considered their implications for European Union youth and employment policies. The theme of locality, identity and inclusion was the focus of the final thematic session. There tends to be less research concerning low-income jobs than in respect of well-paid and highly skilled occupations. The effects of social exclusion, poverty and precarious, poorly paid work on young people’s long-term social prospects were vividly described. The issues of discrimination and equal opportunities were at the centre of the discussions.

The research seminar was convened by Jonathan Evans, University of Glamorgan (Wales) and Wei Shen, Loughborough University (England), supported by Marta Mędlińska, research officer in the secretariat of the European Commission–Council of Europe youth partnership. The various sessions were chaired by Mr Evans, Mr Shen, Ms Mędlińska and Andreas Walther from the University of Tübingen and IRIS Tübingen (Germany).

Since the seminar, the conditions of youth employment have worsened due in particular to the deteriorated economic situation and the financial and economic crisis. Unemployment rates in general have increased significantly (Eurostat has indicated a steady increase in the rates of unemployment in the EU27 for the last year), but the group that suffered most were young people. According to Eurostat, youth unemployment rates (under 25), which are usually twice as high as total unemployment rates, increased in the EU27 from 18.4% to 20.6% between February 2009 and February 2010. Fourteen member states have seen a rise in youth unemployment of more than 40%. Ten of these countries are the new EU member states (the exceptions being Romania and Malta). Their situation is just as bleak as in most other European countries.

These trends give youth employment issues an even more prominent place in European youth policy. They are explicitly addressed in key political documents, in particular the Declaration adopted at the 8th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for Youth, “The future of the Council of Europe youth policy: Agenda 2020”, in October 2008; the “Council Resolution on a renewed framework for European cooperation in the youth field 2010-2018” of the European Union; and the “EU 2020” new economic strategy with the “Youth on the Move” flagship initiative. These strategies are being debated and implemented across Europe. Many related and independent, national and local initiatives aimed at combating unemployment and “poor employment” among youth are under way.

By documenting the inputs of participants during the seminar, we hope to contribute to the debate on youth employment and social inclusion of young people, and especially to what is called evidence-based policy making and youth work practice.

Hanjo Schild
Manager of the European Commission–Council of Europe youth partnership

Marta Mędlińska
Research and policy officer

Key themes in youth employment and the future of work

Jonathan Evans

Young people's participation in the labour market has traditionally been regarded as a positive indicator of their longer-term employment prospects, and work helps them successfully make the related social transitions to independent living. However, it has long been recognised that for many young people the route from formal education to the labour market is far from straightforward: it now tends to be delayed, protracted, complicated and – in some cases – fractured. Some young people, meanwhile, yo-yo between temporary jobs and periods of unemployment. Some groups of young people are particularly disadvantaged in these increasingly risk-filled journeys. The old fault lines of social disadvantage class, gender and ethnicity are often discernible in young people's unequal access to social capital (Bourdieu 1983; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

Education is often represented as the best hope for those young people seeking to break out of the seemingly deterministic cycles of social reproduction that transmit economic inequalities across the generations. While an overt commitment to equal opportunities in education is almost *de rigueur* in most European countries, young people from working-class backgrounds and certain minority ethnic communities often continue to

under-achieve and truant. In some cases they are formally excluded from school on the grounds of their behaviour, often a symptom of deeper emotional disengagement from the education system. Against this background it is essential that we continue to inspect the social processes and mechanisms that lead to social exclusion.

On a more positive note, Williamson – in his analysis of international reviews of national youth policies (2002, 2006) – detects a gradual shift from authoritarianism towards a more democratic ethos in schools, colleges and universities across Europe. This is reflected in curriculum content, style of teaching and learning delivery (from didactic to less formal approaches), and the growth of student self-management – witnessed, for example, in the rise of school councils. The growing popularity of pedagogical practices borrowed from non-formal education is particularly worthy of note. “Soft skills” like team building are directly transferable to enterprises where project management is at the heart of the workplace ethos. There remains, however, the perennial challenge of aligning the education system with the needs of the economy without – at the same time – enslaving schools and higher education institutions to market forces. Although it is important that young people can secure work that matches their qualifications and skills, it is also vital that self-fulfilment and self-expression are not neglected.

It is widely acknowledged that young people are particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in economic trends. The subject of youth employment has received especially close attention because of its correlation with social exclusion and the destabilising effect this can have on society at large. There have been diverse policy responses across Europe to this common concern with youth unemployment (Furlong and McNeish 2000; Furlong and Cartmel 2007: 42; Hantrais 2000: 41-65): initiatives based on guarantees of employment, education or training; incentives and subsidies offered to companies employing young people; relaxation of minimum wage requirements and other conditions of employment; programmes of socially useful work; the extension of vocational education; extended provision of apprenticeships and pre-vocational education; and various internships and apprenticeships. In some cases youth activation programmes have been accompanied by a move away from automatic entitlement to social protection benefits. Income is then typically available to young people only as a condition of their participation in such schemes. The rise of “workfare”, “learnfare” and “trainfare” programmes in some countries perhaps reflects a trend towards linking rights with responsibilities (Etzioni 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000; Giddens 1998).

→ Flexibility

Youth-targeted employment policies tend to combine demand-side and supply-side approaches, but it is also important to recognise that traditional notions of work have been challenged and continue to be the subject of contested re-conceptualisations. The old assumptions of job security and planned careers have been disrupted by the profound economic and social changes of recent decades. Some of the social responses to the logic of these new times reflect the deep unease and alienation experienced by those most directly affected. This was demonstrated vividly in spring 2006 when there were massive protests and public discussions related to the new, flexible youth employment contracts in France. To a great extent the old beliefs and orthodoxies concerning the labour market have been replaced by such concepts as “lifelong learning”, “re-skilling” and “flexibility”. Flexibilities can be required in many key areas: skills; attitudes; time/working hours; conditions of employment; work–life balance; and commitments to domestic labour and caring – an area in which the renegotiation of traditional gender roles is a critical issue.

There has been a great deal of political rhetoric about preparing, equipping and “skilling-up” young people for the knowledge-based economy, but globalisation has produced winners and losers. Just as in education, traditional patterns of disadvantage are very often reproduced in new social and economic circumstances. Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds become trapped in the labour market periphery, where new forms of flexible working have reduced job security. It could be argued that there is a new labour force division between a skill-flexible core and a time-flexible periphery.

The *OECD Employment Outlook Report* (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007) shows a rise in wage inequality taking place in most OECD countries, with the notable exceptions of Spain and Ireland. It recognises that there is widespread public concern about jobs and pay levels in a world being rapidly transformed by technology, better communications and cheap transport. At the same time there are anxieties in the richer Western countries about the rise of China, Russia, India and Brazil with their vast pools of cheap labour. That said, the report advises against overly protectionist responses. Indeed, it is argued, employment policies need to be adapted to assist people to move from one job to another with a greater sense of security. It singles out Denmark and Austria as countries that have good policies to assist workers adapt to occupational change over the life course. The idea of protecting people rather than jobs needs to be promoted more widely. In many ways the report echoes the interesting discourse of “flexicurity” that is currently so much in vogue within European and social policy circles (Boyer, 2004, 2006a, 2006b).

Flexibility takes many forms, of course. The concept of “sliced life” (Lauritzen, cited in Williamson 2006) – the need to simultaneously learn, earn and live – has also been identified as a particularly vital issue in the case of young people (Williamson 2006: 14-15). As has been mentioned previously, young people are spending longer in formal education before entering the labour market and, as a result, are often involved in part-time employment in order to finance their studies. While all these flexibilities are subject to ongoing negotiation, it is nevertheless important to acknowledge that most young people are likely to find themselves in comparatively weak negotiating positions in these labour market transactions. The issue of youth empowerment, agency and participation are therefore central to any discussion of youth employment policy and the future of work. Young people should not be treated as the passive objects of policy concern. Rather, they should be reconstructed as active agents in working out solutions to social problems such as youth unemployment.

A young, flexible and mobile workforce that is prepared to move for work to the economic hotspots also creates challenges. The young people face issues of securing decent, affordable accommodation and gaining access to health and social care. Young migrant workers may also face discrimination from the host community in their new country of residence. Their country of origin often faces the question of who will support the ageing population back home. Youth mobility and inter-generational solidarity are two sides of the same coin.

→ The European context

European political and social policies should be noted briefly. *The White Paper – A New Impetus for European Youth* (2001) and the *European Youth Pact* (2005) are key documents in the European Union and, arguably, influence thinking beyond its member states. Young people are an integral part of the ambitious Lisbon Strategy. The

European Commission (2005a) clearly recognises that this strategy depends on “the support of young people to succeed”. The communication to the Spring European Council (European Commission 2005b) expressed the view that “young people should be targeted within the framework of certain key areas such as employment, the conciliation of family and professional life, investment in human capital and research and development.” The Commission (2005b) says that the strategy must “ensure that the reforms proposed help to give young people a first chance in life and equip them with the skills needed throughout their lives”.

It is also important to acknowledge that the Council of Europe’s programme of international reviews of national youth policy represents a significant body of work in the analysis of youth employment and the related fields of education and training (Williamson 2002; 2006). Moreover, these fields are addressed by the Treaty of the Council of Europe and the European Social Charter (1961, 1996), which guarantee fundamental social and economic rights for all citizens. These substantial and politically influential documents represent important reference points that go well beyond the borders of the European Union.

Despite their significance, however, it is not implied that such documents should be accepted uncritically. Although it is important to engage with contemporary political realities, it is equally vital to challenge intellectual orthodoxies and explore new ground in a domain of social policy that is crucial to both young people and those of us who will be relying on them as we grow older.

→ Background to this book

In May 2007 a research seminar on the subject of youth employment and the future of work was held at the European Youth Centre in Strasbourg. The event was organised under the aegis of the Partnership between the Council of the Europe and the European Commission in the Field of Youth. This book is based on a selection of the papers presented at the seminar. Although this was a research-orientated event, the organisers also invited participants with policy and practice backgrounds; they felt this would facilitate a fruitful dialogue with scholars in the field. The original Call for Papers attracted responses from a broad range of research and policy interests. It should be noted with regret, however, that the call failed to attract responses in some significant research areas (economics, for example).

The Seminar Team made efforts to address some of the lacunae in the programme by inviting distinguished speakers to cover some issues not covered by those presenting papers. This strategy met with notable success in some areas, but regrettably it was not possible to secure the presence of expert speakers in all the desired fields. Consequently, the research seminar programme inevitably had a somewhat eclectic feel. Nevertheless, the view of the Seminar Team was that those who had submitted the strongest abstracts should be selected for participation. In the last analysis, the guiding principle of quality was applied. Thus, the selection of a diverse, interesting and robust set of papers was favoured at the expense of achieving a spurious balance. Given that the publication of a book based on the seminar papers was one of the principal aims of holding the event, the guiding principle of quality was quite properly paramount. It is to be hoped that the final quality of this edited book will justify the decisions taken by the Seminar Team.

The programme was designed on the basis of the papers selected, rather than a pre-ordained set of named themes and subject titles. This was, as previously argued, the right decision in the circumstances. It did, however, present the team with the

problem of how best to group the papers for panel sessions. While some of the papers complemented one another very well, others proved more resistant to fitting into the panel session to which they had been ascribed. This did not prove to be an insurmountable problem, however. Indeed, as the seminar programme unfolded it was possible to detect hitherto unseen connections between papers – sometimes in different panel sessions. Likewise, the chapters in this book – while diverse in content and focus – are linked by common themes that transcend ostensibly different topics.

→ Structure of this book

Notwithstanding the above comments about the difficulty of fitting the original papers into themes for the seminar, this book is structured loosely around four themes. The writer hopes that the editorial rationale will appear valid. However, as will become apparent, the headings under which the ten contributions are arranged belie other themes that unite all the chapters.

Part 1 deals with migration and mobility in the education-to-work transition; Part 2 addresses government responses, with youth activation programmes foregrounded in two accounts; Part 3 documents and analyses young people's experience of economic marginalisation and discrimination; and Part 4 concludes the book with the themes of participation and empowerment in the related fields of research and policy formation.

Mobility and migration

Dr Katariina Koskinen of the University of Turku, Finland, contributes a chapter on "Labour-market success of young European graduates". Permanent contracts, well-paid positions and a reasonable correspondence between education and employment are certainly not inevitable outcomes for European graduates in the 21st century. Koskinen analyses factors that appear to help graduates succeed in the European labour market. By utilising logistic regression analysis, she compares three European countries to explain which factors are characteristic to each region in providing graduates with substantial labour-market success. The results suggest that country of origin is the most crucial factor in defining graduates' labour market success. Demographic factors, gender, field of study and reputation of the *alma mater* are also part of the equation. However, it should also be noted that social class background and the level of education attained by the parents of young graduates are very powerful predictors of labour market destinations. Thus, for some young people a university education represents a sound investment; for others it could be construed as an expensive waste of time and resources. The author argues that, despite the expansion in higher education, well-established social inequalities continue to be reproduced.

Dr David Cairns of the University of Lisbon in Portugal is the author of a chapter entitled "Fight or flight? Employment uncertainty and geographical mobility among youth in Portugal and Northern Ireland". He argues that young people in Europe live within a context of increasing uncertainty and fragmentation in respect of their education-to-work transitions. Within their biographies we can observe the educational and occupational choices they make in response to their circumstances. Thus, for example, their "plans" for the future must accommodate increasingly flexible and insecure working conditions. Cairns explores the impact of perceived uncertainty in imagined future careers among young people in two different parts of Europe: Northern Ireland and Portugal. On the basis of recent empirical research, we can

identify trends in employment and mobility. The author explores the relationship between fear of unemployment and future life plans. Cairns notes that a number of studies illustrate various responses to such uncertainty: “fight” responses typically involve prolonged residence in the parental home while “flight” responses include recourse to geographical mobility in educational and occupational trajectories. The evidence presented would suggest that young people from Northern Ireland are more likely to prefer geographical mobility, whereas those from Portugal generally choose to remain in the parental home. Part of the explanation for these findings lies in the relative strengths of family relationships in these different societies, along with the culturally specific norms that support these contrasting responses to unemployment.

Government responses

Professor Abdelfattah Ezzine, of the Academic Institute of Scientific Research at the University of Mohamed V, Soussi in Rabat, Morocco, writes here on “Young people and the employment market in Morocco”. Given the historical, cultural and economic links between Morocco and France, his analysis provides insights into both North Africa and Europe. He focuses on the concerted efforts of the Moroccan Government to tackle youth unemployment since the later 1990s. This has involved major reform of the education and training system. Consideration is also given to the skills exodus: the cruel paradox of producing well-educated and highly trained young people who may ultimately move to Europe. As Professor Ezzine observes, it is the South that so often finances the North by providing low-cost skilled labour.

Dr Anna Musiala, from the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań in Poland, contributes a chapter on “Youth employment – the Polish perspective”. The rate of youth unemployment is much higher than that of adults in many countries of the world. Young people are also much more likely to be employed under temporary contracts. In the European Union about one third of young people are working in such circumstances, compared with 11% of adults. Trends in the youth labour market tend to reflect changes in the adult labour market, though the effects of any shifts are often magnified. The decline in skilled jobs in manufacturing, together with increased demand for professional specialists and unskilled labour in the burgeoning service industries, has hollowed out the youth labour market. New opportunities tend to cluster at the top and bottom of the labour market: in professional and advanced technical sectors and in the low-tier service industries. Increasing numbers of young people are finding work in the informal economy, where jobs are characterised by insecurity, poor wages and bad working conditions. In Poland, where youth unemployment is about three times higher than the overall national average, the government introduced a vocational activation programme called First Job. This has five strands: small and medium-sized enterprises; self-employment; education; voluntary work; and information, vocational counselling and labour market/employment services. The author evaluates the strengths and limitations of this programme. The chapter highlights the tension between facilitating young people’s participation in the economy and the need to regulate the labour market to protect them from exploitation.

Whereas Musiala’s chapter focuses on the response of government, Dr Heike Behle from the University of Warwick in England concentrates on the response of young people to being placed on an active labour market programme. The mental health of young people in the school-to-work transition is under-researched, and her chapter, “The impact of active labour-market programmes on young people’s mental health:

possibilities and limitations”, presents her study of changes in the mental health of participants in the German active labour market programme known as JUMP. In this evaluation of JUMP, using the disciplines of sociology and psychology, the author reports that the impact of active labour market programmes on the mental health of its participants is constrained by the realities of the labour market at a given point in time. Expectations about future labour market opportunities are found to have the strongest impact on mental health. Perceived future prospects have a major stabilising influence on the mental health of young people, especially in a labour market where jobs are scarce. This indicates that changes in mental health are closely related to the levels of uncertainty faced by young people with problems in the school-to-work transition, but programme participation can lead to a discernible improvement in mental health.

The example of West Germany shows that, in a labour market where job entry is problematic for those with a low level of qualifications, programmes can increase the level of qualification and build up work experience and connections with potential employers. Programme participation can lead to securing a job and better future prospects which, again, can lead to improved mental health. The vicious circle of unemployment can therefore be broken by such programmes. These research findings give some support to current German and European Union policies that offer young people the opportunity of participating in such programmes.

The East German example presents a less clear picture. Young people are denied entry to the labour market because there are insufficient apprenticeship places and training positions. Programme participation in this context does not seem to significantly improve mental health; though it could be argued that it might otherwise have deteriorated. This remains untested, of course. Active labour market programmes in a dense labour market may not improve young people’s job prospects, though improving mental health – or maintaining it at a reasonable level of functionality – seems to improve their employability. The distinction between employability and actual employment remains an important one, however.

Marginalisation

Dr Tracy Shildrick of the University of Teesside in England – under the chapter title “Poor work and social exclusion, local and global: marginalised youth transitions” – argues that the rapidly changing demands of the global economy have brought new opportunities, but many would say that the importance of locality has declined as people are compelled to become more global and cosmopolitan in their outlook. Economic restructuring and rapid de-industrialisation have, at the same time, served to entrench and widen structural inequalities, perhaps most starkly in nation-states like the United Kingdom.

The chapter draws on the findings of qualitative research projects with young adults in the north-east of England and highlights some of the contradictions that blight young people’s lives as they negotiate the transition to adulthood in a de-industrialised labour market. Despite growing up in poor neighbourhoods, the interviewees could not be described as economically excluded. While all had experienced unemployment, the majority had substantial experience of employment. They were not, as is often depicted, part of a disconnected “can work, won’t work” underclass. These young people worked, but for the most part these jobs were insecure and offered few decent training opportunities. Interviews were replete with instances of exploitative and punitive employers. Globalisation produces an increased demand for highly skilled workers, but it is the corresponding expansion

of insecure, non-progressive work for which many young people are destined. While a strong commitment to the work ethic prevailed, perversely it only served to propel them through a succession of poor jobs and ultimately, in some cases, to exacerbate their experiences of poverty and social exclusion.

It is argued that, in places like Teesside, the widespread collapse of heavy industry and the accompanying restructuring of labour market opportunities has resulted in the virtual disappearance of traditional working-class routes to employment and social mobility. For the young people in these studies, there were few opportunities to secure the sort of respectable working-class jobs undertaken by many of their parents and grandparents. Thus, for them, repeated and often long-term engagement with poor work signalled a more fundamental process of downward social mobility.

In the United Kingdom the experience of unemployment and economic marginalisation is, to some extent, cushioned by a welfare state. Dr Kezban Çelik, from Turkey's Middle East Technical University, in a chapter on "The experience of youth unemployment in Turkey", highlights how young people in similar circumstances there are almost entirely dependent on their families, since the welfare safety net is rather more threadbare. Based on original empirical research, Çelik analyses how joblessness and economic marginalisation are experienced by young people in Turkey. She is particularly interested in identifying protective factors and coping strategies. The author argues that three agents define the experience of unemployed youth: the state, the labour market and the family.

The research found that family is by far the most important institution in mediating the experience of unemployed youth, due largely to the paucity of welfare provision and the limited number – and low quality – of jobs in the Turkish labour market. Young people, who are heavily dependent on family support, cope with unemployment in one of two main ways: rapid movement into early adulthood or postponement of adulthood. In the former, early family formation leads to the reproduction of earlier family patterns and the consequent inter-generational transfer of poverty; the latter, characterised by protracted dependence upon parents, delays the assumption of adult rights and responsibilities. Given their heavy dependence on family, unemployed youth learn to be good family members. This has the effect of eroding trust in and respect for the state and its institutions. As one interviewee put it, "my state is my father." As a result, the capacity to become active, participative, responsible, self-starting and entrepreneurial individual citizens is undermined. By the same token, the sense of social solidarity that should exist between a young individual and wider society risks being corroded.

Dr Siim Krussell of the Statistical Bureau in Estonia compares the labour-market positions of Estonian and non-Estonian young people. When Estonia became independent of the former Soviet Union, the status of its well-established Russian population changed almost overnight. Being an "immigrant" in the new Estonian nation-state soon became synonymous with a disadvantaged socio-economic position. Drawing on extensive statistical data, the chapter compares the labour-market trajectories of young people from Estonian and non-Estonian ethnic backgrounds between 1995 and 2006. The evidence shows clearly that non-Estonians generally occupy a disadvantaged position in the labour market. It has been argued that Estonian citizenship and a good knowledge of the national language will eradicate inequalities in areas like pay. Analysis of the available data, however, shows conclusively that citizenship and good linguistic skills are not having the equalising effect that might have been expected. Dr Krussell evaluates critically a number of

possible explanations for the continuing prevalence of these disparities. The social processes at work are complex and cannot be reduced to simplistic accounts of overt discrimination. That non-Estonians tend to occupy a more marginal position in the economy is, however, well-evidenced.

One interesting finding is that all job-seekers rely heavily on social networks to assist them in securing employment. In Estonia these social networks tend to be segregated and this has given rise to the operation of parallel labour markets demarcated along national/ethnic lines. This undoubtedly makes the accomplishment of full social cohesion something of a challenge.

Participation and empowerment

The chapter by Dr Gary Pollock of Manchester Metropolitan University in England looks at youth transitions in the south Caucasus, and the connections between employment and family. Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia occupy a contested area sandwiched between Russia, Turkey and Iran. Its recent history begins with the break-up of the Soviet Union and the subsequent socio-economic upheavals. Of particular interest is the cohort of young people who grew up during the transition from Soviet control to national independence. As Pollock points out, this generation witnessed the dying days of an empire and experienced first-hand the turbulence that followed. Now at an age when one would expect them to have maturing careers and families, this cohort represent a bridge between memories of the old system and the experience of young people growing up under post-Soviet administrations. This transition generation are pioneers in the sense that they have not had the same trajectories as their parents to guide them in their decision-making.

The chapter is based on analysis of the Data Initiative Surveys of 2004, 2005 and 2006. These show great regional variations, both between and within countries, in education, employment, migration and political attitudes. They also reveal that young people are now more likely to experience significant periods of unemployment. At present it is difficult to identify the real winners and losers in these societies. Seasonal, employment-related migration appears to be increasing, and the periods spent abroad also appear to be lengthening – but the effects of these on family formation are not yet known, however. A sub-sample of young people from the DI 2005 – those born between 1970 and 1976 – was surveyed in early 2007. The focus was on collecting detailed data on employment, education, housing, family and leisure histories. The methodology applied in this study will be of great interest to youth researchers across Europe and beyond. What is of particular interest is the way in which the methodology has the potential to empower local researchers on the ground. For that reason it is worth drawing attention to the appendices, which provide valuable information on the methodology.

Mr Krzysztof Nowaczek, from the Research Unit on European Governance in Turin, Italy, writes on putting youth into the mainstream of EU employment policy. Better governance means more employment and enhanced participation. The introduction of the European Employment Strategy brought together national and local tiers in the co-ordination and management of employment policies. After the recent adoption of the European Youth Pact, the youth employment dimension of the Lisbon Strategy for Jobs has become more visible. The author considers this development with a particular focus on the youth-related elements of the European Employment Strategy and asks to what extent can youth stakeholders be said to be able to contribute to policy formation at the European level? EU policy makers promised more youth-friendly policies, with some success in the European Youth Pact and

the Open Method of Co-ordination. National governments have been required to give some attention to common objectives and consult non-governmental actors. Although this new form of governance has facilitated the sharing of good practice and stimulated mutual learning between key players at all levels, Nowaczek argues that there is no common system of mainstreaming the youth dimension into the European Employment Strategy. Consequently, ensuring common standards and easily measurable outcomes is difficult. That said, the advantages of OMC are undeniable. Developments likely to influence future European youth employment strategies include: mobility within Europe; changes in labour law; demographic changes in the European Union; the strengthening of measures to counter discrimination on various grounds (particularly important, given the vulnerable position of some migrant and minority ethnic communities); and the possible impact of the European Year of Poverty and Social Exclusion in 2010. This chapter reasserts the importance of democratic accountability in the institutions and policy making of the European Union – particularly in relation to young people. As the European Youth Forum slogan puts it: “If it’s about us, not without us!”

→ Conclusion

The chapters that follow – diverse, interesting and, at times, provocative – are a collection of analytic snapshots of the position of young people in the European labour market. As they are taken from different intellectual, political and geographical vantage points, they should not be expected to cohere into a common diagnosis of the problems, let alone an agreed regimen of curative social policies. Nevertheless, what emerge clearly from these contributions are shared concerns about how to respond flexibly to the implications of economic globalisation without leaving young people vulnerable to exploitation. It is a cliché to state that our societies’ future depends on the investment we make in young people today. Nevertheless, we urgently need to translate the lofty principle of inter-generational solidarity into practical measures that will make a difference on the ground. Europe is rich in diversity, but in youth policy there is a community of interest and a potential source of unity. This book is not the final word on the subject of youth employment and the future of work, but it hopefully represents an interesting contribution to a dialogue that needs to continue beyond its pages.

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Mobility and migration



Katariina Koskinen

Labour-market success of young European graduates

Higher education is no longer a guaranteed investment providing permanent contracts, a high salary and meaningful, fulfilling positions. Rather, it is a risk investment and does not provide successful employment opportunities for all graduates (Kivinen and Ahola 1999). Graduates' problems in finding a meaningful and appropriate job result partly from higher education reforms and partly from changes in the labour market. In both cases, major changes over several decades have had a straightforward effect on graduates' employment opportunities.

The expansion of higher education in all Western countries is the main reason behind the difficulties experienced by graduates in their transition from education to work. In Britain, for example, less than 2% of the 18-21 age group were enrolled in higher education institutions before the Second World War, whereas nowadays over one third of 21-year-olds in Britain graduate from a university or other institution of higher education (Reay, Davies, David and Ball 2001). In Finland the development has been very similar, although the expansion was even more radical and took place a couple of decades later than in many central European countries. At the moment about half of the relevant Finnish age

group studies in higher education institutions (Ahola 1995; Nevala 1999; Ministry of Education 2004).

→ Factors in graduate success

Since more and more graduates try to squeeze themselves into the labour market, the competition between graduates for appropriate jobs has become very intense. Possession of a degree is not enough to guarantee the best possible labour market success. Students also need to have the right kind of background and make the right decisions during their higher education studies to guarantee a smooth transition from education to work. In today's complex higher education system – which offers numerous degrees, training programmes and fields of studies – making the right decisions is a highly demanding task for young people.

On the labour market side, the factors that have had the greatest effect on graduates' transition from education to work are the unstable labour market, new technology and globalisation. The instability of the labour market brought with it a high unemployment rate in many European countries. In some countries, such as Finland, this was linked to the economic recession of the 1990s. Paradoxically, the use of innovative technology both creates and destroys work opportunities. On the one hand it creates employment for highly-skilled experts who have a command of technological innovations, but on the other it destroys opportunities to use knowledge and skills now considered obsolete. Globalisation for its part has led to increased competition for vacancies in both the private and public sectors. In these circumstances of heightened competition, companies and public sector employers have cut expenses, flattened organisational structures, reduced personnel and downsized operations. All these changes have had at least some effect on graduates' transition from education to work, making it less smooth than it was a few decades ago (Kasvio 1997; Rinne and Salmi 1998).

In a situation where higher education has expanded and become more complex, and where the labour market has become tougher, it is important to discover how graduates can succeed in the 21st century. It has been argued that demographic factors are the main determinants of graduates' labour market success (e.g. Arnesen 2000; Hodkinson and Sparkes 1997; Mora, Garcia-Montalvo and Garcia-Aracil 2000; Paul and Murdoch 2000; Russell and O'Connell 2001). Of demographic factors, gender and family background are the most crucial indicators of an individual's likely labour-market success. Young people from academic families also have a great advantage in the competition for jobs (Brennan et al. 1996; Hansen 1996; Vanttaja 2002). Similarly, males have an advantage over females in graduates' pursuit of the best labour-market positions (Brennan et al. 1996; Einarsdottir 2007; Lyon 1996).

In examining gender issues, it has to be said that before enrolling in higher education women have certain advantages over men. More women have academic secondary education, their grades are slightly higher and – in international terms – they are more mobile than men. However, after they enter the labour market, the situation changes and men gain a position of advantage. Four years after graduation men earn generally 22-24% more than women. Men also work as managers or professionals and have full-time employment more often than women. The clearest explanation of these differences is gendered choices in education. However, women's disadvantage holds true even inside each field of study. It is also clear that educated women take more responsibility for child and family care than their male counterparts. Working hours in the household are still significantly longer

for women. Men, meanwhile, spend between three and seven hours per week more in paid work than women. Despite women's increased human capital and decreased fertility, men seem to have a clear advantage over women in the labour market. Although there are country-specific differences, the same general results can be found in all 11 European countries studied (Einarsdottir 2007). However, Stavik and Arnesen (2007) considered the disparity between men and women in their early careers as surprisingly small given that it is in the early career stage that young people generally start a family and when women commonly stay at home with the children.

Other studies suggest that factors related to higher education and choices made during their studies (Kivinen and Ahola 1999; Mora et al. 2000; Schomburg 2000; Teichler 1998; Woodley and Brennan 2000) define graduates' chances of success in a competitive labour market. Professional fields of study, a master's degree and studies in universities guarantee better chances of labour market success than more general disciplines, a bachelor's degree and studies in polytechnics (Arnesen, Bækken and Næss 1996; Brennan et al. 1996; Lyon 1996; Moscati and Pugliese 1996). In addition, the reputation and quality of the higher education institution attended have an impact on graduates' labour market success, even when the previous academic achievement and parental background of the graduates are controlled. The impact of the institution attended is at its greatest in the early part of a career (Black and Smith 2004; Brunello and Cappellari 2005; Chevalier and Conlon 2003).

Moreover, the graduate's work history (Arnesen 2000; Kivinen, Nurmi and Salmi-niitty 2000; Russell and O'Connell 2001) and competences (Hodges and Burchell 2003; Rinne and Salmi 1998; Vermeulen-Kerstens 2006) define their possibilities of achieving labour market success. Previous work experience usually makes the transition from education to work easier (Carr, Wright and Broady 1996; Peteri 1999; Russell and O'Connell 2001); also, the applicant should be motivated, eager to learn new things, flexible, capable of tolerating insecurity, sociable and co-operative (Hodges and Burchell 2003; Peteri 1999; Rinne and Salmi 1998).

The theoretical framework in this paper is influenced by Pierre Bourdieu's reproduction theory, gender inequality debates and theories related to beliefs about the power of education. Bourdieu argues that privileged social status is transmitted to younger generations through education, and thus the education system is one of the most important mechanisms reproducing social inequality. Children from privileged families tend to inherit the statuses of their privileged parents. Social, cultural and economic capital play a decisive role in this equation (Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990.) In addition to social inequality, education also tends to reproduce gender inequality. Jacobs (1996), Kivinen and Rinne (1995) and Mickelson (1989) argue that, even though women's participation in education has increased radically, even surpassing men's participation, it has not led to the desired labour market success. Academics have explained women's disadvantaged situation through gender-specific study choices, biological factors, gender-specific values and skills, and historical traditions (Blackburn et al. 2002; Egerton and Halsey 1993; Jacobs 1996). In addition to the inequality debate, the theories either defending or contradicting beliefs in the power of education offer fruitful frameworks for this study.

This chapter answers two explicit research questions:

1. Which factors help graduates gain the greatest success in the European graduate labour market?
2. What kind of differences are there between countries in the factors that help graduates achieve labour market success?

→ Data

The quantitative data used in this study are part of a larger REFLEX¹ data set. The data set used in this study consists of almost 5 500 graduates from Spain, the Netherlands and Finland. They graduated in 2000 and the data were collected in 2005, when the graduates had been working for five years after graduation. To be young is defined here as being less than 30 years old at the time of data collection. All older graduates were excluded from the data.

The data include a wealth of information about graduates' higher education studies, their transition from school to work, their competences and their work careers after graduation. The most salient demographic factors are also included in the data. In this study I use only a small fraction of the data, focusing on the variables related to graduates' labour market success and those by which labour market success can be explained. In this study graduates' labour market success is measured by using their annual gross income and their own evaluations about the correspondence between education and work as indicators. Independent variables in this study, by which the degree and the chance of graduates' labour market success will be explained, include nationality, gender, family background, field of study and type of degree.

Although I decided to use salary and self-evaluation as indicators, I am fully aware that labour market success consists of more than these two factors. People tend to evaluate their positions in the labour market in terms of contract type, job satisfaction, self-fulfilment, status, security, service to the community, training possibilities and other qualitative measures. There is no universal definition of labour market success: criteria need to be case-specific. Using two disparate criteria, I want to draw a multi-dimensional picture of graduates' labour market success, while recognising that my choice of measures is not the only possible one.

Of the data set's 5 500 graduates, over 2 400 come from Spain, which means that 45% of graduates in the data set are Spanish. Dutch graduates comprise 37% of the data set, and about 19% are from Finland. All the graduates studied at a university or polytechnic; 58% of them earned a bachelor's degree and the rest possess a master's degree. The most popular fields of study among graduates in the data set are business studies (20%), engineering (14%) and health and welfare (14%). Two thirds of the graduates are female and one third is male. About 40% of the graduates come from academic families, 30% of the graduates' parents have secondary education diplomas and a further 30% have participated in elementary

1 REFLEX (The Flexible Professional in the Knowledge Society – New Demands on Higher Education in Europe) is a project financed as a Specific Targeted Research Project (STREP) of the European Union's Sixth Framework Programme. The aim of the project is to find out which competences higher education graduates need in order to function adequately in the knowledge society and how higher education institutions can help graduates to develop these competences. The project includes a country study, a qualitative study and a survey. The project involves fourteen European countries and Japan.

education. This means that the graduates of the data set come from families that are rather academic.

→ Countries of comparison

This study is comparative, focusing on three European countries. The countries were selected to represent some aspects of the diversity of Europe, in terms of geography, political culture and history. My decision to choose Finland, the Netherlands and Spain for comparison was grounded on the aforementioned multidimensionality and on the fact that the data from each of these countries included enough graduates to allow reliable analyses.

In this study Finland represents a traditional welfare state, which is common to all Nordic countries. The Finnish education system is based on the ideal of equal opportunity. Although education in Finland is free at all levels, and despite students in secondary and tertiary education being heavily subsidised by the state, the education system has not turned out to be as equal as some politicians dreamed (Kivinen and Rinne 1995; Kivinen, Ahola and Hedman 2001). The Finnish economy is quite solid and stable, but it has been affected by a fairly high unemployment rate since the early 1990s. Fortunately, the employment statistics began to show brighter figures about 2006, but long-term unemployment is still a serious problem in Finland. Other severe problems in the national labour market include fixed-term contracts, which are very common in Finland (Eures 2007; Ministry of Education 2007).

The Netherlands represents a country in the centre of Europe with a strong national economy and low unemployment rate. The GDP of the Netherlands is remarkably high and it exceeds European averages greatly, while the unemployment rate is one of the lowest in Europe. However, working part-time is very common in the Netherlands. The education system is reasonably equitable, though not to the same degree as systems in the Nordic countries. In the Netherlands children need to choose between academic and vocational schooling at a rather young age, which leads to a situation where family background tends to define a child's school career. Generally speaking, the Dutch are a highly educated people and nowadays one out of three school leavers completes a first university degree (Eures 2007; Eurydice 2006; Suuntana Alankomaat 2003).

The last country of comparison is Spain, which brings a southern European breeze to the study. Spain is a country with severe unemployment problems and a GDP below European averages. Although its national economy has recently undergone positive developments and the unemployment rate is slowly decreasing, the unemployment problem in Spain is one of the severest in Europe. The education system of Spain is relatively selective. Tuition fees for higher education institutions are rather high, and private schools are even more expensive than public ones. To be able to attend the most prestigious institutions requires a relatively privileged family background (Eures 2007; Suuntana Espanja 2003).

→ Results

The analysis of the data starts off by counting the median salaries and correspondence between education and work for the whole data set and for the various independent variables. The median salary for the whole data set is 1 920 euros per month and the mean is about 100 euros higher. Correspondence was evaluated on a scale from one to five, with the median being 4 and the mean 3.9. These figures are fairly meaningless and for this reason the data were split into smaller sets in

order to extract more detailed information. Table 2.1 shows the salary means for the countries, genders, fields of studies, types of degree and different family backgrounds that are the focus of this study.

Table 2.1. Mean monthly salary in Finland, the Netherlands and Spain, by gender, family background, field of study and type of degree

	Monthly salary €		Monthly salary €
<i>Country</i>		<i>Field of study</i>	
Finland	2 500	Educational	1 600
The Netherlands	2 400	Humanities	1 600
Spain	1 500	Social Sciences	1 900
		Business	2 200
<i>Gender</i>		Law	2 100
Male	2 300	Science	2 000
Female	1 800	Engineering	2 500
		Health and Welfare	2 000
<i>Family background</i>		Other Fields	1 900
Academic families	2 200		
Secondary education families	2 000	<i>Type of degree</i>	
Basic education families	1 900	Bachelor's	1 900
		Master's	2 100

From Table 2.1 we can see there are huge salary differences between the groups. The Finnish graduates earn on average 2 500 euros per month and their Dutch peers earn only 100 euros less. However, the salary level of the Spanish graduates is totally different, since they earn about 1 000 euros less on average than their Dutch and Finnish counterparts. Money-wise, Spanish graduates are clearly the underdogs. Salary differences between genders are as clear as between the countries. Males earn notably more than females and the gap in average salaries is 500 euros. Also family background has a great influence on graduates' salaries. The more educated a graduate's parents, the greater the graduate's salary.

In addition to demographic factors, educational choices have an impact on graduates' average salaries. The graduates with master's degrees earn more than those with bachelor's degrees. Of the different fields of study, engineering seems to be the most profitable, but business and law are also shrewd choices in terms of salary. The least economically profitable fields of study seem to be education and the humanities.

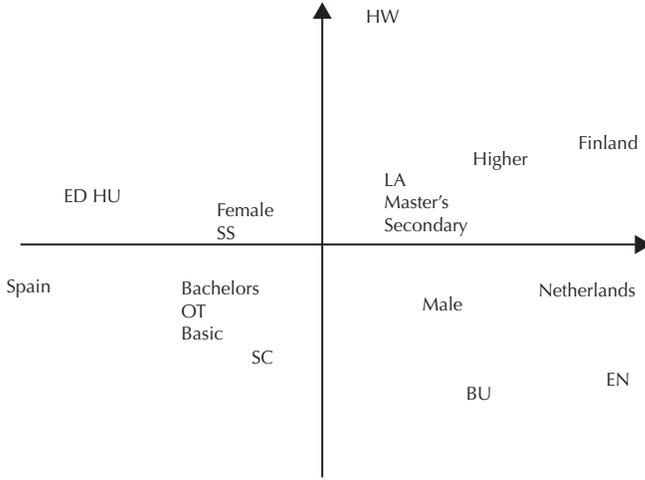
Table 2.2. Mean correspondence between education and work in Finland, the Netherlands and Spain, by gender, family background, field of study and type of degree

	Correspondence Mean		Correspondence Mean
<i>Country</i>		<i>Field of study</i>	
Finland	4.1	Educational	4.0
The Netherlands	3.9	Humanities	4.0
Spain	3.8	Social Sciences	3.9
		Business	3.7
<i>Gender</i>		Law	4.0
Male	3.9	Science	3.8
Female	3.9	Engineering	3.8
		Health and Welfare	4.3
<i>Family background</i>		Other fields	3.8
Academic families	4.0		
Secondary education families	3.9	<i>Type of degree</i>	
Basic education families	3.8	Bachelor's	3.9
		Master's	3.9

Comparing the correspondence levels between different groups reveals that differences are not as striking here as they were in the salary comparisons. Gender and type of degree do not have any influence on the level of correspondence. However, between countries, fields of study and family backgrounds, some differences can be observed. Finnish graduates receive the highest scores in correspondence comparison and their Spanish peers have the lowest correspondence between education and work. Dutch graduates place themselves somewhere between these two ends. Parents' educational attainment increases the graduate's possibilities to achieve high correspondence between education and work, as do professional fields of study (especially studies related to health and welfare).

To broaden readers' understanding of the factors that help graduates achieve the best possible labour market success, I have drawn a fourfold grid with two axes. The horizontal axis represents salary; the vertical axis depicts the correspondence between education and work. The axes intersect at the point where both salary and correspondence have their mean values. For salary, this intersection point is 2 000 euros and for correspondence it is 3.9. Labels of all the independent variables are correctly placed in Figure 2.1, though their locations are only roughly estimated. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 give exact figures for salary and correspondence means.

Figure 2.1. Graduates' salary and correspondence between education and work



ED=educational, HU=humanities, SS= social sciences, BU=business, LA=law, SC=science, EN=engineering, HW=health and welfare, OT=other fields of study, Basic=parental basic level education, Secondary=parental secondary level education, Higher=parental higher education

In the upper right quarter of the grid in Figure 2.1, we find graduates who have both high salary and good correspondence between education and work. Finnish graduates and those graduates whose parents have at least secondary education can be found in this quarter, along with graduates who have studied law, health or welfare and those with a master's degree. In the lower left quarter we find graduates whose salary and correspondence level undercut the averages. Spanish graduates and graduates from non-academic families can be found here, as well as those who have studied science and taken a bachelor's degree.

The upper left quarter also proved to be interesting; these are graduates with poor salary but good correspondence between education and work. In this quarter are female graduates and graduates who have studied education, humanities and social sciences. In the opposite quarter are males, Dutch graduates and those who have studied business or engineering. These all enjoy a high salary, but their work does not match their education that well.

Since the upper right quarter of the grid is the most desirable spot for graduates to be placed in, I will next present the probability of different graduate groups ending up in this quarter of achievers. Since the grid gave us only a tentative idea of who the achievers are, I will now analyse the group of achievers in more detail, using logistic regression analysis as a method in order to find out which factors increase graduates' probability of becoming an achiever. By using logistic regression analysis (presented here in tables 2.3 and 2.4) it is possible to predict the effect of the independent variable on a dependent variable when other variables are controlled (field of study – students of Education; parental education – primary; country – Spain; gender – female; and type of degree – Bachelors). The Beta column represents standardised regression coefficients, while the Exponential Beta column provides the odd ratio of the dependent variable (the independent coefficient). Asterisks denote correlations of p (probability) < 0.05 .

Table 2.3 Probability of young European graduates becoming achievers, shown by logistic regression analysis

		β	Exp. (β)
Field of study (probability by comparison with the control group: students of Education)	Humanities	-0.358*	0.699
	Social Sciences	0.179	1.196
	Business Studies	0.402†	1.495
	Law	0.665†	1.944
	Science	-0.222	0.801
	Engineering	0.807‡	2.241
	Health and Welfare	0.582‡	1.789
	Other Fields of Study	0.003	1.003
Parental education (control group: Primary)	Higher Education	0.260†	1.297
	Secondary Education	0.188*	1.207
Country (control group: Spain)	The Netherlands	2.252‡	9.508
	Finland	2.106‡	8.216
Gender (control group: Female)	Male	0.527‡	1.693
Type of degree (control group: Bachelor's)	Master's Degree	0.993‡	2.699
Overall percentage	70.6%		

* Less than 10% probability of error † Less than 5% probability of error ‡ Less than 1% probability of error

From the results presented in Table 2.3, we can see that the majority of the factors included in the regression model are significant in predicting graduates' likelihood of becoming achievers. When analysing the fields of study, education was used as the control group. According to this logistic regression analysis, graduates who have studied engineering have the best chance of becoming model achievers. They have 2.2 times higher chances of achieving both a high salary and good correspondence than education graduates. Law students' odds are also high – they have almost twice as high a chance of succeeding in the labour market than the control group. Also, the type of degree has great influence on graduates' possibilities of achieving labour market success. Holders of a master's degree have up to 2.7 times the chance of achieving success that those with a bachelor's degree have.

From demographic factors, country seems to be the most decisive influence on labour market outcomes. Compared with Spanish graduates, Dutch graduates have 9.5 times higher and Finnish graduates 8.2 times higher chances of achieving labour market success. Gender is also crucial, since men attain the achiever status 1.6 times more often than women. A high level of parental education also predicts good labour market success, since graduates from academic families have 1.3 greater chances to achieve both a high salary and good correspondence than graduates from non-academic families.

To answer the first research question, it can be concluded that country of origin is the greatest predictor of graduates' labour market success, though the type of degree earned in higher education is also decisive. However, I still need to conduct further analysis to find out which factors are the best predictors of young graduates' labour market success in each country of comparison. In Table 2.4 I present the odds for different graduate groups in each country to end up in the achievers' group.

Table 2.4. Probability of young European graduates becoming achievers in Finland, the Netherlands and Spain

		Finland		The Netherlands		Spain	
		β	Exp. (β)	β	Exp. (β)	β	Exp. (β)
Field of study	Humanities	-0.666	0.514	-0.297	0.743	0.048	1.049
	Social Sciences	0.540	1.716	0.554*	1.741	0.305	1.356
	Business Studies	-0.138	0.871	0.545†	1.724	0.606	1.834
	Law	0.676	1.966	1.125†	3.081	1.051†	2.860
	Science	-0.823	0.439	-0.092	0.912	0.385	1.469
	Engineering	0.119	1.126	0.447*	1.563	1.828‡	6.225
	Health	-0.406	0.666	0.272	1.313	1.865‡	6.455
	Other Fields	-0.600	0.549	0.040	1.041	-0.133	0.876
Parental education	HE	0.147	1.159	0.023	1.024	0.645‡	1.906
	Secondary	0.274	1.315	0.090	1.095	0.246	1.279
Gender	Male	0.659‡	1.933	0.337†	1.401	0.657‡	1.928
Type of degree	Master's	0.945‡	2.573	0.949‡	2.583	0.697‡	2.008
Overall percentage		65.2%		61.4%		84.7%	

* Less than 10% probability of error † Less than 5% probability of error ‡ Less than 1% probability of error

To start with the demographic factors, it can be seen that gender predicts graduates' labour market success in all countries. In Finland and Spain, men have almost twice the chance of becoming achievers as women; in the Netherlands the odds seem somewhat more equal. Parental education also influences graduates' labour market success in each country, but especially in Spain. Spanish graduates from academic families are almost twice as likely to achieve both high salary and good correspondence as graduates from non-academic families.

A master's degree guarantees better chances for labour market success in each country than a bachelor's degree; in Finland and in the Netherlands the chances are 2.6 times and in Spain two times higher. The most profitable fields of study vary according to the country. In Finland and the Netherlands, law graduates have the greatest chances of labour market success, whereas in Spain studies related to health and welfare and engineering are the most profitable.

From these results I can conclude that demographic factors have the same kind of influence on graduates' labour market success in each country. This also holds true for the type of degree the graduate has earned. The greatest differences between countries become apparent when the relationship between the field of study and labour market success is analysed. The most profitable field of study varies with the country.

→ Discussion and conclusion

The findings of this study are fairly similar to those of previous works showing that demographic factors and differences related to higher education have a great deal to do with graduates' labour market success. The results suggest that the country of origin has the highest influence on graduates' labour market success. Other demographic factors are also decisive in predicting graduates' salary and the correspondence between education and work. Men tend to gain more success than

women, and graduates whose parents are highly educated do better chances than others. The type of degree earned also has a notable impact on possible success. Taking a master's degree guarantees better chances for labour market success than a bachelor's degree. In Finland and the Netherlands, law studies seem to open the path to success as well; in Spain studies related to health, welfare or engineering do the same trick.

There are three main conclusions that can be drawn from this study. Firstly, we can say that in different parts of Europe the best ways of gaining success in the graduate labour market differ to some extent. However, the essential factors in forecasting success are fairly consistent in all countries; but the most decisive factor is the country of origin. It still needs to be remembered that, when talking about the salaries, countries are not directly comparable. Costs of living, state and municipal taxes, level of social services and so forth vary greatly across different countries and this will have a direct impact on citizens' standard of living. In the countries where the cost of living is lower, a graduate can afford to have a lower salary than a graduate from a country where cost of living is significantly higher. In some cases, therefore, the actual standards of living may be comparable.

Secondly, it can be said that higher education reproduces inequality in terms of gender and family background. Despite the many years graduates have spent in education, demographic factors still hold a decisive influence on graduates' labour market success. Thus, education cannot remove the inherent inequality between graduates, even though it can undoubtedly diminish it. The results are thus consistent with Bourdieu's theories as well as with theories of gender inequality.

The aim of this study was not to find out the mechanisms behind the reproduction of inequalities related to gender and family background. However, since the study supports social reproduction theories, I am persuaded that some of the explanations provided by previous studies have at least some explanatory power in this case. I do agree with Egerton and Halsey (1993), Jacobs (1996), Blackburn et al. (2002) and Einarsdottir (2007) that gender-specific study choices are one major reason behind the differences in women's and men's labour market success. Motherhood is also a decisive factor, since women still generally undertake the role of primary carers for children and families (Einarsdottir 2007). Maternity leave, working part-time and more inflexible attitudes to work and its requirements make it harder for women to gain the best possible labour market success. In countries where family policy guarantees paid maternity leave, subsidised day-care facilities and child allowances – and where family policy encourages men to take part in child care alongside women – it is reasonable to suppose that men and women should be more equal. This study did not, however, support this supposition. Indeed, it was found that female graduates from the Finnish welfare state did not have any greater chance of labour market success than their Dutch and Spanish peers.

Pierre Bourdieu (1986) claims that inequalities related to family background are reproduced through cultural, social and economic capital. It is my view that this holds true also in the case of higher education. Academic parents have the cultural capital to advise their children about the most profitable study choices and the most successful ways of finding a job after graduation. They also provide their children with the right language and habits, which help their offspring to succeed in higher education and in the labour market. The goals of children from academic families are also usually higher than those of children from non-academic families. In Bourdieu's work, the term social capital can be equated with the concept of "useful connections". Families with broad social networks can promote their

children's career, and usually these families are those with high cultural and economic capital as well. Finding a job is much easier through connections than by responding to job advertisements.

Parental economic capital gives more study choices to a graduate. S/he can choose to study in a private institution, take extra lessons or study abroad. All of these options tend to be useful in achieving success in education and the labour market. In countries where education is free and studies are subsidised by study grants, the impact of economic capital should, however, be less obvious. In this study, family background was operationalised in terms of parental education and thus we can only conclude what kind of connection there is between parental education and graduates' labour market success in different countries. When family background was operationalised in this way, state policy did not seem to have had a great effect on educational equality. Although the Finnish education system is regarded as very equal, the outcomes of Finnish higher education graduates are less equal than those of Dutch graduates. Thus, removing the financial obstacles from higher education does not seem to guarantee equal outcomes.

Finally, this study reveals that higher education is not, on its own, an adequate route to success; the choices made during one's studies are more crucial. A student needs to know that a degree is not enough to guarantee success, but that one also needs to pay attention to subject choice and the type of degree. If the graduate has the wrong kind of background and if he or she makes wrong choices during his/her studies, higher education can turn out to be a poor investment for him/her. However, for those with privileged backgrounds and "correct" study choices, higher education is still a very profitable and rational investment. The belief in the power of education is thus partly justified, but also partly challenged.

The results of this study indicate the need to conduct further research. It would, for example, be interesting to measure labour market success by using various other indicators, such as job satisfaction, status, quality of working life and job security. It would also be worthwhile concentrating on only one explanatory factor and studying it more thoroughly. One could, for example, analyse how gender and labour market success are interconnected in different countries. Moreover, it would be useful to consider this whole area with closer reference to the other quarters of the fourfold grid. By studying other quarters in more detail one could shed light on the key question of who are those graduates with a low salary, low correspondence rate or both. Ultimately, the results of theoretically informed empirical research always stimulate further questions. It is to be hoped that this important field of inquiry therefore receives further attention by scholars in the near future.

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Fight or flight? Employment uncertainty and geographical mobility among youth in Portugal and Northern Ireland

David Cairns

European youth today face the challenge of finding work in fragmented and de-regulated labour markets (Leccardi 2005: 125; Walther 2006: 120-21; see also Vinken 2007). In such an uncertain context, young people may need to be flexible in their occupational planning if they are to successfully negotiate a path through education and into stable employment; in particular, they may have to consider geographical mobility as their means of access to opportunities. This chapter explores the reactions to perceived labour market uncertainty of a number of young people in two parts of Europe, Portugal and Northern Ireland, and their spatial strategies of mobility and immobility: “fight” responses – including behaviours such as prolonged residence in the parental home – and “flight” responses, typically geographical, including migration strategies.

→ Youth mobility and immobility

Considering the potential importance of mobility and immobility in youth transitions, it is not surprising that the spatial dimension has begun to attract discussion, challenging the notion that despite the increasing complexity of

transitions to adulthood, attaining adult status will (still) be a sedentary experience. At European policy level, there has long been awareness of the importance of mobility in young people's lives (see, for example, European Commission 2001, 2002) while, in mainstream academic debate, the significance of locality has hardly gone unnoticed. For instance, Giddens has argued that, in late modern societies, the influence of local area has declined in importance, with place becoming "penetrated by disembedding mechanisms which recombine the local activities into time-space relations of ever widening scope" (Giddens 1991: 136). For young people themselves, we can see that a geographically static education-to-work transition may not necessarily be the best choice, because successful entry to the labour market may require willingness to move.

The statistics on youth mobility make it clear that not only are the majority of young people in Europe sedentary, but also that prolonged stays in the parental home are often the norm, particularly for those in full-time education (Wallace and Kovatcheva 1998; Cherlin et al. 1997; Bendit et al. 1999; Billari et al. 2001; Aassve et al. 2002). We hence need to consider the significance, and the value, of mobility and immobility in discussing youth transitions to the labour market. Pioneering in-depth empirical work on youth mobility has been conducted by Jones (2000) and Jamieson (2000) in the United Kingdom, focusing on issues like the need for mobility among young people in rural areas. More recently, also in the UK, mobility has been discussed as a potential resource in the transition to adulthood, perhaps even the "central motif" in young people's account of adulthood (Thomson and Taylor 2005: 337).²

In southern Europe, recent studies in Spain, Portugal and Italy illustrate how young people are able to move towards adulthood without leaving the parental home by maintaining a high degree of independence (Iacovou 2001; Pappámikail 2004; Holdsworth 2005). These societies have well-established home-staying traditions, with many young people staying at home until, or even after, they find secure employment (Sgritta 2001; Santoro 2006). In the UK, youth immobility has also been discussed by Holdsworth (2006), who highlights not only the difficulties experienced by young people living at home in the face of social norms emphasising independent living but also the satisfaction gained from being able to maintain existing friendship networks and avoid "the same sense of discontinuity with home compared to those who move away" (Holdsworth 2006: 508).

→ Research contexts and methodology

The study from which the results presented in this paper are drawn is called Culture, Youth and Future Life Orientations (CYFLO).³ The aim of this project, initiated in April 2005, is to examine the present and future life orientations of highly-skilled young people, focusing on geographical mobility and immobility. To date, fieldwork

2 Different spatial strategies among young people have also been discussed by Cairns and Menz (2007), who note the different responses of youth in Northern Ireland and eastern Germany: in the former region, tending towards foreign destinations with linguistic compatibility, in the latter, preference for internal migration.

3 This research was conducted at the Institute for Social Sciences at the University of Lisbon and funded by a scholarship provided by the Foundation for Social Sciences (FCT), also in Lisbon. I would like to acknowledge the support of both these institutions and also thank my supervisor, José Machado Pais, along with Jim Smyth at the School of Sociology, Queen's University Belfast, for invaluable assistance during the Belfast fieldwork.

has been conducted in Portugal and Northern Ireland. The Portuguese research was centred on Lisbon, with the Northern Ireland research concentrating on the Greater Belfast area. In both cases, respondents were drawn from third-level educational institutions: eight different universities in Lisbon and two in Belfast. Young people at such a stage in their educational careers are potentially perhaps the most spatially mobile section of the population (King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003), more so than those still in compulsory or post-compulsory education, who may not yet be considering geographical movement in their education trajectories, or those already settled in what may become sedentary careers. The two chosen locations also illustrate different northern and southern European social contexts: the former, a region of rapid transformation in youth transitions, for instance in the withdrawal of the state and the changing role of the family in supporting young people (Furlong and Cartmel 2007: 1), not to mention political change (Smyth and Cebulla 2007); the latter, a region with a tradition of family support for youth transitions (Jones 1995: 28-9).

In respect of methodology, both quantitative and qualitative methods have been utilised. Firstly, a questionnaire was administered to 200 young people in Lisbon and 250 in Belfast. In each research context, respondents were spread equally across four academic fields of study: Arts and Humanities, Social Sciences, Science and Engineering. These disciplines were chosen in order to provide diversity and equilibrium within the sample. The samples were also balanced in terms of gender and included young people from different ethnic minority backgrounds. The questions themselves covered a broad array of topics, ranging from family and peer relationships to future occupational plans. For the qualitative part of this study, 15 follow-up interviews were conducted with respondents in each context, sourced from the initial quantitative sample. These interviews were essentially semi-structured, with initial biographical questions followed by more in-depth discussion of individual experiences.

→ Quantitative analysis

As mentioned above, the questionnaire was administered to 200 young people in Lisbon and 250 in Belfast. Besides biographical data and assessments of peer and family relationships, it included a range of questions relating to young people's orientation towards employment. Regional disparities emerged in relation to a number of issues, including self-assessments of fear of unemployment and regional salary levels.

Table 3.1 Salaries are too low in my country, by place

Place	Salaries are too low in my country (%)				Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Belfast	9	44	45	2	100
Lisbon	20	61	16	2	100
All	14	52	32	2	100

Source: CYFLO 2007 (Pearson Chi Square=000)

Table 3.2 Fear of unemployment, by place

Place	Fear of unemployment (%)				Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Belfast	13	38	40	9	100
Lisbon	36	40	19	5	100
All	23	38	31	7	100

Source: CYFLO 2007 (Pearson Chi Square=.000)

From tables 3.1 and 3.2 we can see statistically significant regional differences in responses to these two statements, with Lisbon youth agreeing to a much greater extent that salaries are too low in Portugal and that they fear unemployment, although more than 50% of all young people agreed with these two statements to some degree, highlighting the significance of this issue across the board. Looking at differences within the two regions, tables 3.3 and 3.4 present the results of logistic regression analyses in relation to agreement or disagreement to each of these two statements.

Table 3.3 Salaries are too low in my country, by logistic regression

	Place	β	Exp. (β)
Gender (male)	Belfast	·473	1·605
	Lisbon	–·313	0·731
	All	·260	1·297
Age band (youngest)	Belfast	–·067	0·936
	Lisbon	1·009	2·743
	All	–·116	0·630
Ethnicity (majority)	Belfast	–·200	0·818
	Lisbon	·602	1·826
	All	–·376	0·686
Class (skilled)	Belfast	–·105	0·900
	Lisbon	–·930	0·394
	All	–·316	0·729

Source: CYFLO 2007

Table 3.4 Fear of unemployment, by logistic regression

	Place	β	Exp. (β)
Gender (male)	Belfast	–1·046	0·351
	Lisbon	–1·521	0·219
	All	–1·023	0·360
Age band (youngest)	Belfast	·519	1·680
	Lisbon	·571	1·769
	All	·126	1·134
Ethnicity (majority)	Belfast	–·135	0·874
	Lisbon	·424	1·528
	All	–·193	0·825
Class (skilled)	Belfast	–·327	0·721
	Lisbon	–·595	0·552
	All	–·334	0·716

Source: CYFLO 2007

From Table 3.3 we can observe that Belfast males are more likely than Belfast females to feel that salaries are too low in their region, while the trend is reversed in Lisbon. In regard to age, we see that those in the youngest age band in Lisbon are significantly more likely to agree that salaries are too low. Also in Lisbon, we can observe that those from “Portuguese” (as opposed to ethnic minority) backgrounds are more likely to agree, and those with parents from skilled occupations much less likely. In response to a statement that expresses fear of unemployment, we can observe from Table 3.4 that males are much less likely to agree with this sentiment than women, particularly in Lisbon; those in the ethnic majority community are more likely to agree, especially in Lisbon; and that in both contexts, those with parents from skilled occupations are much less likely to agree, although more so in Lisbon.

Key measures of mobility and immobility were also included in the questionnaire, specifically the likelihood of seeking work abroad or elsewhere in the same region. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 explore the idea of working in another country in Europe or in another region of the country of origin, in each of the two regions under scrutiny.

Table 3.5 Like to work in Europe, by place of residence

Place	Like to work in Europe (%)				Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Belfast	17	48	32	3	100
Lisbon	25	59	18	1	100
All	20	51	26	2	100

Source: CYFLO 2007 (Pearson Chi Square=001)

Table 3.6 Like to work elsewhere in same country, by place of residence

Place	Like to work elsewhere in same country (%)				Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Belfast	9	55	31	5	100
Lisbon	10	47	34	8	100
All	10	52	32	7	100

Source: CYFLO 2007 (Pearson Chi Square=276)

In relation to work mobility, even taking into account the high level of agreement in both regions (20% strongly agreeing and 51% agreeing), the Lisbon young people are much more favourably predisposed towards movement within Europe (84% agreeing to some degree), while in respect to internal regional labour market mobility, there is a majority of young people in both regions in agreement but no statistically significant difference.

In interpreting these results, we can see that the Lisbon young people are more positive about working abroad in particular and apparently more discontented with salary levels in their own country, with a greater fear of unemployment. This picture might lead us to expect that these same young people would be more likely to have intentions to live abroad in the future.

Table 3.7 Always want to live in my country, by place of residence

Place	Always want to live in my country (%)				Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Belfast	12	33	37	18	100
Lisbon	15	53	23	8	100
All	13	42	31	14	100

Source: CYFLO 2007 (Pearson Chi Square=.000)

The results presented in Table 3.7 illustrate that this is not the case and that in fact it is the Belfast young people who are significantly more likely to want to live abroad at some stage in the future. This is a fascinating result, considering what we have already discovered, pointing to the significance of factors other than external economic and/or political conditions as being the main influence on future life planning; most prominently in the case of these Portuguese young people, we need to consider the influence of the family. This finding is consistent with other research on Portuguese youth and emphasises the significance of the family in education-to-work transitions (Pais 1995, 1998, 2003; Pappámikail 2004; Pais et al. 2005).

Regarding internal differences within each regional sample, Table 3.8 presents an overview of gender, age, ethnic background and social class relationships, with registering an intention to live outside the place of residence as the dependent variable.

Table 3.8 Intentions to live outside place of residence, by logistic regression

	Place	β	Exp. (β)
Gender (male)	Belfast	·356	1·427
	Lisbon	–·220	·803
	All	·251	1·286
Age band (youngest)	Belfast	·408	1·504
	Lisbon	·385	1·470
	All	·247	1·414
Ethnicity (majority)	Belfast	–·690	·501
	Lisbon	2·393	10·949
	All	–·580	·560
Class (skilled)	Belfast	–·273	·761
	Lisbon	–·254	·776
	All	·251	1·286

Source: CYFLO 2007

From Table 3.8, it is evident that few internal disparities exist in relation to intentions to live abroad, with the major exception of those belonging to the ethnic majority community in Lisbon, who are over ten times more likely to want to always remain within their country of origin. Their number is equal to 95% of the “Portuguese” respondents in the Lisbon sample. In contextualising this result, we need to bear in mind that among the young people from ethnic minority backgrounds within the Lisbon sample – approximately 14% of all those surveyed – many have a history

of mobility in their family, having moved to Portugal from former colonies (notably Angola and Cape Verde). They may therefore intend to return to these countries and re-unite with their families on completing their studies.

→ Qualitative analysis

Out of the evidence gathered, four case studies have been selected, two from each region, in order to illustrate different “fight” and “flight” responses among the young people surveyed. As noted previously, 55% of the young people surveyed in Belfast want to live abroad at some stage of their lives in the future (see Table 3.8). Further analysis shows that a third of all those surveyed had experienced some form of geographical mobility in their lives (other than for leisure), such as internal or trans-national migrations, while about a quarter had undertaken more short-term forms of trans-national mobility, typically visits abroad for work or study. The following case illustrates the orientations of mobile youth in Belfast.

Peter is a 21-year-old Civil Engineering student at Queen’s University, Belfast. In respect of his past mobility experiences – apart from visits to England, Scotland, the Channel Islands and the Republic of Ireland, to visit friends and relatives, and holidays to Spain, Portugal and France – Peter has in the last year undertaken a work placement in Goiânia, Brazil via IAESTE (International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience). While not entirely sure, as yet, what advantage this experience of mobility will bring him in respect to his present studies, Peter certainly thinks that he has not only gained confidence as a result of his experiences but also a possible advantage in the labour market. Regarding his future, Peter is planning to go to New York this summer for an internship at Price Waterhouse Coopers. He is unsure whether to pursue a career in engineering or the financial sector and therefore wishes to test different options before making a decision. We can observe the importance of geographical mobility in both Peter’s biography and his future life planning, and the use of this mobility as a means of furthering his career and his personal development.

One of the most interesting outcomes from the research conducted in Belfast was the fact that 71% of these young people were living with their parents. While it should be noted that the majority of these young people are dissatisfied with this position and are staying at home for pragmatic reasons, such as saving money towards the purchase or rental of a home of their own, there are exceptional cases that illustrate how young people use residential immobility as a strategy to cope with a difficult local housing market while maintaining a firm grounding in their local community (see also Patiniotis and Holdsworth 2005 and Holdsworth 2006).

Rachel is a 20-year-old second year Sociology student at Queen’s University, Belfast. She lives at home with her parents, 22 km (15 ml) south of Belfast in the town of Ballynahinch, County Down. This is very much her preferred living option: aside from financial considerations, there are further benefits to living at home such as a good study environment and close proximity to her friends. Regarding mobility, Rachel confines herself to holidays, typically to Spain or other European destinations such as France, Holland and Germany. As she explains, “Two weeks is definitely long enough. By the end of it I’m always dying to get home so I can’t see my going abroad for any long period of time.” Therefore, Rachel sees herself remaining in Ballynahinch, and would only move if there was no alternative.

Within the Lisbon sample it can be observed that, while there is an extremely high level of geographical movement in the leisure sphere, in terms of mobility

for work or study and in respect of future life mobility, there is considerably less interest – with 68% always wanting to live in Portugal (see Table 3.8). This, as noted previously, is despite a relatively high degree of fear regarding unemployment and evident dissatisfaction with working conditions in Portugal, particularly in relation to salaries. The next case study illustrates the position of those living at home contentedly, despite negative perceptions of their local labour market.

Ana is a 21-year-old Social Communications student, in the third year of her degree at ISCTE in Lisbon. She lives at home with her parents, also in Lisbon. While Ana notes the financial pragmatism involved in living at home, in terms of saving money, she also admits that living with her parents is her preferred situation. Not only is this arrangement convenient, but she would find it difficult to cope without her family because they provide not only financial support while she is studying but also personal support in everyday matters. There is also an implication that her family are equally happy with this arrangement. Living at home also allows her to remain close to her long-term friends, who live nearby. In relation to mobility, Ana's foreign travel experiences have so far been limited to a single holiday in Spain; however, she would like to undertake more leisure travel in future. Regarding travel in other areas such as work and study, while Ana feels this may be a valuable experience, she has no plans to undertake any such mobility herself.

Although Ana's account is in many ways typical of the young people encountered in Lisbon, there are others in the sample with different experiences of and orientations to mobility. Zé is a 23-year-old Sculpture student in the second year of studying for a degree at Art College in Chiado, Lisbon. Like Ana and the majority of his counterparts in the Lisbon sample, Zé lives with his parents – in his case in the city of Almada, directly across the River Tejo from Lisbon. Unlike Ana, however, Zé is less happy with his situation and would prefer to live independently, either by himself in a flat or with friends. A further contrast with Ana lies in the fact that her peer network is largely home-based, whereas Zé has made new friends from different parts of Portugal while studying. Regarding foreign travel, Zé's experiences are limited to one holiday in Tunisia. However, Zé has positive opinions about working abroad when he has completed his education, particularly since opportunities in the art world may be limited in Portugal. Nevertheless, he does feel that it may be expensive and difficult to do so, and his horizons are limited by a lack of fluency in foreign languages.

→ Conclusion: youth in flight?

At the beginning of this discussion, the idea was posited that young people making the transition to adulthood in contexts of uncertain and unstable labour markets may need to have recourse to spatial strategies if they are to successfully reach their personal and professional goals in life, be they plans for mobility (e.g., geographical movement to follow opportunities, or immobility, principally extended stays in the parental home).

From the evidence presented, we can see that while both mobility and immobility paths are present within each of the two research contexts, the young people in Northern Ireland are more likely to prefer geographical movement while the Portuguese young people generally want to remain in the parental home and within Portugal in the future. The main reason for this difference would seem to be the prevalence of strong family relationships: the practical and emotional support found in Portugal and the presumed absence of such relationships in Northern Ireland. Likewise, there would seem to be corresponding region-specific social

norms in each of these societies, effectively validating these respective behaviours; although, as we can observe from cases such as Rachel and Zé, there are exceptions to prevailing trends in each region.

In future, it may well be the case that, with heightened marginalisation within the local housing market, young people in Northern Ireland may have little choice but to remain with their parents: they will either have to adapt to this situation and forge their own futures within the family like many of their Portuguese counterparts or simmer in heightened discontent and contemplate “place-polygamy” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001: 25).

The popularity of extended co-habitation with parents, whether through choice or otherwise, means we need to consider that alongside an external “youth flight” (or instead of it) there is also an internal “youth flight”, with the family home and inter-generational relationships being used as an alternative to mobility: sheltering from difficult labour market conditions at home rather than attempting to plot a course through challenging circumstances. The choice to stay at home would appear to be a well-established course of action in southern European contexts and an emerging one in northern contexts, at least in the two regions explored here. The extent to which this trend is present elsewhere remains to be seen, as does any the increase or decrease in internal movements.

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II Government responses

Abdelfattah Ezzine

Young people and the employment market in Morocco

We are all aware that economic development cannot take place without young people, and it is equally important that it should be capable of responding to the aspirations, expectations and needs of youth. Youth is a trump card of economic development in that young people generally enjoy a high degree of mobility. Typically, they also display qualities of versatility, open-mindedness, adaptability, creativity, dynamism and tolerance. From their viewpoint, access to the labour market is a guarantee of social integration and emancipation.

Within the parameters of this chapter I shall endeavour to describe the context in which Moroccan youth is currently preparing to enter the labour market. I also intend to describe the main obstacles hampering this entry process.

→ Education, professional training and preparation for the labour market

As far as young people's access to education, professional training and preparation for labour market entry is concerned, Morocco can demonstrate clear evidence of significant progress since independence. Indeed, it is widely acknowledged that the rate of progress

in this area has accelerated in recent years. In 2004 the rate of illiteracy among young people was 43% (see Table 4.1). However, in 2006 Morocco recorded an exceptional result, with UNESCO awarding it the Confucius Prize for its programme of non-formal and informal education. This is an innovative national literacy initiative specifically targeted at marginalised adolescents from rural areas; it aims to guarantee the right to education for all, to democratise education and to promote good governance.

Table 4.1 Rate of illiteracy in Morocco, grouped by age and sex (%)⁴

Age group	Male	Female	Total
15-24 years	19.2	39.5	29.5
25-34 years	26.2	52.7	40.0
Total	30.8	54.7	43.0

Indeed, the rate of illiteracy went down from 80% in 1960 to 48% in 1999. In 2006 it was reduced to 39%. In this context it is important to bear in mind that Morocco has committed itself to the target of reducing the overall rate of illiteracy to less than 20% by 2010 and of virtually eradicating the phenomenon by the beginning of 2015 (see OMD: a United Nations Organisation initiative entitled Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement/Millennium Development Goals).

In spite of those achievements, significant challenges still remain, notably the disparities which persist between town and countryside, and between boys and girls. There are also issues relating to the quality of knowledge and the diversification of subjects within education and training. This situation is exacerbated by demographic trends. Moreover, the processes of globalisation – of opening up, liberalising and modernising the economy – and the persistence of high levels of unemployment among young people (including graduates) are factors that have placed intense pressures on the education and training system. There is an urgent need to adjust to the demands of this new context.

In order to respond to needs that have built up over time, and those which became apparent more recently as a result of the new economic conditions described above, in 1999 the Moroccan Government launched a programme of reform in the education and training system. This reform was given tangible form by the establishment of a Special Education/Training Commission (COSEF) which was assigned the task of developing the National Charter of Education and Training. Appointed by His Majesty the late King Hassan II, the commission brought together all strands of Moroccan society, including political, cultural, religious, trade union and other viewpoints.

The charter stipulates that the mission of a school – whether primary or secondary – goes well beyond teaching pupils to read and write. It has to be able to develop in them a creative, competitive and – indeed – fighting spirit. Furthermore, the state is no longer perceived as the sole player in the arena of education and training. Among the other partners are families (via parents' associations), local communities, the private sector and lay members of the public. The charter emphasises the school's central importance as a social institution, responsibility for which is shared between

4 Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat en 2004.

the afore-mentioned agencies within the framework of a social project partnership. This is very much the new model of education in contemporary Morocco.

As far as university and higher education are concerned, Law 01/00 acknowledges the autonomy of the university and has duly granted it structures that allow it to conduct internal reforms. The university is thus free to advance training programmes that it considers appropriate, taking into account human and material resources as well as the specific local needs of the area it covers. The aim is to ensure the university's integration into its economic and social environment, but also enabling it to discharge its responsibilities at national level. The university must remain the pinnacle of learning, intellectual freedom and debate.

Across the education and training system a reforming dynamic was set in motion, culminating a series of new statutes aimed at effecting radical change – among them a statute on the legal obligation to provide education for children (04/00) and a package of legislative measures covering pre-school education (05/00), private education (06/00), regional academies of education and training (07/00), apprenticeships (12/00) and private professional training (13/00). Within this framework, the following pathways have been established nationally.

Pre-school education (4-5 years)

Early-years provision is regarded as a crucial stage of preparation for tomorrow's youth. Spreading the availability of pre-school education is a key strategic aim of government. To this end, the state has invested in access, training facilities and the development of suitable teaching materials. The Office of the Secretary of State with Responsibility for Young People (SECJ) takes a lead role in this strategy, assisted by private initiatives. It provides children under 6 years with early-learning activities and pre-school education in 327 establishments. There is also the traditional pre-school structure of Koranic schools, with an archaic system of education, used mainly by poor and marginalised tiers of society in urban and rural areas.

Basic education (6-15 years)

This stage is equally crucial, and programmes have been established, especially in rural areas, to improve and extend access and facilities, and increase the number of teachers. However, gaps in provision remain, in terms of the number of establishments, classrooms and teaching staff. Phenomena such as overcrowded classes, unqualified teaching staff and the mismatch between professional experience and level of appointment have emerged. This represents an ongoing challenge. Moreover, the choices made by pupils remain strongly biased in favour of arts and experimental sciences, to the detriment of mathematical sciences and technical education. Only recently has it been possible to discern a reversal of this trend, giving rise to a suggestion that there might be the beginnings of a change of attitude on the part of young people vis-à-vis mathematics and technology. Needless to say, both of these subject areas are fundamental to the future economic development of Morocco.

Professional training

During the first five years after the 1999 reforms, the system of professional training also underwent a sustained improvement in terms of intake capacity and widening access. The increased capacity in this first period of reform was significant, with the almost immediate creation of 7 160 new training places and a further

4 335 places coming on stream in the 2004/5 academic session. In total, then, almost 11 500 places were created in a five-year period. Compared with the previous development of professional training, this additional capacity outstrips that put in place over the whole of the thirteen years preceding the reform (from 1987 to 2000). With the aim of diversifying the training provision and bringing it more closely into line with the expectations of business partners, programme expansion is planned in the areas of tourism (10 new establishments and 11 extensions to existing establishments), textiles (the creation of a skills development centre and the extension of five existing establishments) and ICT (the creation of five new establishments), as well as the creation of specialist training centres managed in conjunction with business professionals. The expansion recorded for the whole of the period, with all the sectors added together in terms of the total numbers of current trainees, represents something in the order of a 63% increase in provision. The total complement of trainees rose from 133 000 in 1999/2000 to more than 216 600 by the year 2004/5.

Non-formal and informal education

This sector has been characterised by the development of social integration programmes aimed at benefiting vulnerable young people. This is true in the case of pilot experiments concerned with the reintegration of prisoners. Experimental pilot programmes were duly undertaken in partnership with the Mohammed VI Foundation for the reintegration of prisoners, and the Ministry of Justice (six pilot centres, 24 subject areas and about 2 600 beneficiaries between 2002 and 2004). It also applies to an integration programme for people with disabilities (for example, the training offered to those with sight impairments). However, these efforts need to be accelerated in the face of the pressure imposed by the demand for professional training that must be provided in order to facilitate such programmes. For the year 2003/4, 285 219 candidates applied for entry to professional training. This represents five times more than the number of training places available, and nine times more for the level of “specialised technician”. In addition, the element that is generally referred to as “residential training” still dominates the training system, with 77.5% of the total student numbers (although it is worth noting that in 1999/2000 it formed 92.5% of the total). This is despite the diversification of training modes, notably with the development of sandwich courses and apprenticeships, which represent respectively 7.5% and 15% of training provision.

University and higher education

This sector has also been subject to change as part of the wider reform agenda for education and training instigated in 1999. An increase in student numbers has continued, rising from 250 111 students in 1999/2000 to 280 599 in 2003/4. Viewed in another way, higher education has seen its intake capacity increase by 14 000 teaching places in 2003/4. It should be borne in mind that this has taken place within the context of a new LMD teaching structure being introduced (i.e., First Degree, Master and Doctorate). Similarly, after a long period of stagnation, the profile of the teaching staff has become younger and the complement has risen by 400, bringing today's total to 10 413. This shift in the age profile of academic staff has, incidentally, been partly achieved through the introduction of a voluntary early retirement programme.

However, the distribution of the student population across establishment type and subject area continues to be characterised by the old structural imbalances. Overall, university establishments with open access account for 92% of freshers

and more than 85% of all students. 73% of students are enrolled in Arts, Law and Economics. The course preferences exhibited by students in the second half of the 1990s are being reprised in the 2000s. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that this imbalance has become even more pronounced, because in the earlier period the proportion of student numbers in Arts, Law and Economics was 62%. Similar observations can be made in respect of student preferences in the third cycle of education (the intermediate post-graduate stage that prepares students for doctoral studies). The distribution of students by discipline at this level reveals that social and human sciences represent 60·84%, natural and applied sciences 33·93%, engineering sciences 3·92% and medical sciences 1·29%.

State-regulated training establishments

These establishments prepare young people for the labour market in various sectors. Table 4.2 presents an account of the trends. Despite a significant bias in favour of subjects like law, economics, arts and humanities, there is evidence of strong growth in student numbers in business, technology and education. This situation is in large measure created by the nature of the options available at the secondary stage, where general education subjects predominate. It also results from the weakness of structures and agencies charged with providing information, direction and advice to guide students in their academic and professional choices.

Table 4.2 Number of students qualifying in management training establishments, by year and area of study

Area of study	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04
Foundation courses	739	694	687	774	779	802	713	901
Law and Economics	8 417	9 468	10 022	10 867	10 373	9 766	8 913	9 398
Arts and Humanities	8 112	7 843	7 393	7 893	7 169	8 051	8 164	8 923
Pure Science	5 874	5 411	4 131	3 969	3 648	3 266	2 973	2 896
Applied Science	113	991	1 614	1 060	817	770	843	908
Medicine and Pharmacy	737	723	821	711	900	812	733	847
Dentistry	149	113	174	138	141	129	163	183
Engineering	334	373	381	408	533	462	487	396
Business and Administration		192	304	410	306	374	410	412
Technology	631	695	24	955	1 002	1 054	1 184	1 229
Education	23	13	8	136	20	39	181	181
Translation	28	24	21	23	32	30	36	28
Total	25 159	26 546	26 400	27 348	25 922	25 575	24 802	26 704

Some key conclusions emerge from the data as a whole, and they can be summarised in the following terms. Firstly, the effort to expand the education and training system has grown appreciably since the reform was instigated, in terms of student numbers, intake capacity and teaching staff. However, this effort remains limited with regard to the measures contained in the National Charter of Education and Training and its stated quantitative and qualitative targets, and also with regard to the actual needs demonstrated by ever-increasing demand.

Secondly, at primary level the gaps in provision occur mainly in the most remote rural areas and – increasingly – in outlying, out-of-town neighbourhoods where there is a concentration of marginalised and vulnerable social strata.

Finally, intake capacity – which requires additional teaching staff – would benefit from being strengthened at college level in rural areas, at secondary qualifying level in urban areas and in the sub-sector of professional training as a whole.

It must be borne in mind that educational reform was not aimed solely at quality of service in all its manifestations. It was also integrated and developed in what might be called “academic citizenship” at all levels and stages of the education system. This can, for example, be seen in the curriculum: teaching on human rights and children’s rights should now form an integral part of apprenticeship and training. It can also be present in academic and university life through the democratic participation of pupils and students in administrative and teaching councils established by statute in their institution of education. Also, important opportunities for personal growth are offered by extra-curricular activities in schools and universities. These include recreational pursuits in sport, art, culture and less formal social events. Educational possibilities are also offered by exercising rights of association within the framework of co-operatives and other organisations. Such experiences enhance young people’s learning and raise their standing in the community. There are indeed many educational and developmental spaces that can be opened up to young people within the wider social, political, cultural and economic environment. For this reason, the concept of “educational space” is beginning to be stretched as part of a continuum in the global socio-cultural space frequented by young people. Paradoxically, though, neither lay society nor young people appear to be in a rush to claim ownership of these spaces. Should they do so, though, we can expect that young people will play a more active part in shaping future programmes, measures and statutes.

In this analysis of the system and its educational and extra-curricular components it has been possible to acknowledge the effort invested in educating, training and preparing young people for an economically active life. Structures that are supportive of informing, directing and accompanying young people in their training and preparation for economic activity have now been put in place. The expansion in intake capacity and teaching staff, along with improvements in the quality of teaching and training, has also facilitated the more effective integration of young people into the labour market. The promotion of their development as active and participative citizens should also yield wider benefits for civil society as a whole. That said, cumulative delays in the system need to be addressed with renewed vigour.

→ Employment

As the figures in Table 4.3 show, unemployment among young people in general – and young graduates in particular – remains one of the major obstacles to be tackled in Morocco. Indeed, the majority of those seeking employment are aged between 15 and 34 years.

Table 4.3 Categories of employment among 15- to 24-year-olds in Morocco

	Urban		Rural		Combined	
	1999	2004	1999	2004	1999	2004
<i>Categories of employment offered to young people aged 15 to 24 (in %)</i>						
Unqualified	49.9	44.8	82.8	80.8	69.8	67.4
Intermediate level	43.9	47.2	16.7	18.7	27.4	29.2
Higher level	6.1	8.0	0.4	0.5	2.7	3.3
Not stated	0.1	–	0.1	–	0.1	–
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Categories of employment rate among young people aged 15 to 24 (in %)</i>						
Unqualified	53.7	50.0	62.9	61.1	60.0	57.9
Intermediate level	28.7	25.3	51.3	42.7	34.3	30.3
Higher level	24.8	22.4	34.9	32.0	25.6	23.1
Total	37.0	32.1	60.4	56.3	48.3	44.0
<i>Categories of unemployment among young people aged 15 to 24, by sex (in thousands)</i>						
Male	303	237	192	76	432	313
Female	124	102	20	11	144	112
Combined	427	339	149	86	576	425

Source: Table based on contributions in *Les Cahiers du Plan*, No. 3, June-July 2005, Haut-Commissariat au Plan, Kingdom of Morocco.

Between 1999 and 2004 the economically active section of the population aged 15 to 24 years declined by 3.6%. In urban areas, the availability of employment decreased by 9.4% over the same period. There is also widespread underemployment among young people in the casual sector and in agriculture. It should be noted that many young women in rural areas commonly undertake unpaid work. There is, moreover, a more general insecurity in terms of income and employment conditions that frequently besets young people in these less regulated sectors of the economy. It is also important to point out the rather limited expansion of economic activity among women. They were adversely and disproportionately affected by a reduction in the availability of employment between 1999 and 2004 (–11.9% at national level, –16.3% in urban areas and –8.3% in rural areas).

Employment rates

Some comments need to be made in relation to young people's share of employment. For example, in 2002 young people aged between 15 and 24 years represented 41.7% of all those who were economically active. If the category of young people were expanded to encompass all those between 15 and 34 years, then those in work would represent more than half the total population of the potentially economically active (53.5%). The employment rate of young people in the population (aged 15 to 24) is distinctly lower than that of other age groups, partly because of the increase in numbers of those in education. On the other hand, the figures for 2002 show 25- to 34-year-olds having particularly high employment rates (62.1%).

However, these rates conceal other forms of disparity, notably between urban and rural areas, and between the sexes. For example, employment rates are much higher

in rural areas than in urban areas (in 2002, 52.7% compared with 32.0%). By the same token, employment rates among young men are higher than those of young women: the highest rate of the latter in rural areas being 27.2%, three times lower than that of their male counterparts at 75.8%. In urban areas the figure drops to 16% (again, a third of the male rate of 48.9%).

Youth unemployment

The proportion of young people within the economically active population that are unemployed has reached 35.7% (33.2% in urban areas and 50.3% in rural areas). The question of unemployment among young people in Morocco is bound up with the general profile of employment and work. It results from the close interlinking of a number of factors, both macro- and micro-economic in character. Firstly, there is "terminal unemployment". This neologism refers to the need for a job-seeker to retrain and/or change career direction because the demand for their particular occupation or skill-set has fallen significantly. This type of unemployment appears to affect young people disproportionately.

The second, related, factor concerns the mismatch that may exist between the skills required by the economy and those possessed by job-seekers. Thus, unemployed people can be well qualified but, as far as employers are concerned, inappropriately qualified. There is therefore a need for a closer alignment between the needs of the economy and those institutions that provide education and training.

Thirdly, inflexibilities in management and production systems need to be addressed, by instigating a rolling programme of modernisation in business and industry. It is therefore important that the education and training systems produce highly trained and innovative managers and technical staff.

Finally, it is important that the long-term macro-economic and micro-economic policies pursued are those most likely to create and sustain high levels of good-quality employment.

Within the above perspective, a career trap has been highlighted. This had its origins in the pre-eminent role of the civil service and the administration in absorbing job-seekers of all kinds up to the beginning of the 1980s. This situation, supported by a favourable international economic climate (the "Thirty Glorious Years"), was not reinforced by the establishment of an institutional system that would co-ordinate the labour market and anticipate movements within the workforce, changes of occupation and shifts in employment status.

By putting an end to recruitment in the administration, the Structural Adjustment Plan (PAS) in 1983 to some extent generated mechanisms that freed up the management of the labour market. But in the absence of a management tradition based on the market and economic liberalism, this inevitably led to the development of informal domestic systems of job-seeking and atypical and/or insecure forms of work. This resulted in a rather chaotic labour market. The creation of the National Council of Youth and the Future (CNJA) in 1991 bore witness to the scale of unemployment among graduates, which reached unprecedented levels at the end of the 1980s. The tasks and measures that were mapped out formed the basis of a new approach to young people and led in the 1990s to targeted youth employment policies. These were, however, implemented ineffectively.

Youth unemployment by place of residence

This indicator demonstrates significant disparities between young people and adults, as well as between towns and the countryside. In both cases it is to the disadvantage of young people and urban populations. Nationally, almost two-thirds (64.1%) of young unemployed people have never worked; this proportion is 68% in urban areas and 48.9% in rural areas.

Youth unemployment by gender

In 2003 the unemployment rate among young men was relatively higher than that of young women (17.4% as opposed to 15.9%). The respective positions show a stronger contrast when area of residence is taken into account. Thus, in urban areas young men appear to be less affected than young women (33.4% compared with 37.7%), whereas in rural areas the reverse is true (2.2% for young women and 6.7% for young men). The perspective on this finding has to remain relative in the light of other employment indicators and conditions of work (underemployment, unpaid work and job insecurity), which reveal that, especially in urban areas, young women are adversely affected by the crisis to a greater extent than young men. Indeed, feeling themselves more vulnerable, young women seem to withdraw more quickly and in greater numbers from the labour market. This is indicated by the considerable fluctuations in their activity and employment rates. These activity and employment rates are, incidentally, already among the lowest in the world. Such data very much underline the phenomenon of female poverty and social insecurity.

Youth unemployment by age group

As far as disparities between adolescents (15-19 years) and young adults (20-24 years) are concerned, a decrease in the unemployment rate between the two ages has not been observed in the case of Morocco. This is irrespective of sex and area of residence. Thus, unemployment among young people decreased from 20.1% in 1999 to 15.4% in 2005. This conceals, however, a considerable discrepancy between young adults and adolescents. For adolescents the rate is "only" 13.6%, whereas for young adults it is 20.8% (a ratio of 1.53 to the disadvantage of young adults).

These disparities are even more marked in the case of young women compared with young men. Indeed, the unemployment rate among young women is 22.5% as opposed to 8.9% for female adolescents (a ratio of 2.53). It is also important not to overlook the impact of child labour on the employment market. It is, of course, often casual in nature. Nevertheless, it is worth commenting that casual child labour is an enduring feature of the Moroccan economy. Added to this is the progressive exclusion of girls from the casual economy as they grow older, especially around ages 16-19 years. This in turn augments the number of unemployed people and deprives key sectors of the economy of young women's knowledge and expertise.

Underemployment among young people

Young people and those aged between 25 and 34 make up two-thirds of the under-employed population (31.6% and 34.6% respectively). But it is in rural areas that the proportion of young people is the highest, reaching 39%. The female population is affected worse than males, with young under-employed women

constituting almost half (47.5%). As is the case in the casual economy, the high level of underemployment among young people is explained by the high rates of youth unemployment. Those young people who, for economic and social reasons (typically, individual and family poverty, vulnerability and/or limited social capital) as well as legal and policy reasons (breach of the labour regulations and/or absence of welfare benefits, for example), cannot afford to experience prolonged unemployment are often obliged to accept less secure jobs and poorer pay.

Young people in the casualised sector

Reference has been made to this subject already. It is, however, worth making some additional points. A breakdown of the age structure of the active population involved in the casual economy shows a relatively high proportion aged under 35 years (46.6%). Those under 18, who are obviously adolescents, make up a small proportion (6.5%). The proportion of young adults is, though, more significant (14.4%). This discrepancy is explained by the invisibility of children (under 18 years) who are generally recognised as apprentices.

In broad terms young people in casual work are concentrated in the categories of labourers and unskilled workers (76.0%) and unqualified or qualified craft workers (14.7%). However, it should be noted that 61.2% of them occupy unpaid positions – for example, helping within a family business. The work is, therefore, almost always in the private sector.

Unemployed graduates

Among graduates there are great differences in employment rates between those who have pursued an academic course at university and those who have studied in college or some other further/higher education establishment. But even in this area, it is generally young people who are the worst affected. The category of young qualified people who experience the most unemployment in urban areas is that of the university graduate (apart from graduates in medicine), with an unemployment rate of 77.8%. This is almost six times higher than the rate experienced by those aged 35 to 44. Next come technicians and middle managers, with an unemployment rate of 50.2% (nine times higher than those aged 25 to 44). On the other hand, those who have qualified at colleges and non-traditional university or further/higher education establishments (including faculties of medicine) have the best outcomes, with a lower rate of unemployment. This is in the order of 36.6%, but that in turn cannot be compared with the rate among 35- to 44-year-olds, which is only 2.2% (the former is 16.6 times higher).

The explanation for such disparities between types of qualification and between young people and adults can be found in the nature of the training system in general, but particularly at the higher end. This is especially the case following the Arabisation of scientific subjects at the level of basic and secondary education. Moreover, as has been observed already, there is a mismatch between the needs of the economy and the nature of the education and training being pursued by many students. The management priorities and styles adopted by some companies may also have a bearing.

Policies and programmes responding to youth employment and mobility issues

There are a number of aspirations that could be mentioned with regard to youth employment and mobility: the promotion of self-employment and entrepreneurship; clearer routes into the labour market for graduates; effective integration into the economy of those with a background in agricultural training; the availability of relevant and improved qualifying training; given the nature of globalisation and the need for a flexible and mobile workforce, preparing young people for current and predicted economic trends; and the adaptation of training to development needs and anticipated areas of growth.

In the strategic plan for employment adopted for the period 2006-08 by the Ministry of Employment and Professional Training, some of the key elements include: the promotion of salaried employment for graduates; training, re-training and adaptation strategies; support for the creation of small businesses; improved management and governance of the labour market; rigorous evaluation of the workings of the labour market, including the establishment of a research institute to monitor employment; the regulation of part-time working; and the opening up of temporary work to private agencies.

The introduction of operational measures for the promotion of employment (Shkirat 7/6/2006) shows evidence of a change of direction in employment policies in favour of young people, and especially of graduates. These measures flow from a proactive policy that promotes regular, paid employment, job creation and improved regulation of the labour market.

Within the framework of this policy, the services offered through parent organisations have been restructured. The following agencies can be mentioned by way of illustration.

L'Agence Nationale de Promotion de l'Emploi et des Compétences – ANAPEC (The National Agency for the Promotion of Employment and Skills)

To find solutions to unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular, several mechanisms have been put in place. One of these is ANAPEC. This agency (with 24 offices, 15 of them in the regional capitals) invites local communities, professional bodies, chambers of commerce and NGOs (several of which are made up of young unemployed graduates) to enter into a partnership with the aim of establishing subsidiary agencies. The partner shares the running costs as well as the initial financial outlay required to set up the sub-branches. Job-seekers are provided with relevant documentation, access to information on vacancies and the databases of ANAPEC. Many of the resources made available to job-seekers take the form of an employment self-service facility.

In order to convey some idea of the breadth and scope of the work undertaken, it is worth recording here some of the results for the year ending December 2003: there was contact with about 100 000 job seekers; 17 085 job seekers were integrated into the labour market; placements abroad were arranged for more than 350 graduates; 100 employment self-service points were installed; and the Support for Job Creation project (within the framework of the MEDA I programme) was launched. The performance indicators achieved by ANAPEC in the year 2003 demonstrated the following: a placement rate of about 70% on the employment offers negotiated; a rate of 75% on non-subsidised contracts among the employment

offers negotiated; an integration rate of 50% subsequent to completion of training period contracts; an integration rate of 70% subsequent to qualifying training; and a rate of 50% on the creation of businesses (the figure describing the relationship between the number of businesses created and the complement of accompanying business candidates).

The placements found by ANAPEC in the course of the year 2003 involved a total of 17 085 people, of whom 51% were female. The average age of those placed was 27 years, with 71% of the candidates placed being under 30. Also, 59.5% of the placements were carried out within the framework of common law contracts (CDC) and the remainder in the form of a placement contract (CI).

L'Office de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion du Travail – OFPPT (The Office of Professional Training and Work Promotion)

This initiative has assumed paramount importance as far as employment is concerned. The number of trainees currently on placement with this office has exceeded 120 000. According to an announcement made in Casablanca (22 September 2006) by the Board of Directors for this office, the figure represents an increase of 15% in comparison with the total for 2005. It should be pointed out that this occasion marked the launch of the third tranche of the government commission aimed at achieving 400 000 trainee places by the year 2007/8. This pace of development is possible due to accompanying measures based on the creation of establishments dedicated to growth sectors such as ICT, offshoring, tourism, transport, plastics technology and food processing. This substantial increase in numbers has been linked with a high-quality approach to the training process along with a strategy of optimising human and material resources. The professionalisation of management and communication tools has also enhanced overall performance of the agency. The year 2005 has therefore been characterised by targeted actions. Among other things, it is a question of reconfiguring training modules, restructuring subject areas, training the trainers and pursuing certification (ISO9001) for appropriate training establishments.

Furthermore, ongoing training – one of the priorities of this public office – has benefited from special attention as a result of the preparation of solid foundations for the future activities of the Specialist Training Centres (CSF). Accordingly, a new manual of procedures has been developed in close collaboration with relevant institutions, social partners and the business sector. Despite budgetary constraints, an effort to rationalise and optimise resources has made it possible to realise substantial gains in productivity, which have in turn been used to help finance the OFPPT Action Plan for 2006.

Labour laws

The new labour laws, which came into effect on 8 June 2004, reflect the hugely significant developments of the 1980s and 1990s in technology, the economy and society. These changes also affected organisational life in the public and private sectors, causing a restructuring of key professional relationships in the employment field. The cumulative effects of the resulting social dialogue, particularly since the mid-1990s, influenced the nature of these statutes. Mechanisms that favour young graduates reflect the basic tenets underpinning the reforms. Their aim is expressed very clearly in the Charter of Education and Training: namely, to achieve a better fit between what is offered by the education system and what is needed by the world of work. This explains how the LMD reform (Degree, Master, Doctorate),

which began to be implemented in 2003/4, has opened the way for a system of modules, life-long credits and easier movement between training and employment. This allows people to interrupt their studies while retaining credit for modules completed, with the right to resume their studies after a period of professional experience should they so desire.

Migration

The question of migration remains a major concern, because of the social and economic haemorrhaging effect that can occur *in extremis*. Migration from the countryside to the town can exert considerable pressure on the urban labour market while simultaneously undermining social and economic life in rural communities. Migration abroad provided a solution to unemployment and inadequate employment for tens of thousands of people in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, before it was abruptly stopped. This had the result of intensifying pressure on the labour market at home, especially in towns. Nonetheless, over two million Moroccans live abroad today. The pattern of distribution is set out in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Moroccans living abroad

	1984		1997		2002	
	Number (thousands)	%	Number (thousands)	%	Number (thousands)	%
Europe	842.4	73.9	1 609.8	83.9	2 185.8	84.7
Arab countries	248.0	21.7	219.2	11.4	232.0	9.0
America	40.0	3.5	84.4	4.4	155.4	6.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	10.0	0.9	3.2	0.2	5.4	0.2
Asia	–	–	0.6	1.0	1.0	0.0
Australia	–	–	0.8	0.0	2.5	0.1
Total	1 140.4	100.0	1 918.1	100.0	2 582.1	100.0

Sources:⁵

CERED

Fond. Hassan II – MRE

MAEC

This migration abroad is predicated not only on the quest for a better material standard of living, but also on some of the cultural and lifestyle aspirations of young people. Europe, the French-speaking world in particular, remains the preferred destination. Given the historical links and geographical proximity of French-speaking countries, this is unsurprising. With the tougher new European policies on migration and the tragic events of 9/11, though, migration to Europe has become something of a chimera for many less well-educated young people.

Illegal migration has been reported widely in the news media because of the many dead victims who litter the beaches following their doomed and desperate efforts to pursue the dream of a better life. Likewise there has been extensive coverage of the networks of prostitution and organised crime that profit from human trafficking. For sub-Saharan migrants, Morocco has now moved from being a transit country to a country of destination.

5 Sources in Morocco: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches démographiques (CERED), Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidents à l'Étranger (Fond. Hassan II-MRE), Ministère des Affaires Étrangères et de la Coopération (MAEC).

There is, however, silence with regard to another aspect of migration: the skills exodus or, as some prefer to describe it, the “brain drain”. The economic power imbalance between Morocco and wealthy developed societies leaves little meaningful choice available to those young people who emigrate away from the country that has educated and trained them. In effect, of course, the South finances the development of economies in the North because it is in the countries of origin that migrants receive most, if not all, of their education. The better the level of education and training attained in those areas of expertise required by the North, the quicker migrants are integrated into those economies. The beneficiaries of Morocco’s investment in young people’s education and training will, so often, be the economies of Europe – especially northern Europe. The policy of voluntary migration defended by the European Union (EU) is very revealing indeed.

As a conclusion to this review of the relationship between young people and the labour market in Morocco, it emerges that the question of employment (or rather employability) of young people is the cornerstone of the new policy embarked upon by the Moroccan state since the shift of political power in 1996. It is, though, taking a long time for this policy to reassure young people and reverse the pattern of exclusion and unemployment from which they have been suffering for so many years. In an emerging economy, and with the disastrous effects of globalisation, young Moroccans’ access to the labour market demands not only a policy based on voluntarism but also a framework of co-operation with the European Union. Ideally, this should be a partnership of equals.

Anna Musiala

Youth employment – The Polish perspective

Creating jobs for youth is not enough. Across the planet, youth are not only finding it difficult if not impossible to find jobs, but also they cannot find decent jobs. ... We are facing not only an economic challenge, but a security threat of monumental proportions.

Juan Somavia, ILO Director-General

In the first half of 2007 the rate of unemployment in Poland was 15.1%.⁶ The group facing the most difficult situation in the labour market is youth. In 2005, 36.9% of the unemployed were drawn from the youth population (people aged between 15 and 24: comprising 35.7% of men and 38.3% of women).⁷ It is worth pointing out, moreover, that the rate of unemployment among young people has probably fallen as a result of a trend towards emigration since Poland's entry into the European Union. According to various data, about one million people have left the country for work. It is

6 www.paiz.gov.pl, 18.06.2007.

7 Krajowy Program "Zabezpieczenie Społeczne i Integracja Społeczna 2006-2008", National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion", Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, Warszawa, 2006 – www.mpips.gov.pl, 18.06.2007.

reasonable to assume that most of these emigrants are young Poles, but exact information about their numbers is unavailable.⁸ While emigration among the young goes some way towards reducing the overall rate of unemployment among this group, it does so at a terrifying national cost: we are probably losing the most promising and resourceful individuals who can help us to build a secure national future.

Given the situation outlined above, it is important to explore solutions that might address the problem of Polish youth emigration. The purpose of this article is to consider, in general terms, whether Poland as a nation-state in the European Union can do anything to assist unemployed youth. In 2002 the Polish Government launched a programme entitled First Job. To begin with, I would like to highlight the point that the problem of youth unemployment is not an issue that afflicts only countries like Poland: it is a global problem. I will then present some details of the First Job programme and evaluate its strengths and limitations.

→ Global youth unemployment

Nearly 85% of the world's youth (those aged 15 to 24) – about 1 billion people – live in developing countries.⁹ The youth labour-force participation rate declined from 59.3% to 54.4% between 1994 and 2004, mainly as a consequence of young women and men staying in education for longer periods. Global youth unemployment rose from 70.8 million in 1994 to 85.7 million in 2004, accounting for 45% of all unemployment. Moreover, youth accounted for about 20% of the world's estimated 535 million “working poor” in the year 2004. Some 106 million youth worked, but lived in households that earned less than the equivalent of US\$1 per day. Young people are also over-represented in the informal economy. About two thirds of new jobs created in Latin America and South-East Asia in the period 1990-2002 were in the informal sector of the economy. It is worth highlighting the point that a third of young people working in the European Union were subject to temporary contracts in 2004, compared with 11% of adults.¹⁰

In light of the best statistics available, it is not an exaggeration to state that the world is facing a growing youth employment crisis. According to the latest ILO (International Labour Organisation) data, of the world's estimated 191 million unemployed people in 2004, about half – or nearly 86 million – are aged between 15 and 24. In many economies there is a three times bigger chance that these will be young people looking for work. Today the problem of youth unemployment is not confined to poor countries. The problem afflicts both wealthy, developed and established industrialised nation-states as well as poorer, developing and rapidly industrialising economies. Young people are also over-represented in that highly vulnerable group of the working poor. So the challenge – even more fundamental – is not only about creating jobs, but securing decent employment for young people

8 Bożena Kłos, “Migracje zarobkowe Polaków o krajów Unii Europejskiej”, www.parl.sejm.gov.pl, 18.06.2007.

9 A developing country is a country with a low income average, a relatively backward infrastructure and a poor human development index when compared to the global norm. The term has tended to edge out earlier ones, including the Cold War-defined Third World – www.en.wikipedia.org, 01.05.2007.

10 ILO, *Global Employment Trends for Youth*, Geneva, 2004; ILO, *Key Indicators of The Labour Market*, 4th edn, Geneva 2005; OECD Labour Force Statistics Database online, ILO, *Youth employment. A Global Goal, National Challenge*, www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/yett/download/ggnc_eng.pdf, 01.05.2007.

who are currently working in the fields in rural areas and the urban back alleys of the informal economy.¹¹

Finally, there is the increasing problem of young people experiencing problems in securing stable employment following the completion of their formal education. Nearly 20% of young Europeans are currently out of work. The figures from Poland, Greece and Italy are particularly worrying (36.4%, 27.8% and 24% respectively), but they are also high in France, Germany, Finland and Belgium. Even well-qualified young people are taking longer and longer to find a secure job that gives them financial and social independence.

In developing countries, youth unemployment is compounded by substantial levels of underemployment and poor-quality jobs in the informal sector. Both these phenomena are widespread, which suggests that the problem of integrating young people into the labour markets of developing countries is really much more serious than it first appears. In many transition economies,¹² youth unemployment levels show a similar composition. Given the massive reductions in output in many of the countries moving towards market economies, the problem is considerably more dangerous than in the more industrialised nations. For example, despite a partial recovery of output, in 1997 youth unemployment in Poland was 24.7%, compared with an adult rate of 8%. Similarly, in Hungary in 1997, the rate of unemployment for young people was 16%, compared with 7.5% for adults.¹³

The causes of youth unemployment can be analysed at different levels, but it is certain that globalisation and technological advances have had a profound impact on labour markets throughout the world; and young people, as new workers, have faced a number of challenges and difficulties associated with these developments. Trends in the youth labour market tend to be indicative of trends in the adult labour market, although the effects of any shifts that may occur are often magnified and seem more serious in the employment situation of the young. The decline in skilled jobs in the manufacturing sector, together with the increased demand for professional specialists and unskilled labour in the growing service industries, has led to a phenomenon of “hollowing-out” the youth labour market. New opportunities tend to cluster either at the top end, in the professional and advanced technical sector, or at the bottom end, in the low-tier service industries. An increasing number of youth are also finding work in the informal economy, where jobs are usually characterised by real insecurity, poor wages and unfavourable working conditions.¹⁴

However, it must be remembered that access to productive and decent work is the best way young people can realise their aspirations, improve their living conditions and actively participate in society. Decent work for young people means not only

11 www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/yett/download/ggnc_eng.pdf, 01.05.2007.

12 A transition economy is an economy which is changing from a planned economy to a free market. Transition economies undergo economic liberalisation, letting market forces set prices and lowering trade barriers, macroeconomic stabilisation, where immediate high inflation is brought under control, and restructuring and privatisation, in order to create a financial sector and move from public to private ownership of resources – www.en.wikipedia.org, 01.05.2007.

13 Niall O’Higgins, *Youth unemployment and employment policy*, ILO, Geneva 2001, pp. 9-10.

14 *Youth employment*, World Youth Report, 2003 – www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/wyr03.htm, 01.05.2007.

significant benefits in terms of increased wealth, but is also commonly associated with a commitment to democracy, security and political stability. Decent work can thus strengthen both the economy and wider civil society. The young person who works within a framework of decent conditions of employment can join a cadre of young consumers, savers and taxpayers who fuel energy, innovation and creativity. Such dynamism within a national economy is more likely to attract domestic and foreign investment. When economically productive and motivated young people are also committed to civil society, they can become the architects of an equitable society and construct bridges between the generations.¹⁵

In response to the significant problem of youth unemployment, the International Labour Organisation – at its 86th Session in 1998 – adopted a Resolution on Youth Employment. The ILO called upon its member states (including Poland) to:¹⁶

- (a) consider new and innovative policies and programmes to create employment opportunities for young people;
- (b) increase investment in basic education targeted at improving the quality of education and access to further and higher education for disadvantaged categories of young people;
- (c) take measures with the aim that, when young people leave school, they possess a general education and a balanced range of qualifications and skills which would enable them to realise their full potential and contribute to the well-being of society and the needs of the economy and enterprises;
- (d) take measures with the goal that vocational training and counselling are adapted to the requirements of the labour market in order to facilitate the transition of young people from school into work and the acquisition of the generic and transferable skills required as a basis for employment and lifelong learning;
- (e) promote flexible working arrangements so that young people can avail themselves of on- and off-the-job education and training opportunities in the context of agreed workplace arrangements;
- (f) identify the obstacles to hiring young people and take measures, as far as possible and desirable, to remove them while maintaining the individual's employment protection;
- (g) develop a legislative and administrative framework which provides young people with employment protection;
- (h) encourage enterprises to play an active role in the provision of continuing training to young employees;
- (i) encourage young people and enterprises to develop more flexible attitudes towards the acquisition of new skills to meet changing needs;
- (j) promote enterprise, entrepreneurship and self-employment among young people and the creation and viability of small and medium-sized enterprises as one of the major sources of employment opportunities for young people.

We should conclude that the problem of youth unemployment concerns many countries, not only in Europe. It is a result of the global economy, and the phenomenon that there is less paid work available to people, especially to new entrants to the labour market. It can also be observed that the International Labour Organization is working on the eventual solution of the problem. Nevertheless, it should not

15 *Youth employment*, World Youth Report, 2003 – www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/wyr03.htm, 01.05.2007.

16 Resolution concerning Youth employment, www2.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc86/com-res.htm, 01.05.2007.

be forgotten that the role of this organisation is advisory and consultative only. It is thus the role of every country, and the European Union as a whole, to explore potential solutions to the problem. The ILO, can of course, offer professional advice; ultimately, though, the main work must be done outside that organisation.

→ Poland's First Job programme

Unemployment among young people in Poland is three times higher than the national average, which is itself high. In order to address the problem and seek to prevent youth unemployment, in June 2002 the Polish Government launched a new programme called First Job (*Pierwsza praca*).¹⁷

We can regard the First Job programme as the response of the Polish Government to the high rate of youth unemployment. It is also, however, a response developed within the framework of the aforementioned ILO Resolution. First Job, officially inaugurated on 3 June 2002 in Cracow, is Poland's first (and only) nationwide programme for the vocational activation of young people. Its aim, quite simply, is to enable young workers to acquire their first experience of work. As it is the only such programme in Poland, it is impossible to undertake a comparative evaluation in the national context. Nevertheless, it is possible to consider critically the strengths and weaknesses of the scheme.

The First Job programme was the idea of the Polish Ministry of Labour and its head, the minister, Jerzy Hausner. It is difficult to say whether it was inspired by programmes from other countries. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that before Poland introduced First Job, other countries around the world had already been developing such programmes (Jamaica, the United Kingdom and United States of America, for example).¹⁸ It is certainly reasonable to suppose that experiences elsewhere and policy ideas generated in other national contexts may have influenced Polish thinking.

According to data from Polish Official Statistics (Główny Urząd Statystyczny), unemployment had been rising gradually until it reached a record height of 20.3% in the first quarter of 2002. The rate fell to 17.2% in May, before rising slightly to 17.3% in June. In the first half of 2002, some 3.1 million people were unemployed. Mounting concerns about youth unemployment caused the pressure that led to this Polish youth activation programme.

The First Job programme comprises five strands:

- small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs);
- self-employment;
- education;
- voluntary work; and
- information, vocational counselling, and labour market intermediation.

More detail on each of the five strands is set out below, based on published government documents.¹⁹

17 Pierwsza Praca programme – www.mpips.gov.pl, 20.03.2007.

18 Niall O'Higgins, *Youth unemployment and employment policy*, ILO, Geneva 2001, p. 109.

19 Pierwsza Praca programme – www.mpips.gov.pl, 20-03-2007. Translation from the page: www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2002/12/feature/pl0212107f.html, 01.05.2007.

Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs)

The Act regarding employment and counteracting unemployment²⁰ provided for a number of useful instruments in this area. These include:

- Remuneration refunds for school leavers. For a 12-month period, employers are eligible for reimbursement of the wages paid out to a newly employed school leaver and of the obligatory social insurance contributions made on their behalf;
- Internships. This scheme allows the county employment office to draw up a contract with an employer, on which basis a school leaver is taken on for a 12-month internship, receiving from the employment office a grant equal in value to unemployment benefit;
- Social benefit/community service work. A local administration official (*starosta*) may assign school leavers to stints of up to six months' duration at social benefit institutions or working in culture, education, tourism, healthcare or social care. It is important to note that young people can perform work that does not necessarily correspond to their previous education and training. The employers are eligible for partial reimbursements of wages and of social insurance contributions paid to and for the school leavers;
- Loans for the creation of new jobs for unemployed persons referred by the county employment office. Under this scheme, the maximum loan to the employer per workplace amounts to 20 times the average wage, with an interest rate of 50% of the variable annual interest rate for lien loans or, in areas threatened with particularly high structural unemployment, 30% of that rate; and
- Special programmes. These are measures pursued by the county employment offices in collaboration with other institutions. These are geared to the employment of people from high-risk groups and those who, given the profile of their qualifications and the situation prevailing in the local job market, are threatened by long-term unemployment.

Self-employment

The government concluded that, in order to stimulate interest in self-employment among recent school leavers, measures should be pursued along three lines:

- reducing red tape in establishing new businesses and the associated costs, through legal solutions;
- introducing a large-scale programme offering inexpensive loans, credit assurance, interest subsidies and professional advisory services. Individual county employment offices extend loans for starting up independent business activity, at interest rates identical to those applied to loans to SMEs (see above) with the possibility of partial debt write-off and the reimbursement of up to 80% of training and consultancy expenses over the first year of activity; and
- temporary suspension of the payment of the retirement and pension component of obligatory social insurance contributions for graduates opening their own businesses. Under the terms of the Act regarding facilitation of employment, school-leavers may, within 12 months of the commencement of business activity, obtain from the Labour Fund (Fundusz Pracy) subsidies towards the accident and pension components of their social insurance contributions. From the outset,

²⁰ The Act regarding employment and counteracting unemployment, 14 December 1994, Journal of Laws (*Dziennik Ustaw*) of 1 January 1995, No. 1, item 1; now has been amended by the Act regarding the promotion of employment and the institutions of labour market, 20 April 2004, Journal of Laws (*Dziennik Ustaw*) of 1 May 2004, No. 99, item 1001.

however, there was a presumption that the possibilities for subsidising business activity in this way are limited.

Education

It was believed that improvements in educational provision would help support the competitive position of young people entering the labour market, providing them with better skills. Measures towards this end were to be pursued in three distinct areas:

- overhaul of the education system by modifying teaching methods so as to foster innovation and independence, and adjusting the curriculum so as to combine general instruction with area-specific programmes – thus providing students with theoretical knowledge about entrepreneurship along with practical skills developed through vocational training undertaken in collaboration with businesses;
- continuing education, understood as enabling school leavers to continue learning via training programmes organised by labour offices and financial assistance extended to residents of areas threatened by high structural unemployment to enable them to pursue training; and
- activation activities within schools themselves, pursued through the establishment of careers offices, providing students with advice on planning their careers and also promoting school leavers in the labour market. Activities of this sort benefit from state support in the form of grants awarded by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

Voluntary work

The voluntary work component of the programme is intended to give those school leavers who have not found jobs some unpaid practical experience in some line of work. An obstacle was posed by the absence of legal provisions regulating voluntary work, and the government thus proceeded to draft a statute concerning “public benefit” and voluntary work,²¹ specifying in the process the institutions which would benefit from unpaid work. This included non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and public administration bodies. NGOs may – although they are under no duty to do so – cover the expenses associated with a volunteer’s work (e.g., the necessary medical examinations, accident insurance or travel costs). Public administration bodies, which are obliged to cover expenses for these items, can offer voluntary work in social aid, the labour market, healthcare, justice, culture, sport, tourism and education.

Information, vocational guidance and employment services

The goal of the information, vocational counselling and labour market intermediation element is to establish an effective information network based on the Information and Career Planning Centres (Centra Informacji i Planowania Kariery Zawodowej) that are affiliated to the District Employment Offices (Wojewódzkie Urzędy Pracy). These centres should provide school leavers with knowledge about the labour market and with practical training in job-seeking skills. Areas at risk of structural unemployment will also have Commune Information Centres (Gminne Centra Informacji) which monitor local labour markets.

21 The Law on Public Benefit Activity and Volunteerism, 24 April 2003, Journal of Laws (*Dziennik Ustaw*) of 29 July 2003, No. 96, item 873.

The programme's implementation

The intentions of the government, as expressed in its formulation of the First Job programme, were ambitious; particularly considering the scale of the problem that needed to be addressed. Needless to say, the biggest question mark was posed by the programme's funding. Overall, approximately PLN 1 billion was earmarked for the launch of the "First Job" programme. This was to be obtained from: the Labour Fund; World Bank aid; EU (PHARE programme) aid; the reserves based on state revenues from privatisation; loans from the Council of Europe Development Bank; and local government bodies at communal, county and district levels.²²

It needs to be acknowledged that the main funding stream was provided by the Labour Fund. It should also be underlined that it was mainly Polish funds that financed the scheme. Consequently, the First Job programme can very much be represented as a national one in terms of its finance. However, some critics might argue that Poland has not made full use of the European funds available to fulfil the aim of combating youth unemployment.

Table 5.1. Financing of Poland's First Job programme²³

Source of funding	Envisaged total amount (PLN million)	Disbursed after five months	Amount to be disbursed by end of 2002
Labour Fund	560	558	2
Grant from the national budget for infrastructure investments pursued as public works in communities threatened by particularly high structural unemployment	30	30	–
Foreign aid PHARE and PAOW projects	6	6	–
Funds provided by the Agricultural Ownership Agency of the State Treasury	199	199	–
Funds from the property restitution reserve and from privatisation reserves made available by the Ministry of the State Treasury	209	–	209
Total	1 004	793	211

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Poland, 2002

During the first five months of the First Job programme, only 227 000 graduates – half the expected figure – presented themselves at employment offices to register as unemployed. Of that number, 63 000 people (roughly a quarter) took advantage of one of the programme's proposals (see Table 5.2). Notable features were the great popularity of subsidised internships and the low interest among school leavers in starting their own business. This suggests that the self-employment strand should be reconsidered. It is, perhaps, unsurprising that many young people are reluctant to start their own businesses. A risk-averse attitude on their part is understandable when they have little or no relevant experience.

22 One euro equals approximately four zlotys, 1 May 2007.

23 www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2002/12/feature/pl0212107f.html (accessed 01.05.2007).

Table 5.2. Take-up of First Job schemes, first five months of operation²⁴

Instrument	No. of participants
Internships for school leavers	36 838
Reimbursements for employers of school leavers	13 409
Loans for commencement of business activity	173
Training	7 253
Training loans	17
Loans for creation of additional jobs	84
Intervention projects	1 756
Public works	566
Social benefit work	775
Social insurance contribution refunds	9
Special programmes	436
Participation in PHARE and World Bank programmes	1 311
Measures under legislative Act regarding facilitation of graduate employment	78
Total	62 705

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Poland, 2002.

→ Conclusion

At the outset, the First Job programme was functioning properly in general terms. Although it attracted some critical comment in the first stage of its operation, the criticism often took exaggerated forms and was sometimes unfounded. The fears about its financing, for example, have turned out to be largely unfounded.

However, some solutions adopted in the First Job programme were at variance with social expectations. The programme should have encouraged young people to establish their own business, and the poor response must be treated as a failure. Most young people appear to have regarded self-employment as an unrealistic prospect. As mentioned, the vast majority of school leavers have absolutely no work experience – let alone relevant work experience – so it is unsurprising that they should not trust themselves to engage in independent, entrepreneurial activity, even if they are given funds to start their own business. In the view of this author, while the architects of the scheme were certainly right to include self-employment in the First Job programme, they ought to have realised that few people would select this option, so the amount of money allocated to this aim should have been smaller.

In addition, some critics might argue that the greatest perceived disadvantage of First Job is that the employment contracts it provides are short and fixed-term only. Thus, a cynical or unscrupulous employer could effectively be incentivised by government funds to dismiss a young person when the programme ends because they can so easily be replaced by another subsidised school-leaver.

There is a view that the kind of solution that allows the employer to take on young people at no cost (because the state covers the expenses of employment) should

²⁴ www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2002/12/feature/pl0212107f.html (accessed 01.05.2007).

be regarded as an abuse not only of the young person but also of public funds. Nevertheless, even though this might be seen as abusive, it could still be argued that the young have been given a chance to gain essential work experience. Given the finely balanced nature of the arguments, a key question needs to be posed: to what extent, if any, should labour law regulate employment practice in the field of such vocational activation programmes?

It is the view of this author that, if employers are given public funds for employing youth, they should bear an obligation to employ them for some time beyond the end of the First Job contract. In other words, the programme should not be organised in such a way that the employer has no obligations in this matter. Failure to impose such obligations leads to the paradoxical situation that employers will earn even more money by substituting one young worker for another when state subsidy expires at the end of a First Job contract. In contemporary Poland there are, no doubt, many examples of good practice: where, for example, an employer makes a long-term commitment to one young worker rather than hiring and firing five or six young workers on short-term contracts. It would be helpful to know how many employers engage in such good practice. There is clearly a need for more research in this area of policy. Nevertheless, despite the paucity of empirical evidence, the case for good employment practice remains strong.

The possibility of employing young workers part-time under the terms of the First Job programme could certainly be regarded as a manifestation of the wider trend of casualisation in the Polish labour market. Part-time or temporary jobs are very often the only alternatives available to young people as there are insufficient numbers of regular, full-time jobs. The increased use of short-term contracts in the economy as a whole is another indicator of deteriorating conditions in the Polish youth labour market in Poland. Young workers certainly appear to be more likely to accept such job offers than their older counterparts. Although short-term contracts can be linked to training and probationary status, in reality many such contracts represent a marginalised position in the labour market: short-term status simply being the consequence of failing to secure a full-time job.

The First Job initiatives in education and voluntary work, as well as information, vocational guidance and employment services, have not had such a great impact. At the outset it was difficult to envisage that such measures would have a significant effect on the Polish youth labour market. The three above-mentioned options were, perhaps, always regarded as likely to occupy only a supplementary role in solving the problem of youth unemployment.

In assessing the First Job programme, we must answer a more general question: should labour law be more protective of young people in the labour market? This question needs to be answered in terms whether employment regulations, pay and conditions of service should be more strictly regulated. Conversely, should labour law be liberalised to enable young people to find jobs more easily, thus allowing them to gain valuable work experience more quickly? In other words, we face a choice between maximising protection or freeing up the labour market to maximise job opportunities. On balance, this author considers the second option to be preferable. Notwithstanding the concerns already expressed about abusive practices by some employers, over-regulation of the labour market may result in fewer job opportunities for young workers. First Job's emphasis on more flexible labour markets therefore represents a broadly positive direction.

Undoubtedly, First Job's liberalisation of employment regulations – like easing restrictions on employing and dismissing young workers – should still be seen as a means of encouraging employers to hire youth. The only question is, to what extent should we liberalise the labour law and submit it to the logic of market conditions? In establishing programmes aimed at helping youth to find work, liberalising the labour law – and being criticised for taking such a liberal approach – is preferable to high levels of unemployment among this group. We should never forget that high levels of unemployment are always a source of acute concern because of the profoundly deleterious and corrosive effects they can have on young people's lives. It is well known that unemployment leads to a reduction in self-esteem and diminished levels of well-being.²⁵ Thus, any activities that help young people to find jobs and gain valuable work experience outweigh the well-documented disadvantages of labour market liberalisation. We must also take into account the fact that First Job is the first fully institutionalised and nationwide attempt at solving the problem of youth unemployment in Poland. What is more, programmes like First Job are increasingly common, in Europe as whole and beyond.²⁶

It should be acknowledged that, for the most part, the young unemployed are virtually alone in their fight for a secure foothold in the labour market. There is no organisation that can represent their interests in consultations at national level. Unemployed youth cannot really count on the support of trade unions, because the unions tend to be confined to the role of protecting narrow workplace or sectoral interests. Generally, the immediate interests of trade unions do not correspond with those of unemployed and marginalised youth.

In the last analysis, the best way to establish policies for youth employment is for governments to focus on the supply side of the labour market, rather than on labour demand. In other words, they typically try to reduce unemployment by addressing the lack of skills or poor attitudes of young people, instead of concentrating on efforts to promote economic growth and job creation. Providing young people with opportunities to learn through work may prove more effective than attempting to upgrade their skills before they enter the labour force and commence work.

However, we must not forget that the key to reducing youth unemployment lies most of all in simultaneously addressing wider economic policy issues and remedying deficiencies in the labour market as a whole, rather than addressing isolated difficulties in specific subsections of that market.²⁷ A balanced and holistic approach is required in a difficult, dynamic and ever-changing world.

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The impact of active labour-market programmes on young people's mental health: possibilities and limitations

Heike Behle

This article addresses how active labour-market programmes can influence the mental health of young participants. A theoretical framework is established in which the possibilities and limitations of active labour-market programmes are discussed. The presented theoretical construct is analysed empirically using survey data from an active labour-market programme (ALMP) aimed at young people in Germany and called JUMP. The research poses three questions. Firstly, can changes in the mental health of participants be traced? Secondly, which of these changes can be connected to the ALMP? Finally, are the limitations of the programme visible in changes to mental health? The research highlights differences between east and west German young people, and the limitations of the programme as a result of the labour market.

The relationship between unemployed young people and mental health has been the subject of extensive research (for literature reviews, see Lakey et al. 2001; Kieselbach 2000), but there has been little consideration of the impact of active labour-market programmes on participants. In Germany, many young people experience the school-to-work transition as underemployment (Dietrich 2001; Mansel and Hurrelmann 1992),

characterised by transitions between unemployment, employment, vocational training and participation in ALMP (Prause and Dooley 1997, 2001). ALMP schemes have become a key government instrument in recent years to help young people enter the labour market. In the 1980s Carle (1987: 147) argued that there was a need for research on the mental health of the “permanent impermanent”, but empirical studies in this field have primarily focused on the mental health of young people while unemployed (a recent exception being Dooley 2003).

This chapter introduces a theoretical framework which describes the impact that participation in an ALMP can have on young people’s mental health. To do so, firstly, the concept of mental health is discussed. Secondly, the possibilities of strengthening individual mental health by participation are examined. Thirdly, the limitations of ALMPs are considered. Changes in the mental health of participants in the JUMP programme in Germany are then evaluated using the established theoretical framework, and the reader is given a general introduction to evaluation techniques. After presenting the research design, the results are interpreted. Concluding remarks focus on the programme’s limitations as a result of the labour market and the role of future prospects in changing individual mental health.

→ A theoretical framework – mental health and active labour-market programmes (ALMPs)

The opportunity to influence mental health

Most classical theories explaining the impact of the labour market on mental health start with the circumstances of unemployment and describe how this affects individual mental health – for instance, Jahoda’s deprivation theory (1981), Fryer’s agency theory (1986) or Warr’s vitamin approach (1987). However, a different approach is needed when studying young people in underemployment or in ALMPs because they do not necessarily experience unemployment. To explore the possible impact of ALMPs on mental health means examining the concept of mental health itself and establishing why changes in mental health occur, so that the possibilities and limitations of ALMPs can then be considered.

Mental health can be defined as the ability to cope with external and internal needs. It expresses the ability of each individual to participate in the surrounding social life within their own capabilities (WHO Fact Sheet No. 220, 2001). Mental health, therefore, not only describes the state of balance, but also the ability to achieve the balance of mental health and to cope with external and internal needs (Seiffge-Krenke 1994). External needs in this context refer to interaction abilities. Internal needs result from the biological motivation system and an internal control system (Becker 1992: 67).

The state of mental health is not a fixed personality attribute, but an everyday and lifelong responsibility; it is a currently renewed and renewable balance (Hollederer 2002). Mental health is the product of the adjustment process between individual needs and available resources to satisfy those needs. Satisfaction of needs leads to a state of balanced mental health. Mental health is consequently a product of the socialisation process: the adaptation process of resources and needs results in mental health as a property over a longer period of time (Seiffge-Krenke 1994; Heinz 1995). Changes in mental health depend on the ability to cope with the gap between needs and available resources to satisfy them. If the individual is regularly able to satisfy his/her needs over a period of time, balanced mental health as a personality property is constructed.

The ability to influence the gap between resources and needs leads to mental health as a personality attribute. We can distinguish three possible ways²⁸ to actively influence the state of anomie,²⁹ seen as the result of a gap between needs and available resources:

- Increase available abilities and resources to satisfy given demands. Abilities and resources depend on personality attributes like alertness, concentration and self-consciousness. Knowledge of and trust in one's own capacities and the ability to solve problems can be seen as foundation layers to cope with demands/needs (Hurrelmann 1998).
- Decrease of external and internal needs. Using an anticipatory coping behaviour, the individual actively modifies the needs and adapts them to available resources (Hurrelmann 1998).
- Implementation of moderating and mediating factors to change the relevance of the needs. Moderators can act as a protection against anomie (Wacker 1983).

Underemployment and problems in the school-to-work transition can be interpreted as a denial of entry into the adult world. Future prospects, especially in employment, are very important for young people (Shell 1997) because they are still in the process of developing a career identity and a life plan. Vocational training and employment are two indicators of gaining independence, next to establishing intimate relationships and changing the relationship with parents (Bloom 1990). Social psychologists emphasise that personality development has to pass through different stages (Erikson 1968). Also, unemployed young people may not be able to develop their abilities and competences in the same way as others (Kieselbach and Beelmann 2000: 120) and could experience "learned helplessness" (Seligman 1975). Problems in mental health for unemployed young people occur because of disturbances in the course of non-participation in socially defined activities such as vocational training or employment. Thus, problems within the school-to-work transition have an impact on the mental health of young people. Therefore, the stabilisation of mental health has to be a prime aim of ALMPs along with the inter-related need to improve the employability of young people. The effects ALMPs can have on the mental health of young people are explored further in the next section.

The positive impact of active labour-market programmes (ALMPs) on mental health

ALMPs aim to help young people find employment and improve their employability. Such schemes commonly offer work subsidies, vocational training or work experience. Participation can lead to a breakthrough in the vicious circle of underemployment, temporary employment and poor mental health (Lakey et al. 2001, Behle 2005, 2007). Findings from previous research state that young people experience fewer mental health problems when participating in an ALMP compared with periods of unemployment (Haquist and Starrin 1996; Novo et al. 2001; Hammarström

28 These are comparable to Merton's (1961) possibilities to actively influence the state of anomie (innovation, ritualism, retreatism).

29 The original meaning (Durkheim 1897/1989) of the term Anomie refers to a society that is characterised by "a gap between people's aspirations and their access to legitimate means of achieving the results in a breakdown of values, at both societal and individual levels" (Garfinkel 1987: 273). Many psychiatric concepts have also applied the term to individual well-being (Deflem 1989).

et al. 1988; Stafford 1982; Oddy et al. 1984). ALMPs represent an interesting middle path between unemployment and employment (Korpi 1994).

The potential for the programme to influence mental health is discussed using the three previously listed ways to influence anomie:

- Obviously, gaining an apprenticeship, a job or a vocational diploma can be interpreted as an increase in abilities and resources to satisfy the demand to hold or find employment. Other skills gained include the ability to write a CV or a job application.
- Participation in the programme can also lead to a reassessment of occupational ideas and possibilities by comparing them with the reality. New or previously discarded occupational ideas and options can result in adaptation of needs to available resources. Other ways to adapt needs include moving to another region or returning to full-time education.
- Moderating factors like relationships or peer groups (Hammer 1993) have a positive impact on mental health, but can further exclude the young person from apprenticeship or the labour market.³⁰

Taking part in the programme can change a young person's prospects when reassessing their life plan. Changes in vocational ideas can (re-)initiate the occupational orientation process (Schober and Tessaring 1993) in which young people consider their individual plans in terms of future roles and aims as well as anticipating occupational labour-market development. Participation in the scheme can lead to a review of vocational ideas based on experiences in a work environment.

Limitations of active labour-market programmes (ALMPs)

Participation in an ALMP can also weaken mental health. Several individual and structural reasons for this can be identified. Young people might not be able to satisfy their individual everyday needs. Difficulties not related to the labour market can add to a negative change in mental health. Future expectations of participation in the labour market might not be realised. For example, despite gaining a vocational qualification, no entry to the labour market follows. Young people who bridged unemployment by participation in a scheme might realise that their job chances had not increased after the scheme.

Also, the structure of the labour market limits the possibilities of ALMPs. Participation in an ALMP can lead to a qualification, work experience or contact with employers. However, ALMPs cannot actively influence the economic system nor create apprenticeships or employment. There is no direct relationship between the two systems – the scheme and the labour market (Blaschke and Plath 2000).

The effects of ALMPs cannot be discussed without taking into account the limitations of the labour market itself. There is some evidence that when, jobs are plentiful, unemployed people tend to be generally unemployable and their individual mental

³⁰ The assumption that this adaptation is an unwanted effect is disputable. Some social workers suggest that coping with unemployment should be recognised as an aim of active labour-market programmes, instead of motivating young people to try and get into employment (Kagan 1987). The argument is based on the assumption that there is not enough employment available to supply everybody and young people have to be prepared to cope with unemployment. One way of coping is the implementation of moderators to weaken the relevance of the anomalous situation (BAG 1998).

health status leads to their exclusion from the labour market. However, when jobs are scarce, there is clear evidence supporting the exposure hypothesis, whereby the lower mental health status of unemployed people is seen as a consequence of unemployment (Winefield 1995, 1997). These considerations are also thought to apply to the effects of underemployment (Winefield 2002).

Germany is an ideal case in which to discuss the limitations of ALMPs for young people. East and west German young people face the same labour-market regulations. However, there are regional variations in the supply of apprenticeships and jobs. These lead to differences in the social composition of young people experiencing problems in the school-to-work transition.

In west Germany, the labour market for young people is – from a European perspective – relatively moderate, with an average unemployment rate of 8.1% in 2003 (Bundesagentur 2004). Typical employment barriers for young people include the lack of basic qualifications. There are also many young people with a migration background who lack German language skills (Dietrich 2001).

In the east the situation is different, because of the average youth unemployment rate there, which was 16.1% in 2003 (Bundesagentur 2004). Many federal and regional ALMPs exist to help young people gain qualifications. Nevertheless, unemployment after vocational training or ALMP is a common experience for many young people (Konietzka 2001, Westhoff and Ulrich 1998). Also, labour-market entry cohorts in the east are more extended due to GDR population politics. Reunification measures facilitating early retirement result in a youthful age structure within companies with few replacement demands (Lutz 1996).

In summary, various factors result in differences in the social composition of young people with problems in their school-to-work transition. Young west Germans are on average less qualified and face many barriers to employment, whereas east Germans often hold vocational qualifications. Evidence from previous research (Winefield 2002) has led to the assumption that the mental health of underemployed young people in the east is more stable than that of west Germans. Variations in mental health will moderate the possible impact of ALMPs.

In 1999, the Social Democratic–Green government introduced a programme called JUMP, the “immediate programme to reduce youth unemployment”. Its aim was to help young people experiencing problems in the school-to-work transition in either vocational training or a workplace. The programme, built up in co-ordination with the European and national action plan (NAP) and partly funded by the ESF (European Social Fund), used five instruments:

- improving the supply side of apprenticeship places;
- preparing for apprenticeships;
- apprenticeships with a provider;
- continued training for unemployed young people who had finished apprenticeships; and
- work subsidies.

JUMP aimed to improve young people’s chances in the labour market by building up qualifications, work experience and connections to potential employers. Participation in the scheme was voluntary but, if young people did not agree to take part, the job agency could withdraw their benefits. At the start of the JUMP programme, all five of these instruments were used more or less equally. Thereafter,

however, labour-market differences between east and west Germany were reflected in changes in programme participation in the east. While in the west all kinds of schemes still took place, east German young people were more likely to be placed in apprenticeships (with a provider) and employment with work subsidies. These kinds of schemes were set up for already trainable and employable young people.

Thus far, then, it has been established how changes in mental health can occur because of participation in an active labour-market programme such as JUMP. The limitations of such programmes have also been identified. At this juncture, therefore, it is appropriate to apply the above-mentioned theoretical framework in an evaluation of the German JUMP programme.

→ Analysing changes in mental health of JUMP participants

Evaluating the aim 'Improving individual mental health'

The underlying concept of evaluation of active labour-market schemes is – in theory – logical. The result in terms of a previously defined aim (usually employment) after participation (Y_1) is compared with Y_0 (the result of a non-participant). In the concept, both results are compared and the difference Δ is defined as a result of participation. The individual effect of participation in a scheme for a given person i can be defined as $\Delta_i = Y_{1i} - Y_{0i}$. If the participants' structure was homogeneous, the programme would have the same effect for all ($\Delta_i = \Delta$). Therefore, the concept of evaluation uses a counterfactual situation in which the effects of ALMPs are assessed by differences between a given person i who is both participant and non-participant at the same time (Smith 2000: 348).

One way to solve the counterfactual situation is to control for the heterogeneous structure of participants and look at impact factors related to the scheme. The influence of the programme will be assessed according to the impact JUMP has on labour-market status, changes in young people's attitude to work (or work involvement) and their expectations for the future.

The JUMP survey, mental health and other variables

Changes in the mental health of young people were analysed using a JUMP participants' survey. Interviews of some 2 000 young people of the JUMP entry cohort 1999 were used to evaluate sustainable changes in their mental health. In addition to enquiring into their life course, participants were asked to answer questions on their socio-demographic characteristics, different attitudes, mental health and social background. The initial telephone interviews (CATI) took place from September 1999 to February 2000, and follow-up interviews took place one year after the individual's participation in the scheme had finished (between December 2000 and July 2002).

Mental health was operationalised using the Trier Mental Health Questionnaire, which contains a Likert scale consisting of 20 statements – each with four possible answers (Becker 1989). A Mental Health index (MH) was calculated, with values from 20 to 80: the higher the score, the more balanced the observed mental health. Changes in mental health are described by a variable that calculates the score difference between mental health during participation and one year later. The "changes" variable can have a value of –60 (extreme destabilisation) up to +60 (extreme stabilisation). A value of nil indicates that mental health is unchanged.

The impact of JUMP is analysed using current labour-market status, the labour-market status between interviews, work involvement, expectations for the future and the type of JUMP scheme. In addition, mental health during the scheme, school qualifications, reason for participation, changes in household, social support, ethnic background, financial changes, changes in relationship and regional youth unemployment rates are duly controlled. Summarised here are some points of clarification:

- Current labour-market status (vocational training, employment, unemployment, a [further] scheme or another non-labour-market status) is expected to have a massive impact on the mental health of young people (Strandh 2000).
- Labour-market status between interviews is also controlled. Here, the months spent between the first interview (during JUMP participation) and the second interview (one year after) are taken into consideration.
- Work involvement³¹ describes the attitude to work and is defined as the degree to which a person wants to be engaged in work (Warr et al. 1979). Work involvement was duly measured using the “work involvement scale” (cf. Warr et al. 1979). ALMPs aim to increase and maintain work involvement for young people in order to intensify the incentive for them to find their own way out of unemployment (Hammarström et al. 1988, Fryer 1997). During participation in JUMP, an increase in the work involvement of young people is expected. Changes in work involvement will affect their mental health positively if young people find an entry to the labour/vocational training market. If young people are unemployed again after JUMP, decreases in work involvement and mental health can be expected.
- Expectations: young people were asked if they expected an improvement in their personal position in the labour market because of participation in current employment or training. Expectations for the future are anticipated to have an effect on changes in mental health as plans for the future are a vital element of adolescence.
- Type of JUMP scheme: according to their previous work and employment experience, young people were selected to participate in various types of schemes. “Employment with work subsidies” was for employable young people lacking work experience. “Provider-based apprenticeships” were aimed at young people regarded as suitable for apprenticeships; others could take part in a “Preparation for apprenticeships” scheme. Some young people were offered “Continued vocational training”. Those who had lost contact with the labour market could take part in “Special schemes for drop-outs”.

Results

One year after participating in JUMP, changes in the mental health of both men and women can be seen. Values vary from –29 to 36. The average value for changes is nil. This, however, is only realised in the case of about 7% of young people, while

31 Previous studies have successfully shown a connection between mental health and work involvement. Stronger work involvement results in unbalanced mental health during unemployment (Winefield et al. 1993, Ullah et al. 1985). Work involvement moderates the relation of unemployment and mental health that is unrelated to the current economic cycle (Novo 2000). An extra question addresses changes in work involvement during unemployment. A lower level of work involvement can be understood as a reaction of young people to cope with the gap between needs and available resources. Fryer (1997), however, found high work involvement among young people even after long-term unemployment.

47.4% show stabilisation of mental health one year after the scheme. Destabilisation can be observed in 45.4% of the young people. A high variance of approximately 46 indicates individual differences in realised changes in mental health.³²

Variations exist between east and west German young people. Young people in the east display a significantly higher mental health score during the scheme compared to west Germans. After the scheme, on average a decrease in their mental health can be observed. However, their average score is still higher than that of west Germans, who have a lower mental health score during the scheme and maintain their score after the scheme. This finding confirms the previously assumed connection between the density of the labour market and mental health. Also, it gives the first evidence of the limitations and possibilities of active labour-market schemes in relation to the nature of the labour market.

To gain further information on the impact of JUMP, multiple regression models (tables 6.1 to 6.4) were applied. Multiple regression models are designed to demonstrate the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables. In this case, the variable describing changes in mental health was used as the dependent variable.³³ Different models were calculated for east and west German men and women, to describe the immediate impact on individual mental health changes of the current labour market, work involvement, the kind of scheme (model 1), labour-market status between interviews (model 2) and expectations for the future (model 3).

It may be helpful to explain briefly some of the symbols used in the tables that follow. R^2 must be understood in relation to the correlation co-efficient known as Pearson's product-moment correlation co-efficient (r), which measures the strength and direction of the relationship between two interval/ratio variables. When Pearson's r is squared (r^2) it becomes a measure of variance. In other words, it can show how the degree of change in one variable explains the change in another. The F ratio, meanwhile, represents variance due to the manipulation of independent variables (or error variance). The symbol 'df' refers to 'degrees of freedom': the number of cells that have to be completed in a table (chi-square) before the rest of the cells are fixed. This can be achieved by multiplying the total number of rows minus one ($r - 1$) by the total number of columns minus 1 ($c - 1$). Alternatively, this can be represented in the equation: Number of degrees of freedom = (number of columns - 1) (number of rows - 1).

32 Key characteristics of the distribution are available with the author.

33 The mental health score during the scheme is used as an independent variable to take into account the level on which changes have taken part (analogous to Nordenmark and Strandh 1999). This procedure results in the consideration of real net changes in mental health (for further discussion, see Jackson et al. 1983: 528ff and Frese 1994: 195).

Table 6.1: JUMP influence on changes in mental health of west German men

		Non-standardised co-efficients		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(constant)		22·281‡	22·601‡	22·819‡
	Work subsidies	·847	·734	·718
	Preparation for apprenticeship	Reference category		
JUMP scheme	Special schemes for drop-outs	1·659†	1·549*	1·543*
	Continued training	·851	·778	·824
	Provider-based apprenticeship	·303	·424	·402
Work Involvement (WIS)	Changes	·134†	·117†	·109*
	Previous WIS	·211‡	·182‡	·180‡
	Changes WIS * Unemployment	–0·096	–0·080	–0·075
	Vocational training	1·503†	·783	·307
Current labour market status	Employment	2·477‡	1·831‡	1·532†
	Unemployment	Reference category		
	(Further) scheme	1·298*	·758	·369
	Other	·714	–240	–402
Labour market status between interviews	Full-time employment (month)		·506	·637
	Apprenticeship/ qualification (month)		·408	·422
	Unemployment (month)		–393	–300
Expectations for future	Significant improvement			·940†
	Little/ no improvement	Reference category		
	Adjusted R ²	·231	·241	·244
Key data	F	17·464	8·402	8·309
	df	14	33	34

Source: JUMP participant survey (IAB-Project 486-1), n = 814, ‡ $\alpha \leq 0\cdot01$, † $\alpha \leq 0\cdot05$, * $\alpha \leq 0\cdot1$. Adjusted R² (Model MH1) = ·198 (Also controlled for: mental health during the scheme, school qualification, reason for participation, changes in household, social support, ethnic background, financial changes, changes in relationship, regional youth unemployment rate).

Table 6.2: JUMP influence on changes in mental health of east German men

		Non standardised co-efficients		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	(constant)	22·644‡	24·098‡	25·048‡
JUMP scheme	Work subsidies	-1·347	-1·537	-1·405
	Preparation for apprenticeship	Reference category		
	Special schemes for drop-outs	-1·144	-·239	-·226
	Continued training	-2·086	-1·630	-1·743
	Provider-based apprenticeship	-2·242	-2·114	-1·932
Work involvement (WIS)	Changes	·041	·039	·012
	Previous WIS	·080	·050	·048
	Changes WIS * Unemployment	-·089	-·062	-·048
Current labour market status	Vocational training	-1·299	-1·391	-2·787
	Employment	1·078	·818	·305
	Unemployment	Reference category		
	(Further) scheme	-·166	-·524	-1·292
	Other	1·869	1·448	·965
Labour market status between interviews	Full-time employment (month)		1·576	1·623
	Apprenticeship/ qualification (month)		1·064	1·383
	Unemployment (month)		-2·592*	-2·737*
Expectations for future	Significant improvement			1·918†
	Little / no improvement	Reference category		
Key data	Adjusted R ²	·154	·203	·218
	F	4·990	3·357	3·512
	df	14	33	34

Source: JUMP participant survey (IAB-Project 486-1), n = 324, ‡ $\alpha \leq 0\cdot01$, † $\alpha \leq 0\cdot05$, * $\alpha \leq 0\cdot1$. Adjusted R² (Model MH1) = ·148 (Also controlled for: mental health during the scheme, school qualification, reason for participation, changes in household, social support, ethnic background, financial changes, changes in relationship, regional youth unemployment rate).

Table 6.3: JUMP influence on changes in mental health of west German women

		Non-standardised co-efficients		
		Model 1	Model 3	Model 4
(constant)		26.346‡	25.657‡	25.722‡
	Work subsidies	-.666	-.315	-.091
	Preparation for apprenticeship	Reference category		
JUMP scheme	Special schemes for drop-outs	1.445	1.718	1.782
	Continued training	-1.133	-.772	-.485
	Provider-based apprenticeship	-.186	.026	.109
Work	Changes	.216‡	.218‡	.204‡
Involvement (WIS)	Previous WIS	.181†	.182†	.155*
	Changes WIS * Unemployment	-.466‡	-.423‡	-.440‡
	Vocational training	2.595‡	1.752	1.136
Current labour market status	Employment	2.692‡	2.823‡	2.481†
	Unemployment	Reference category		
	(Further) scheme	1.427	1.212	.368
	Other	-.195	-.779	-.813
Labour market status between interviews	Full-time employment (month)		-1.815	-1.885*
	Apprenticeship/ qualification (month)		.087	.051
	Unemployment (month)		-.738	-.762
Expectations for future	Significant improvement			1.995‡
	Little / no improvement	Reference category		
	Adjusted R ²	.296	.308	.323
Key data	F	15.181	7.354	7.609
	df	14	33	34

Source: JUMP participant survey (IAB-Project 486-1), n = 503, ‡ $\alpha \leq 0.01$, † $\alpha \leq 0.05$, * $\alpha \leq 0.1$. Adjusted R² (Model MH1) = .267 (Also controlled for: mental health during the scheme, school qualification, reason for participation, changes in household, social support, ethnic background, financial changes, changes in relationship, regional youth unemployment rate).

Table 6.4: JUMP influence on changes in mental health of east German women

		Non-standardised co-efficients		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	(constant)	22.488‡	19.106‡	23.115‡
	Work subsidies	.526	.517	.088
	Preparation for apprenticeship	Reference category		
JUMP scheme	Special schemes for drop-outs	4.552	3.763	3.533
	Continued training	.292	-.037	-.763
	Provider-based apprenticeship	-.610	-.554	-.521
Work	Changes	.084	.114	.017
Involvement (WIS)	Previous WIS	.231*	.307†	.208
	Changes WIS * Unemployment	.218	.280	.344
	Vocational training	3.991†	2.894	2.061
	Employment	2.270†	1.742	1.660
Current labour market status	Unemployment	Reference category		
	(Further) scheme	-.086	-.698	-1.406
	Other	3.124†	2.202	2.261
Labour market status between interviews	Full-time employment (month)		-.985	-1.350
	Apprenticeship/ qualification (month)		-.513	.435
	Unemployment (month)		-.995	-.040
Expectations for future	Significant improvement			3.519‡
	Little / no improvement	Reference category		
	Adjusted R ²	.259	.225	.304
Key data	F	5.609	2.680	3.448
	df	14	32	33

Source: JUMP participant survey (IAB-Project 486-1), n = 191, ‡ $\alpha \leq 0.01$, † $\alpha \leq 0.05$, * $\alpha \leq 0.1$. Adjusted R² (Model MH1) = .187 (Also controlled for: mental health during the scheme, school qualification, reason for participation, changes in household, social support, ethnic background, financial changes, changes in relationship, regional youth unemployment rate).

The influence of labour-market status, especially employment, is different in east and west Germany. Although in all sub-samples the proportion of current employment is about 40%, it effectively influences changes in the mental health only of west German young people (tables 6.1, 6.3). The mental health changes of east German women are influenced by their current labour-market status only if we ignore that status between the scheme end and the interview. Changes in east German men's mental health are negatively affected by unemployment only between the scheme end and the interview, but are not stabilised by current employment.

There are similar findings on changes in work involvement (WIS). An increase on the work involvement scale³⁴ results significantly in increased changes in mental

34 Work involvement was generally high, with all sub-groups averaging scores between 24.9 (west German men) and 27 (east German women) during the scheme. In all sub-groups, decreased work involvement one year after the scheme can be seen, scores averaging from -0.47 (west German men) to 1.5 (east German women).

health of west German men and women (tables 6.1 and 6.3). However, neither changes in work involvement nor interaction with unemployment have a significant influence on changes in the mental health of east German men (Table 6.2). For east German women, work involvement during the scheme has a significant influence on changes (Table 6.4); for west German women it has a massive significant impact on changes in their mental health. Changes in WIS and the actual WIS-score during the scheme both have a positive impact on changes in mental health.

Finally, the future expectations variable shows in all sub-groups a strong significant effect. In fact, the introduction of this (single) variable leads to an important improvement in the models (Adjusted R^2). Additionally, the partial R^2 (which measures the marginal contribution of the explanatory variable – in the following model) were calculated to assess the relevance of the selected variable. The introduction of the future expectations variable increased the zero model (in which only the mental health during the scheme was introduced) for west Germans by 21% for women and 23% for men. In the east, the variable had an even stronger impact on changes in mental health. The introduction of the variable increased the strength of the model by 47% for men and 63% for women!

→ Conclusion

To summarise, one year after participation in JUMP, changes in individual mental health can be observed. Only 7% of participants showed no changes. The analysis displays differences between east and west German young people. During the scheme, the mental health of east Germans is more stable than those of west Germans. After the scheme, less than half of the group shows stabilisation after the scheme, while about a similar proportion experienced destabilisation. The proportion of east Germans showing destabilisation is larger than those stabilising their mental health. Nevertheless, east Germans still display a higher mental health score than west Germans. A connection between changes in mental health and participation in the programme can be traced. In west Germany, changes in the mental health of participants are influenced by their current labour-market status, changes in the attitude to work and expectations for the future. In east Germany there is almost no connection between the scheme and changes in mental health. Changes in mental health are mainly influenced by future expectations.

This chapter has investigated the impact an active labour-market programme (ALMP) has on changes in the mental health of participants. It has addressed two scientific traditions: the psychological and sociological research of unemployment and mental health; and the evaluation of ALMPs. As participation in ALMPs plays an important role in the school-to-work transition of young people in Germany and beyond, the connection of both traditions is a valid method to track the development of adolescents.

In general, ALMPs can have an impact on changes in mental health – here defined as the ability to cope with the gap between needs and available resources. Participation in the programme can lead to narrowing of the gap, by helping the individual to adjust their needs and gain resources. The limitations of ALMPs are mainly due to labour market circumstances. Unemployed or underemployed young people in a moderate labour market with middle to low unemployment can improve their employability by taking part in an ALMP. Also, empirical evidence suggests that a dense labour market can be associated with underemployed people with more stable mental health. Here, the possibilities of making a positive impact on individual mental health by encouraging participation in an ALMP are limited.

One could argue that the aim of participating in the scheme therefore must be the maintenance of mental health. However, as the empirical evidence of JUMP participants' shows, young people are on average not able to maintain their mental health status, and a decrease in mental health after the scheme results. There is a clear need for further research on the use of ALMPs to bridge unemployment during periods of high unemployment. It could be shown that young people's mental health decreased during participation in east Germany. It is unclear, however, whether it would have decreased even more had they not participated in the programme.

Future prospects have a major impact on stabilising the mental health of young people, especially in a scarce labour market. The result indicates that changes in mental health are related to the uncertainty faced by young people with problems in the school-to-work transition. This relates to previous research from Sweden, in which exit routes out of unemployment were assessed according to their potential to solve economic difficulties and to gain control of the life course (Strandh, 2000). In the dense east German labour market, it is not the entrance to employment as such that leads to stabilised mental health. Only when a significant improvement in the future is expected do young people increase their ability to cope with external and internal needs.

The evaluation shows two main results: First of all, there can be an increase in mental health after programme participation. The example of west Germany shows that in a labour market where job entry is problematic due to a low level of qualifications, programmes can increase the level of qualification and build up both work experience and connections to potential employers. Programme participation can lead to job entry and better future prospects, which again can lead to an increase in mental health. The vicious circle of unemployment and low mental health can be turned around. The research can be used to support current German and EU policy to offer unemployed young people at least some kind of programme.

The east German example, on the other hand, shows that in a denser labour market the situation looks rather different. Young people are denied entry to the labour market because there are not enough apprenticeship places and training positions. Although, after programme participation, roughly the same proportion of young people could be included in the labour market, this did not result in a significant increase in mental health. JUMP did not seem to be able to change future prospects. However, this cannot give any indication about the impact of JUMP on mental health. It is possible that without programme participation young people would have had even lower mental health scores. ALMPs in a dense labour market cannot necessarily improve young people's chances in the labour market. As stated before, there are limitations on the possible impact of ALMPs, which have no influence on the labour market as such.

Finally, the introduction of an evaluation of ALMPs according to changes in mental health has proved to be a useful addition to more traditional ways of assessing active labour-market schemes. Changes in mental health provide a sustainable possibility to assess changes in employability.

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III Marginalisation



Tracy Shildrick

Poor work and social exclusion: marginalised youth transitions

This chapter is about young people growing up in poor neighbourhoods in north-east England and their experiences at the margins of the labour market. Access to decent work is crucial in avoiding poverty and social exclusion; furthermore, it remains fundamental for reasons of social justice (Adams 2005). The growth of the new world economy throws into sharp perspective key contradictions about access to, and opportunities for, decent rewarding employment. Fundamental changes in the operation of labour markets in the West have increased the need for managerial and highly skilled workers. Securing Britain's future in the fast-changing global economy demands increased skills across the workforce and it is widely acknowledged that Britain lags behind its key competitors in this respect. Output in the UK is estimated to be somewhere between 10% and 25% lower than France, Germany and the USA (McNally and Telhaj 2007). As Lord Leitch (2006: 6) recently suggested in his review of Britain's skills needs for the coming decade:

In the 19th century the UK had the natural resources, the labour force and the inspiration to lead the world into the industrial revolution. Today we are witnessing a different type of revolution ... In the 21st century our natural

resource is our people – and their potential is both untapped and vast. Skills will unlock that potential. The prize for our country will be enormous – higher productivity, the production of wealth and social justice.

What is frequently missing, especially from policy discussions, is recognition that the demand for an increasingly skilled workforce is paralleled by a potentially equally strong demand for “poor work” (Byrne 2005). Green (2006) refers to the rise of “servant occupations, there to pack bags, clean floors and secure property”. The knowledge economy is underpinned by numerous jobs that demand little in the way of skill or advanced training or education. These jobs are poorly paid, often exploitative and demeaning, and rarely offer any formal protection or guarantee. As Toynbee (2003: 3) notes, “what if hard, demanding, important work does not liberate people from poverty at all?” The policy emphasis on skills development and lifelong learning tends to overshadow any meaningful discussion of poor work. It is the ugly sister to the bright belle of the new economy. Thus, who undertakes poor work and why they do it, and the value and significance of such work for society and for social justice, are rarely discussed. Furthermore, those who undertake such work are rendered invisible, all too often assumed to be in their positions only temporarily, or through choice, or through lack of ability, or simply because of a general reluctance to improve their skills and enhance their prospects of decent employment (Cieslik and Simpson 2006).

This chapter describes the experiences of young adults whose labour-market transitions were mainly in this sort of poor work. In the research reported here, we followed up a number of young adults we had previously studied to see where their longer-term life experiences had taken them. We wanted to know where the general economic marginality that characterised their mid to late teens had led them as they went through their twenties. For the vast majority, economic marginality continued; it was, if anything, more securely cemented into place via multiple, cumulative experiences of disadvantage, of which labour-market experience is just one aspect, but (we would argue) a fundamental one (see Webster et al. 2004).

In attempting to explain these marginalised school-to-work transitions, we emphasise two key processes. First is the abundance of poor work in a depressed local labour market, work that offers few decent employment opportunities, even for those with better qualifications. Secondly, we stress the significance of a strong, enduring commitment to traditional working-class values, particularly in respect of employment. One can only begin to understand the marginalised biographies of these young people by reference to their class cultural heritage and their geographical positioning. Thus, despite their commitment to “learning to labour” (Willis 1977) and their conventional aspirations, our sample had little realistic prospect of moving beyond the crucial, but extremely uncomfortable edges of the new world economy.

→ Globalisation and inequality: the changing nature of work

The changing nature of work and the economy is now well documented and we refer only briefly to some of the key trends here (see Burchell et al. 2002; Pettinger et al. 2005; Vosko 2006). The quarter-century from 1980 saw the creation of nearly a hundred million jobs in the labour markets of the industrialised world (Green 2006). The key changes are the rise of the service sector, the feminisation of the labour market, increased employment in the knowledge and technology areas and the rise in self-employment. The parallel decline in manufacturing industries has radically altered the face of the economic landscape in most industrial nations.

Many have interpreted these changes as positive ones. Managerial and professional jobs are predicted to grow faster than other sectors of the UK economy between 2007 and 2012 (Labour Market Statistics 2006: 214). The shift towards a knowledge-based economy and the accompanying demand for higher-skilled workers is often presented as one of the strengths of the new market economy, producing opportunities for social mobility and personal economic advancement. At the same time it is important not to forget that this sort of economic development is spatially uneven, with some areas experiencing severe economic decline. The old industrial regions of North America and Europe face particular problems (Hudson 1989). As Danson (2005: 285) suggests:

Over the past few decades, major restructuring in many regions dependent on traditional heavy and basic capital goods industries such as coal, steel and shipbuilding has led to massive redundancies and high unemployment for the workers who have lost their jobs from these dominant employers The jobs created to replace those lost have been focussed on new entrants and women returners to a more flexible labour market, with new employment opportunities, demanding new and different skills from those applied in the former heavy industries. Many have claimed a mismatch between the skills and attributes of the redundant workers and this new economy due to problems with their employability.

The skills-mismatch thesis underpins much of the current thinking on UK employment (and social inclusion) policy.³⁵ Understandably, it is often assumed that younger generations, not yet acculturated into older forms of employment and more amenable to acquiring new skills, are best placed to capitalise on the new opportunities in the global knowledge economy. Yet, the uneven geography of labour demand and supply at least confuses this thesis. Britain's concentrations of worklessness are not always geographically close to abundant opportunities in the new skills economy, as Adams (2005) describes in respect of north-east England.

→ Youth (un)employment and the British policy context

It is commonly accepted that the effects of globalisation have resulted in young people's post-school transitions becoming more disordered, complex and unpredictable. Some argue that consequently transitions have become more individualised (see Walther et al. 2006; Furlong and Cartmel 2007) and perhaps less closely tied to, or easily predicted by, social structural influences, such as class background. Today, the lack of traditional, relatively secure, manual working-class jobs means that the young working class are expected to pursue alternatives to what were once accepted routes into work and employment. For most, this means spending longer periods in post-16 training and/or further education.

Taking account of the recommendation of the Leitch Report (2006: 9), the Labour government pledged that by 2015 all young people will remain in full- or part-time education or work-based training up to the age of 18. This would effectively remove the option of employment for young people under 18. This is a laudable aim. The numbers of young people in the UK with few or no qualifications compare unfavourably with our European counterparts (McNally and Telhaj 2007). At the same time, such a proposal fails to recognise that those with a tendency to vacate learning at

35 At a national policy seminar in 2006, one of the research team described, in brief, the forms of social exclusion and economic marginalisation uncovered by our studies. The then newly appointed UK Minister for Social Exclusion, Hilary Armstrong, responded even more briefly, with three words: "the skills agenda".

sixteen have already been failed, often badly, by an education system that continues to serve best those in more advantaged social positions (Ball 2003). Such failings are unlikely to be rectified easily by prolonging what has become for some young people a disappointing, even damaging, process (MacDonald and Marsh 2005; Evans 2006). Furthermore, if the British government persists with its plan to criminalise those who do not comply, there is a strong possibility that such a move will do little more than simply add to the burden of cumulative disadvantage that most early school leavers already face. A recent Prince's Trust study noted that:

Unemployment is at its lowest for a generation; more young people are finishing school and going on to further education; and crime figures have stabilised and in some cases declined. Yet there are a significant number of the population who are excluded from this prosperity – who find themselves on the outside looking in. They are often young and live in deprived communities across the UK. (McNally and Telhaj 2007: 7)

It is this group of poorly qualified, often multiply disadvantaged, young people who are most likely to fall out of education and training at an early stage. UK policy concerns about young people and social exclusion tend to focus on those defined as NEET – not in education, employment or training. New Labour's policy agenda prioritises employment as the best answer to poverty and social exclusion. Youth unemployment is a significant problem, but the concern with NEETs produces a static view of the problem. Youth unemployment becomes largely distinct from the connected problem of poor work. Research shows that very few young people are permanently NEET (Furlong and Cartmel 2007) and more often these young people find themselves engaged in a perpetual process of churning through short-term, low-paid employment, back to unemployment, occasionally punctuated with periods of training or education. Commentators might imagine that younger generations must be better placed (e.g. than older, redundant workers) to make the most of the new economy. As we will see, it was this sort of work that, in fact, constituted the labour market for the young adults in our studies.

Teesside and the Teesside Studies

Since the 1990s – with colleagues – we have undertaken extensive research into the life transitions of young adults from some of Britain's poorest neighbourhoods, in Teesside, north-east England.³⁶

Teesside is a conurbation that has undergone dramatic and speedy economic change as the local effects of increased global economic competition ripple through the lived experience of communities and their residents. In the post-war, Fordist period of full-employment (until the early 1970s), Teesside was a working-class place renowned for its industrial prowess in steel, chemicals and heavy engineering. By the late 1980s and 1990s, as the effects of economic restructuring and redundancy played out, it was infamous for its high unemployment and associated social problems. Despite some employment recovery in the late 1990s and 2000s,

³⁶ Paul Mason, Jane Marsh, Donald Simpson, Les Johnston, Mark Simpson, Colin Webster, Andrea Abbas, Mark Cieslik, Louise Ridley and Robert MacDonald also participated, at different points, in this research. Robert MacDonald is thanked in particular for his contribution to this chapter. Thanks also go to Paul Watt and Ken Roberts for their comments on an earlier draft. I am indebted to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) for their support and to all the participants in the study. All real names of informants and their immediate neighbourhoods have been changed.

Teesside can still be described as “one of the most de-industrialised locales in the UK” (Byrne 2005: 93).

Our earlier studies – *Snakes and Ladders* (Johnston et al. 2000) and *Disconnected Youth? Growing up in Britain's Poor Neighbourhoods* (MacDonald and Marsh 2005) – were based on fieldwork conducted between 1998 and 2001. They shared an interest in how 15- to 25-year-olds from the Willowdene and East Kelby districts evolved transitions to adulthood in contexts of severe socio-economic deprivation. The wards covering these districts were among the 5% most deprived nationally, with some ranked in the top five most deprived wards (of 8 414) in the country (DETR, 2000; Department of Communities and Local Government, 2006). Both studies involved periods of participant observation with young people and interviews with professionals who worked with young people or the problems of poor neighbourhoods (e.g. youth workers, Benefits Agency staff). At their core, though, they relied on lengthy, detailed, tape-recorded, qualitative, biographical interviews (Chamberlayne et al. 2002) with 186 young people (82 females and 104 males) from the predominantly white, (ex-)manual working-class population resident here. In each study, sample recruitment was purposive and theoretically directed towards capturing as diverse a set of experiences of transition as possible.

Our third project, *Poor Transitions* (Webster et al. 2004), sought to follow the fortunes of a proportion of the earlier sample (34 people from 186: 18 females and 16 males) as they reached their mid-to-late twenties, in 2003. Chiefly we were interested in where the stuttering, economically marginal, non-progressive transitions described in our earlier studies led people, as they more fully entered adulthood. Particular research questions centred on the later experiences of particular forms of exclusion: one such interest, and most relevant for this chapter, was the later transitions of young adults who had displayed strong work commitment but whose school-to-work careers had been marked by recurrent unemployment and limited labour-market progress. In this chapter we draw in particular on the research completed for *Poor Transitions* – research that provides a relatively rare, close-up and longer-term insight into the way that young adults make lives under economic circumstances radically different from those known by their parents and grandparents.

Real lives: the world of poor work

A key finding of *Poor Transitions* was that economic marginality remained a constant feature of young adults' lives. This was despite the growing variation in other, objective circumstances of interviewees' lives (for example, whether people were now parents or living away from their own parents) and increasing subjective senses of change. Regardless of whether interviewees were now parents or not parents, living with parents or independently, embroiled in serious criminal and drug-using careers or “on the straight and narrow”, they remained poor and at the margins of the local economy. The pattern of school-to-work careers that was common in informants' late teens and early twenties continued into their mid-to-late twenties. Here we focus briefly on the labour-market experiences of three people – let us call them Simon, Adam and Elizabeth – to give some empirical description of the de-industrialised world of poor work. As authors, it was hard to know who and what to leave out of this description. Young adults' accounts of poor work were uniform, multiple and – at times – distressing.

Simon, first interviewed when he was 19 for the *Disconnected Youth?* study, was aged 23 at the time of the later fieldwork. He had “hated” school, regularly truanted

to escape severe bullying, and left school – “the happiest time of my life” – with poor GCSE grades (GCSEs are the standard, national examinations for 16-year-olds in England). His post-school career was typical of many: various low-paid, casual, service-sector jobs were interspersed with spates of unemployment. Despite his early negative experiences of school, he returned to college part-time to improve his GCSE grades. At 19 he was unemployed for a year and was offered a twelve-week work placement at the Nissan motor company through the New Deal for Young People programme (NDYP).³⁷ Despite his hopes, he was not kept on, but soon found a job as a factory operative with which he was “quite happy”. He was then sacked, for reasons he considered “unfair dismissal”, was unemployed again and “absolutely sick of it”. He abandoned a plan hatched with his friend to move to another city (to take a supermarket job he had seen advertised in his local job centre), because the promised accommodation fell through. Following various temporary jobs he got a permanent one, paying £185 per week, at a food-processing factory. He worked there for a year but resigned, saying “I’d been on permanent nights for a year. I was run down and I was drained out and thought ‘I can’t do it any more’. So I put my notice in”. Soon afterwards he started a three-month, temporary job on the assembly line of a local electronics company. Again, a short period of unemployment led to his current, full-time job as a factory machine operative (paying £150 per week). His plan, though, was to apply for a bus driver job: “£5.50 per hour is decent money.”³⁸

Adam (aged 25) had visited the Careers Service every week between the ages of 16 and 18, to no avail. Unable to find a job, he participated in government-sponsored training schemes for school leavers. These were followed only by intermittent employment of low quality. Like others, he was frustrated by the lack of opportunity to prove his worth. Rejection letters cited his youth and lack of work experience: “It’s just what’s on that piece of paper [the application form] and they [employers] look at it and they say ‘do we want him or don’t we want him?’ That piece of paper holds me back”. Adam started to feel disillusioned and began to worry that “there’s no decent work out there”. Eventually, at the age of 21, he started an NDYP placement specialising in retail work, with study for a National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) attached. He “loved” this. Unfortunately shortly afterwards – and later as well – his hopes and plans of remaining in shop work were dashed because of new management and cost-cutting exercises, resulting in further unemployment. In one instance, after taking a permanent job in a high-street music store, his employment was ended abruptly – “I started in October and they finished me in January” – with only a day’s notice. “They just said ‘Look, we can’t afford to keep you on; you are going to have to leave tomorrow’.” Looking back over his post-school labour-market experiences, Adam described a cyclical career comprising frequent movements between government training programmes, short-term retail jobs and long spells of unemployment, which he “despised”. At the time of interview, he was once again unemployed but “desperately” looking for a new job.

37 The New Deal for Young People is a UK government programme designed to move 18- to 25-year-olds who have been claiming unemployment benefits, for six months or more, from “welfare to work” through a mixture of tailored advice, guidance, training and employment experience.

38 The rates of pay quoted in this chapter pertain to the late 1990s and early 2000s, some of them prior to the introduction of the National Minimum Wage. Few UK commentators would doubt that the levels quoted are examples of low pay (of very low pay in many cases).

Like Simon, Elizabeth had been 19 years old when we first met her and 23 at the time of the *Poor Transitions* study. Her ambition – in the first few years after leaving school – had been to gain a job looking after young children (in a nursery or similar). After failing to locate such a post and following the advice of employment service staff, she broadened her job search to include social care work with elderly people. Elizabeth’s experience of her first job led her quickly to abandon this job ambition. Arriving for her first night shift, she found herself – untrained and unsupervised – as the only member of staff present and in charge of the elderly residents. She resigned when the same happened on her second night shift. A short period of unemployment was ended when she started work as a machine operative in a knitwear factory, working nine-hour shifts for £3.17 per hour. By the time of her most recent interview she had given up her long-held plan to apply for university-based nurse training, because she had become accustomed to the wages that factory work brought and enjoyed the company of her workmates. For her, this employment had become fixed:

[When] I went to the factory, I thought, “right, I’m gonna get a job I’m gonna hate”. Like in a factory, I thought I’d hate that and I’m gonna stay there until I start nursing. I thought if I hate the job, I’m gonna wanna leave to do nursing, but I got used to the money and the people and I didn’t wanna leave once I was in there. So nursing went down the drain.

Although these three cases do not include all the features of interviewees’ employment experiences that were reported to us (e.g. industrial injury, clearly unfair dismissal, broken promises about pay or training), they do convey the general pattern. Interviewees had left compulsory education poorly qualified and happy to be free of what for most had been negative, disaffecting experiences of school. They embarked on cyclical (Craine 1997) post-16 labour-market transitions that carried little sense of forward motion toward more secure, rewarding employment. Virtually all displayed work histories – into their mid and late twenties – that consisted of various combinations of: often low-quality, government training schemes; usually unfinished and/ or low-level educational courses; recurrent periods of unemployment and low- (or no-)skill, low-paid, insecure employment.

Byrne (2005: 72) suggests that “poor work is the big story” in attempting to understand most contemporary forms of social exclusion. The phrase “poor work” pithily captures the low paid, low/no-skill, casualised, routine, low-level, insecure, boring, hard, menial and sometimes degrading work that our interviewees typically did, when they found employment. What Byrne’s theoretical discussion is not able to convey, however, is the attractive force of poor work in shaping these forms of marginalised youth transition. Shifting, non-progressive, cyclical post-school careers are, in part, explained by the hyper-conventional commitment to work that we discovered. College courses and government-sponsored training schemes were usually regarded as second-best to a job and perceived (probably correctly, according to our longitudinal evidence) as unlikely to lead to jobs. Abandoning them for jobs made sense to informants and signified the value they placed on work – even insecure, poor work that would often quickly return young adults to worklessness. Murad found this same class-based “work ethic and enthusiasm for work” among excluded groups in continental Europe, describing its “persistence in current times” as “remarkable” (Murad 2002: 98).

That young adults continued, in the long term, to be committed to employment, when the only jobs they ever got came in this form, is certainly remarkable. It is even more remarkable when influential academic and policy depictions of socially

excluded young people suggest exactly the opposite, positing “cultures of worklessness” as significant in explaining economic marginality (e.g. Murray 1994).³⁹ What we are most concerned about, in current policy analyses and declarations, is the apparent inattention to what we see as the more significant, but politically less visible, problem of disadvantaged (young) people becoming trapped in a long-term cycle of low-paid poor work and unemployment. Furlong and Cartmel’s study of disadvantaged young men in Scotland tells a story almost exactly the same as ours from Teesside. For their respondents, “the main problem was not finding work, but keeping it” (2004: 27).

→ **Conclusions: the importance of class and context in understanding socio-geographic (im)mobility and marginalised transitions**

This chapter is about the connection between global economic changes and local experiences of work and the labour market. Through close-up, detailed, longitudinal biographical interviews with young adults from deprived neighbourhoods in north-east England, we have been able to shed a little light on the ways in which broader social and economic processes play out through the lives and experiences of young adults. In attempting to understand the enduring commitment to, and experiences of, poor work for our sample, we highlight two key issues. Firstly, we point to the significance of living in a locality served by a failing and weak labour market that offers limited opportunities for gainful employment, even for those with stronger academic qualifications (see MacDonald and Marsh 2005). Secondly, we stress the importance of long-standing and traditional working-class ethics and values in a context where working-class routes to adulthood have been radically transformed. We discuss these points a little further here, in conclusion.

We found that low-paid, poor work did not, for our informants, provide convenient stepping-stones to something better. Poor work can, we know, have this function for better-placed social groups on different life trajectories. Higher education students often take this type of work, paying their way through college. Such work can be convenient and useful, bolstering CVs, funding increasingly expensive higher education and sustaining (for some) varied leisure lifestyles (Miles 2000). For our interviewees, these jobs meant something quite different:

those with poor skills have fewer opportunities and face more constraints in the labour market – both in skills terms and geographically – than their more highly skilled counterparts. The quantity and quality of jobs available locally is of particular importance for these. Geography matters most for those with poor skills. (Green and Owen 2006: 9)

Sustained engagement with poor work inevitably contributed to their further social and economic marginalisation. A lengthening record of marginal employment and intermittent unemployment is likely to mean an individual becomes even less attractive to employers as the years pass (Furlong et al. 2003). Thus, poor work becomes another crucial mechanism in the reproduction of poverty, social exclusion and class inequality.

The abundance of these forms of work, particularly in some of the least economically buoyant, de-industrialised local labour markets has enormous repercussions

³⁹ Interestingly, Social Exclusion Unit analysis (2004) found that “cultures of worklessness” are not significant in explaining concentrations of worklessness in the UK.

for working-class life – and the making of working-class lives. There has been very extensive discussion in youth studies about the restructuring of transitions for all young people, irrespective of class. While we would accept that UK transitions are becoming more like those in some other European countries (e.g. there is a general extension of the youth phase), we would also point to increasing polarisation within this phase in the UK between those who take slower routes to new educational and economic opportunities and those who still move quickly to the labour market (Jones 2002). We would not wish to over-romanticise older working-class ways of living. We recognise, however, that when preferences for “working class ways to be a person” (Evans 2006: 11), particularly in respect of employment, collide with the disappearance of decent work for the under-qualified, the result can be widespread experience of downward social mobility.

Henderson et al. (2007: 51) remark that some of their (working-class) respondents “appeared to inhabit another era when they talked about the continuing allure of having a trade, and the security this could offer you in the labour market over a working lifetime”. While the quantity of older forms of working-class employment may have gone into sharp decline, the commitment to them – and the ways of living that they once supported – remained strong among our interviewees. It underpinned their enduring commitment to, and tolerance of, what was often exploitative and demeaning employment.

To conclude, Teesside grew up as a place where working-class lives were able to flourish on the abundance of heavy industry. Hard, demanding and sometimes physically debilitating work in the iron and steel, chemical and shipbuilding industries provided the basis of working-class life in the area. Today these traditional industries have all but disappeared, and in doing so historically-rooted and taken-for-granted routes to (a decent) working-class life have been swiftly swept aside. The young adults in our research clung determinedly to the value of work and the importance of “learning to labour” (Willis 1977). Unfortunately, they found themselves living in a time and a place where such normal and modest aspirations were difficult (in some cases, impossible) to realise. At best, our samples were destined to circulate in and out of poor work, with little prospect of moving either onwards or upwards.

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*Kezban Çelik*⁴⁰

The experience of youth unemployment in Turkey

Youth as a phase of life in its own right emerged in the twentieth century as a consequence of changes in the economic sector and the education system. With industrialisation, more workers found employment that required prolongation of the youth period because more time was needed for professional or vocational training. Life is commonly thought of as an ordered sequence of developmental tasks, so the failure to fulfil age-specific tasks is the main obstacle to making the transition to the next stage of life. Although youth is generally accepted as a demographic category, its definition is problematic, being partly based on relations of dependency that remain unclear. Since young people are not exactly children, they cannot be placed in the category of complete dependence. In the same way, they cannot be accepted as independent adults either. They hold a position between dependence and independence, between childhood and adulthood, between immaturity and maturity.

The transition to adulthood implies processes of initiation into two adult roles: family roles and work roles

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(Fend 1994: 80). The survival of humankind depends on both. Biological reproduction is tied to some kind of family role; physical survival is tied to economic subsistence through some kind of work⁴¹ role. Industrialisation and urbanisation over the past three hundred years created paid work as a dominant form of economic transaction and, with the radical changes in the modern era, people's worth has been measured by the market value of their labour (Gallie 2002). Thus, paid work is seen as a major stepping stone into the adult world (France 1998: 107): for young people, it is the key to becoming independent adults and being included in the wider society.

Having an income allows young people to gain access to independence by leaving the family household and setting up their own home (Jones and Wallace 1992). It also gives them opportunities to participate in adult forms of leisure and consumption. For these reasons, work is a major criterion of adulthood. In addition to physical survival, work or lack thereof also affects consumption patterns. Consumption has become an integrating force in contemporary societies and may dramatically affect identity construction, another crucial aspect of the transition to adulthood. Finding a job, especially for young people, may be the only way for a person to be an "individual", leaving his/her family, getting married and establishing a separate household: in short, becoming an independent adult. Without employment, the young person continues to lead a dependent life out of necessity (dependency may be on family, close community and/or the state).

→ The unemployed individual and society

On the other hand, the definition of unemployment is not easy or straightforward: meanings vary within and between countries – as well as over time. At its most basic, unemployment can be defined as the condition of one who is able to work but cannot find paid employment. Nevertheless, the unemployed are not simply all those not in employment, because such a definition would encompass those who are ill, retired or in full-time education. To be unemployed, people must at least be available for paid work, and availability is not easy to define. People are officially considered to be unemployed if they work for less than 1 hour of paid employment each week, are actively looking for work and are able to start work within a set period of time. Official unemployment figures may give a misleading impression because they omit the hidden unemployed: people who have become discouraged and left the labour force. The level of disguised unemployment is also affected by people classed as employed, but who actually regard themselves as unemployed (because they would like to work more hours), and those engaged in unproductive work. Data sampling errors and people giving false information can also distort such estimates.

Unemployment may be due to seasonal layoffs (e.g., in agricultural jobs), technological changes in industry (particularly by increased automation), racial discrimination, lack of adequate skills by the worker, or fluctuations in the economy. On the other hand, definitions are important, for the definition of unemployment determines the size of the official unemployment figures, which clearly are politically sensitive. Thus, the ILO (International Labour Organization) definition is commonly used. According to this definition, to be classified as unemployed an individual has to satisfy three criteria: (i) not being in work during the reference week; (ii) actively searching for a job; and (iii) is ready to start work within 15 days. According to this

41 For the purpose of this study, the instrumental value of work is accepted – this refers only to paid work. Unpaid and voluntary work is irrelevant for the purpose of this study.

definition, those who have found a job and are about to start working are classified as unemployed. Youth unemployment refers to those aged 15 to 24.

A number of studies (MacDonald 1997; Gallie and Paugam 2000; Bay and Bleksaune 2002; Hammer 2003) on the impact of unemployment indicate that the experience depends on such dimensions as state, family, labour market and their inter-relations. How these structures affect the person concerned in specific terms, on the other hand, depends on individual characteristics. The concept of unemployment has its place in the realm of economics and politics, but the concept “unemployed” is a singular and individual-based one corresponding to the agent. Disclosing the relationship between unemployment and the transformation of economic or political structures, as well as understanding how this transformation affects unemployment, requires a political perspective. However, understanding how the relationship between these things affects the unemployed requires a “reading” of a specific individual. The link between individual and structure – between unemployment and unemployed – is that which is defined by the state. Thus, in trying to find possible answers and understandings of the experiences of unemployed youth, two different viewpoints are required: a policy perspective and a sociological perspective.

Dealing first with the policy perspective, the structure of the state (institutional and regulatory framework) and the level of policy implementation on unemployment are duly analysed. Policy as a public regulation system can be defined as the protection of individuals and the maintenance of social cohesion by intervention (using legal and redistributive measures) in the economic, domestic and community spheres (Esping-Andersen 1990; Gallie 2002). The macro level comprises economic structure as well as such policy domains as labour-market measures and regulations, education, training, and social insurance, assistance and provision. Of course, policy and legislation does not always guarantee adequate implementation. While policy may allow opportunities and freedoms in unemployment-related issues, the actual procedures and barriers that people face can be very different, or indeed vice versa. Furthermore, the macro level is too abstract for us to understand its effects on individual experiences, so policy implementations are accepted as mezzo level, or middle level: between macro-level structure and micro-level experience. Decision-makers in state institutions, employers’ associations and trade unions are considered, for this study, as the three active parties of working life who decide on issues related to work and employment. Realisation of the policy can be understood by looking at what is really happening on unemployment issues at the macro and micro levels.

The individual experience of unemployment is also analysed from a sociological perspective. People cope with unemployment in many different ways, and individual experience is heterogeneous. Coping is, to a large extent, related to gender, age, qualifications, financial situation, level of activity and social networks. Furthermore, individuals are not isolated from their families – which are understood here to be the primary institution determining how young people experience unemployment. The experience of unemployment and the way an individual responds to such a situation depend to a large extent on the support offered by his or her society. Even more than just the individual context, unemployment should be understood in a social context. With a sociological perspective, therefore, family, close relatives, neighbours, friends, social support, income sources and networks, along with values about work, paid work and unemployment, are investigated at the micro level. To understand different arrangements in coping with unemployment, and also to see regional differences, two provinces are selected for analysis: Ankara and

Şanlıurfa. By including two provinces in the study, different opportunities, facilities, implementations and/or obstacles can be distinguished at the mezzo level, helping us to explain the different types of experience.

→ This study

This study has two main assumptions. The first assumption is that work and employment have profound effects at all ages, but the implications are particularly significant for young people. Youth unemployment is particularly problematic, because the most important sign of the end of youth is only possible with paid work. Being unemployed is not only a question of being left outside wage earning and lacking the capacity to take part in leisure or free-time activities; it also means continuing in a dependent lifestyle. Being both dependent and adult is difficult. The second assumption is that a study that intends to understand experience must be retrospective. Experience can be defined as an accumulation of knowledge, memory and/or skill that results from direct participation in events or activities. To this end, a group of young people who had registered with the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) as unemployed in the last quarter of 2003 was selected and they were approached six months after their registration date. This six-month period was thus considered the unemployment experience of youth to be studied. Possible outcomes of this period of unemployment (still unemployed, securing a job, continuing a training scheme, returning to education etc.) and the mechanisms used to cope with or end this experience were analysed.

Method of the study

This chapter is based on a study that sought to find out how unemployment is experienced by young people, how it affects routine processes and how related mechanisms work during this process. In order to address these questions, methodological triangulation was used.

The first tool, documentary study, was the contextual mapping of youth unemployment using official statistics on education, un/employment and demographic trends, and related policy documents. The second tool, interviewing, collected qualitative data via interviews with the decision-makers of both provinces. As the purpose was to study how youth unemployment is experienced, it was considered meaningful to interview decision-makers or those having some role in decision-making processes in un/employment policy in order to fully understand this dimension of the experience. The third tool, model testing, involved identifying the welfare regime of Turkey as it relates to unemployment. In this step I used a model that was developed by Gallie and Paugam⁴² (2000): the European “welfare regime type”.

42 Gallie and Paugam (2000) developed a research model related with the welfare regime type about unemployment. They tried to develop a typology of welfare regimes based on different protection systems for the unemployed. They selected and used three dimensions – coverage, level of compensation and expenditure on active employment policies – for naming the welfare regime of the country. By taking these three criteria, according to them, it is possible to distinguish at least four ‘unemployment welfare regimes’ in Europe: the sub-protective regime, the liberal/minimal regime, the employment centred regime and the universalistic regime. Considering these three criteria, Turkey is a good representative of the sub-protective welfare regime.

Table 8.1 Organisation of the survey of youth unemployment in Turkey

Issues	Aim	Method and Technique
The State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • contextual mapping of youth unemployment • collecting qualitative data via interviews with the decision-makers of both provinces • identifying the welfare regime of Turkey as it relates to unemployment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentary Study • Interview • Model testing
Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How young people experience unemployment? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantitative Research: Questionnaire
The Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the role of family in unemployment and unemployed people's lives? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative Method: In-depth Interview

A questionnaire was developed by reviewing earlier local, national and international surveys relating to the subject. Based on these materials, a questionnaire was drafted, including open-ended and closed questions (82 in total), designed to depict the unemployment experience of respondents under seven sub-headings. In considering the possible impact of the family on unemployment experiences, I used the in-depth interview technique to understand the nature of the relationship between the family and the unemployed individual in the two cities.

The results in this study are obviously not representative of Turkey's unemployed youth as a whole, but are limited to the unemployed registered with ISKUR during the last three months of 2003 in Ankara and Şanlıurfa. It is only representative of registered youth unemployed in these two provinces and for defined periods.

Study site

It is generally accepted that unemployment affects different people in different ways depending on their economic and demographic conditions, their sources of income and activity, and the values and expectations of their culture and/or close groups concerning work and employment. To make a comparative study I chose two provinces in Turkey with different opportunities for employment and, as a result, different profiles of unemployment. Spatial and regional locations in the west and east of Turkey can differ on the basis of:

- rates of immigration and emigration
- size (metropolitan cities versus small cities)
- distribution of employment sectors (industry, services and agriculture)
- location (in the centre of the country versus on the periphery).

The two provinces – Ankara and Şanlıurfa, one from the developed west and one from the less developed east – were selected on the basis of the *Socio-economic Development Index* of the State Planning Organisation (DPT).⁴³ In this index, Ankara is among the developed western provinces of Turkey. It is a metropolis that has experienced large-scale immigration and offers a variety of employment opportunities.⁴⁴ In the east, Şanlıurfa has recently started to show some progress, but it is

43 While Ankara is included in the first-level highly developed areas in the national development index, Şanlıurfa is classified under the fifth level of development (DPT, 2003).

44 Ankara receives population from other parts of the country. New settlers in Ankara are mostly from neighbouring provinces, mainly from Central Anatolian provinces.

still considered an underdeveloped town in the index. Both of these provinces have a variety of employment opportunities, different health and education facilities, different opportunities in the public and private sectors and diverse labour market conditions. In sum, I selected these two cities in order to understand regional, economic and sectoral differences regarding youth unemployment.

Sample

This study analysed unemployed youth (aged 18-24) and their experiences in two cities in Turkey. To understand the experiences of unemployment, we selected a group of young people who had registered with İŞKUR (the Turkish Employment Agency) as unemployed. We approached them six months after this registration. The survey pool consisted of persons resident in the central districts of Ankara and Şanlıurfa, who registered as unemployed in the last quarter of 2003. The number of such persons was 2 297 in Ankara and 152 in Şanlıurfa. The number of persons to be covered as a sample from each of these sub-pools was calculated by the optimum sample size formula and 316 persons from Ankara and 109 from Şanlıurfa were actually covered. Stratified random sampling was the method used in selecting persons. Relevant variables of stratification were administrative district, gender, last school finished and age, in Ankara; and gender, last school finished and age, in Şanlıurfa. Some persons – 72 in Ankara and 24 in Şanlıurfa – could not be reached for the following reasons: wrong address statement, moved to another city and being in military service. Eventually questionnaires were given through face-to-face interviews to a total of 329 persons, 244 in Ankara and 85 in Şanlıurfa. Thus, the sample access rate was 75.3% for Ankara and 78.0% for Şanlıurfa.

The state (welfare state provisions) and family are also important in this phase. The aim, therefore was to ascertain the perceptions, opinions, projects and future expectations of those holding posts in and exercising state power, as well as workers' and employers' organisations as actors in the labour market. To this end, interviews with 21 people occupying decision-making positions in Ankara and Şanlıurfa were conducted. The nature of the family also has an effect on the experience of unemployment. I investigated, in addition, the role of the family in unemployment and unemployed people's lives. In-depth interviews with 30 families were conducted to fulfil this objective (15 families in Ankara, 15 families in Şanlıurfa).⁴⁵ The basic idea here was to see whether family has any effect on unemployment experience. Information then follows about the daily subsistence of the family concerned, its breadwinners and possessions (house, land, car, etc.). This gives some idea of economic status. This is followed by what it means to have a job or to be unemployed and how they cope with negative situations in general. The next heading is how unemployment affects family relationships, and relations between the unemployed person and the rest of the family. The interviews were completed by soliciting the opinions of interviewees on unemployment and future prospects.⁴⁶

45 In identifying families to be interviewed, the following question was added at the end of the questionnaire designed for unemployed young persons: "Would you accept a more detailed interview with your family members at a time convenient for you?" Telephone numbers of those who responded positively were taken. Then a list was made of young persons accepting this interview in Şanlıurfa and Ankara.

46 There were some difficulties in the planning and conduct of interviews, including some vague addresses that were hard to find and language problems. But the most difficult of all was to give satisfactory responses to some expectations of the families. The most frequent questions put to us in telephone calls and interviews were "How did you find us?" and

Findings

Our research has led us to certain conclusions, and to eight findings in particular.

The first finding of this study is that state support for unemployed young persons in Turkey is too limited to conduct a specific analysis. The ways in which young people experience unemployment have a direct effect on family life in Turkey. Many young unemployed people are not entitled to unemployment insurance. Furthermore, there is no systematic and established assistance/service scheme for unemployed youth, and available assistance is family-focused. The limited availability of jobs, their low wage and casual character further add to the importance of family and family solidarity in Turkey. The welfare state and the implementation⁴⁷ of its benefits are very limited for the young unemployed. Individuals and their families have to take more responsibility for coping with unemployment.

Under these conditions the family and its capacity (including social, economic and cultural capital) become crucial. The substituting role of family in Turkey heavily affects the behaviours and life decisions of young people, and they generally live with their families.⁴⁸ Young women leave their homes mostly to get married or to attend university. Young males may also leave home to go for military service or to find a job elsewhere. Most families consider that a young person should get married at a certain age even if he or she has no job. This is to protect young people from developing bad habits and to help, regulate and control them in their passage to adulthood. Families provide support in such cases, and the married couple begin by living with the family of one of the spouses. Married couples leave when circumstances allow. Therefore, standard indicators of adulthood – such as parting with family, having job or getting married – may not point to the state of adulthood in Turkey. Young people in possession of jobs and living with their parents acquire rights of adulthood, but delegate responsibilities to their elders. Or it may be the case that they undertake responsibilities but do not exercise corresponding rights.

“Will this interview be of any benefit to us or our child in finding a job?” Families were informed how we found them, since this was important in terms of research ethics. They were told this research is an academic thesis on youth unemployment, and that we had visited the İŞKUR and obtained information on unemployed youth from this agency. In spite of all our efforts to keep strictly to our research plan and make this very clear, it was not possible to avoid raising hopes in the families and young persons. This is quite natural since most of them had not received any feedback from the agency even after 7 months of registration. Mention of the name of the agency hence gave rise to some expectations.

47 It is important to recall that the basic characteristic of a sub-protective welfare regime is a system that offers the unemployed less than the minimum level of support needed for subsistence. Few of the unemployed receive benefits, and when they do the amount is low. Active employment policies are virtually non-existent. In this type of regime it could be expected that the unemployed will experience severe financial difficulty and live under the poverty threshold. The probability of long-term unemployment is also high, even though this is also likely to be conditioned by other factors such as the level and patterns of economic development (Gallie and Paugam 2000).

48 We see some different living arrangements as well in Turkey: living alone, living with cohabitees and/or home mates. But all these kinds of arrangements need family support or paid work.

The second finding of the study is that unemployed youth are almost totally dependent on their families. Family income is the most important factor determining the economic, social and psychological well-being of unemployed youth. Families give significant support to their young members while they are unemployed. Dependence of young people on their families during unemployment includes material/economic, social and moral dimensions. Financial dependence is the key dependence during unemployment. It is, however, not experienced in isolation from other types of dependence. In all conditions, dependence on families affects young people in many ways. In particular, economic dependence creates other types of dependence. Full dependence on family has some important consequences, which begin to emerge in this period of unemployment, but the individual outcome will depend on family unity, capacity and income level.

The third finding of the study is that the unemployment experience of youth is heterogeneous. The following factors are influential in the experience of unemployment: gender, education status, marital status, health status, presence or absence of father, income level of the father, number of dependent family members and province of residence.

The fourth finding is that family solidarity is not taken for granted. If the family fails or does not have the resources to provide for the maintenance of all its members, the young people find themselves in a vulnerable situation. Types of vulnerability depend on gender: if the family has economic difficulties, females become part of those difficulties and this isolates them in the home. Their expectations thus decrease or, indeed, are lost altogether. The more disadvantaged males are ready to accept whatever job they are offered in the informal and underground economies. In some circumstances minors contribute to the family income by seeking employment.

The fifth finding is that dependence on families decreases the mobility of youth. Dependence on families affects young people in many fields, including: their potential, initiative and freedom to take part in activities; their capacity to move to other places for work; their ability to get married, form stable relationships and have children; their opportunities to return to education; and their ability to gain a secure job in the formal sector.

The sixth finding is that youth unemployment reduces family resources. Significant problems arise, particularly if unemployment on the part of a young member of the family makes the family poorer or if the family of the unemployed young member is already poor. In this vulnerable situation, poor families may begin blaming others (relatives, neighbours, the state) when ties with immediate environments and relatives are weak or non-existent. In such cases families suffer not only from the difficulties of unemployment alone but also from poor access to health and education services.

The seventh finding is that family solidarity helps young people to cope with psychological distress better. Families try to keep their members together and protect psychological integrity by dealing with the unemployment problem as completely exogenous to the family itself, maintaining affection and care for its unemployed members. Young members who cannot find sufficient material or economic support from their families “know” that this is because there is not much to share within the family. Without attaching any blame to their children for the condition of unemployment, parents try to support them as far as is possible. This approach by parents is perceived positively by sons and daughters and they, accordingly, behave in a such a way as not to place the parents in a difficult position financially or

emotionally. It is this mutual warmth and understanding that insulates unemployed young people from marginalisation, engagement in extreme political activities and crime. This experience also has the effect of minimising young people's personal demands and spending.

The eighth finding, quite simply, is that youth unemployment decreases the possibility of being adult in a full and meaningful sense. Extended dependence on family is a serious obstacle to being an autonomous individual. As financial security is provided by the family, young people learn to become good family members instead of becoming good citizens who feel wider responsibilities for the well-being of society as whole. Since young people are dependent on their families they tend to comply with family norms. When the young people themselves later establish families, these norms tend to be reproduced. Such social and cultural reproduction can form vicious cycles from which it is difficult to break free. Uncertainty, loss of earnings and the likelihood of increased dependency on parental support are accompanied by the actual physical presence of the young person at home. Under this situation, finding the tools and resources to cope successfully is centred on educational attainment. Household composition, unemployment duration and the material conditions of the family are also very important factors in the future of unemployed young people.

→ Discussion

It is true that intergenerational solidarity makes it possible for most families to face the economic difficulties that result if young people have to wait a long time before entering the labour market. However, if family and/or primary solidarity channels do not have adequate resources for their dependent members, what is the outcome for unemployed youth? There are two important results of this dependence: early/quick adulthood or postponed adulthood.

Early or quick adulthood can be summarised thus. A large family affects all family members and reduces the chances of longer education for children. Since the father's income is usually the only source of support, family members get less and less in material terms as the size of the family gets larger. A low level of family income, a high number of dependent family members and a low level of education by the parents negatively affect the life chances of young people. Thus, generational "transfer" of education, employment and income (from elders to young family members) can be very limited. This has the effect of shortening the period of education and forcing young family members to take any job in the informal sector.

Young people from poorer families are unlikely to have an extended period of unemployment, especially when their family is large and needs their wages from work. In this kind of family, young people tend to have backgrounds of low educational attainment (primary or secondary school only) and low job expectations. Their chances of finding decent employment in the labour market are very limited. Since the family fails, or does not have the resources, to provide for the maintenance of all its members, the young people find themselves in a highly vulnerable situation, and they are forced to take any job offered. Thus they are quicker in obtaining jobs because their expectations are so limited. The quality of the job held does not matter much for them, and early entry into the labour market also brings them early marriage and early parenthood. On the whole, the unemployment spells of young people with low educational attainment levels are shorter but more frequent: unemployment breeds unemployment. As a result, early/quick adulthood is seen as the most important consequence for the young members of poor families.

Inter-generational transmission of social and cultural capital is a mechanism for social reproduction, including the reproduction of social inequality from one generation to the next. Thus the most common result of early/quick adulthood is “familisation of poverty”. Considering the situation of poor families, family solidarity cannot be taken for granted for all segments of society in Turkey.

Late or postponed adulthood can be described as follows. If families are relatively well off, young people may be able to extend the period of their unemployment and be more selective about the jobs they apply for and accept. Depending on their families’ income level, they may consider returning to education or attending skill-building/vocational courses (such as foreign language, computer, driving), which extend their period of unemployment. Under these conditions, young people have to postpone adulthood. This can involve the postponement of marriage/stable relationships, leaving home, other key life decisions and – even – developing independent personalities. When they postpone their adulthood in such ways, they may learn their responsibilities but not their rights. Therefore, postponing adulthood actually means postponing the exercise of citizenship rights.

Being aware of the fact that their alternatives are quite limited, young people tend to make rational choices to try to maintain good relations with family elders. At this point one can clearly observe a switch to an understanding of “my state is my father”. The key coping strategy is thus to listen to what their families say, act accordingly and even get married if asked so to do. The influence of parents on young individuals is far beyond supporting and advising them. Moreover, young people are generally defined as “learner citizens” or “citizens in the making”. Consequently, if young people depend heavily on their family, they learn how to be a good member of their family instead of becoming a fully-fledged and active citizen (or member of society). What is described here could well be a turning point, where loyalty to the state is replaced by loyalty to the family.

It is obvious that support from parents – economic, social and moral – also exerts a high degree of social control over young people. When the family carries out all kinds of responsibilities in relation to its unemployed members, or when it is the only unit to give support to unemployed youth, this family situation can be defined as a “golden prison” (Sgritta 2001) or an iron cage: a place that is both “prison and home”.⁴⁹ This is especially true for highly-educated young females. Family is a prison because, like it or not, there are no other possibilities for escaping from those four walls; it is a golden home because, in spite of this, the young unemployed receive protection and care. Uncertainty, absence of earnings and the likelihood of increased dependency upon parental support are accompanied by the compulsory physical presence of the young people at home (especially in the case of females). Under these circumstances, tools and resources for successful coping are centred only on educational attainment; and household composition, unemployment duration and material conditions are very important issues for the future plans of unemployed young people.

There are various ways in which young people can respond to the pressure and difficulties of this situation: oversleeping; returning to education; attending

49 Sennett used this analogy referring to Weber in his last book when discussing state socialism. “The secret of militarised capitalism lay in time – time structured so that people formed a life narrative and social relations within the institutions. The price individuals paid for organised time could be freedom or individuality; the iron cage was both prison and home” (Sennett 2006: 180).

skill-building courses; doing intermittent jobs; accepting any employment in the informal sector; getting married and having children; job-seeking; minimising personal demands and expenditure; lowering expectations of the future; maintaining good relationships with family; and becoming politically engaged. Young members who cannot find sufficient material or economic support from their families “know” that this is because there is not much to share within the family.

Low family income means, for many young people, exclusion from social and economic life as well as from wider consumption patterns and mobility. However, young people believe that the problem of unemployment can be solved mainly through the interventions of the state. As they tend to explain present unemployment as a result of factors exogenous to themselves, the level of agreement with such statements related to “self-confidence” and “feeling of exclusion from society” remains low. All these coping strategies help young people to protect their psychological health better. Neither production (absence of work) nor consumption (due to limited family income) exist in their lives to help construct individual identities. This is a huge obstacle in becoming an independent adult.

The independence of youth depends on the acquisition of a good quality of job, family unity and a supportive culture. Without a good/decent job, the balance between dependence and independence is still a problem. Widespread youth unemployment enables employers to further extend working hours, reduce weekly days off, make employees work on special holidays, pay lower wages and avoid insurance. Both young people and their families are heavily affected by this situation. It is important in two respects: increasing dependency on family resources; and increasing expectation from the state. Low-quality and low-paid jobs make it impossible for youth to separate themselves completely from parents through the establishment of a new home. Due to the limited availability of jobs in the labour market and the attitude of employers, families tend to expect more from the state and want it to help support them. Their first criterion for a “good job” is job security with social insurance. Feeling secure is a critically important perception of the value of any given job. It is because of this that both families and young people regard public-sector jobs as the best jobs that can be found. Even if these jobs do not pay much, they are still preferred for the security and certainty they entail. Observing this situation, families’ identification of “good jobs” with public-sector employment is further consolidated by their expectations from the state.

The study also proved that the experience of unemployment by youth is not a single topic. Gender, type and level of education, type of skill and occupation, marital status, health status, presence or absence of the father, income level of the family, number of dependent family members and place of residence (province) all influence the individual experience. For instance, the unemployment of disabled young persons emerges as an issue that requires a quite different approach to those adopted when addressing youth unemployment in general. The attitude can be summed up in the statement: “a healthy young person can do any job, but disabled ones have no such chance”. The government should take into greater consideration that not all job-seekers are the same.

Consequently, government decision-makers need to develop different policies for the different profiles and characteristics of youth. They should also recognise that the problem is not merely unemployment; it is entangled with many dimensions of Turkish society. For example, regional differences should be taken into account to raise the efficiency of planned policies. In sum, unemployment seems to be a

dynamic situation and this is coped with in different ways by different young people in different situations. Their success will depend on the resources delivered through the state, labour market and family. The particular orientations of the individual and her / his family will also be crucial factors.

A discussion of the responsibility on young people to find jobs – and not remain unemployed – is also important here. Young people are generally classified into those who have a certain level of education and the others, who don't. Recommendations will differ according to the educational status of the young people in question. Given the scarcity of public funds in general and the need to prioritise targeted measures, educated young people should take more initiative and develop special projects without expecting so much from their families or the state. Conversely, there are not many options available to uneducated young people. Such persons should be pointed towards subsidised courses that will help them to develop skills. "Uneducated people must not behave too selectively when it comes to jobs and work hard to cover their gap. First of all they should not 'choose' jobs; I mean they should be ready to do any job", says the General-Director of İŞKUR. Decision-makers in Turkey consider "any job is better than no job". Welfare-to-work rhetoric may reinforce the role of the welfare state as work enforcer without considering properly the type of work being enforced, or its social or individual effects.⁵⁰

Paid work and its expected (enabling) impact on independence, adulthood and citizenship status is only possible with a "decent job". While it is clearly the case that employment is central to poverty reduction, it is decent and productive employment that matters, not just any employment. Any job is not better than no job, particularly in segmented labour markets where the quality of the first job often determines the subsequent working lives of individuals. With poor-quality jobs, young people continue to be dependent on their families for extended periods; their dependence/independence remains blurred despite all their hard work. Another consequence is the transmission of poverty to their newly formed families; a concept that can be described as the "familisation of poverty". Those who have limited education and poor families are the most vulnerable group trapped in this vicious circle. Looking to the future, it makes sense to give priority to this group. Target measures need to be developed in order to assist them in their transition from poor and precarious employment into decent jobs.

Recently, there has been a proliferation in "enterprise discourse" in the sphere of training, mainly targeted at the unemployed, but also at school leavers. This discourse is located somewhere between utilitarianism and a commitment to personal development. This is partly a response to the growing public distrust of vocational and tertiary education because it has failed to produce skilled workers to meet ever-changing workplace demands. The European Employment Strategy, along with national and international institutions, has presented entrepreneurship as a way to combat youth unemployment. This study tried to understand the feasibility of this measure in the researched group, and the result shows that it is not a realistic solution for most of them. Entrepreneurship is closely associated with the economic, cultural and symbolic "capital" held by young people. More

50 According to the *World Employment Report of ILO* for 2004-05, there are 550 million people who work but earn less than US\$1 a day. This "working poor" represent 20% of total world employment. In spite of the record levels of global unemployment, the reality for most of the world's poor is that they must work – often for long hours, in poor working conditions and without basic rights and representation – in jobs that are not productive enough to enable them to lift themselves and their families out of poverty.

specifically, it is closely associated with such factors as access to starting capital, “learning by observing” in an environment where entrepreneurial culture exists and the presence of entrepreneurs in the family and immediate environment. That means that being a successful entrepreneur is not easy; it requires young people to know and follow changes occurring in local, national and even international markets. Decision-maker interviews emphasised that “there are many persons starting various initiatives, but many of them fail within a year due to many reasons”. Therefore, if “becoming an entrepreneur” is forced upon young people by the lack of real alternatives and without a properly supportive environment, this strategy is doomed to failure.

Another important issue that came to light in the study relates to the problems of the education system in Turkey. The consensual view is that the problems of the whole education system are one of the most important reasons for high youth unemployment. This criticism is valid at all levels (primary, secondary and higher) and types of education (general, vocational-technical). A poorly planned and inadequately delivered system of education is widely regarded as one of the underlying causes of unemployment. The system of education and the curricula are not planned with due consideration for the needs of the labour market. Consequently, they do not produce the required profiles of workers and professionals who can initiate, analyse and maximise available opportunities in modern labour markets.

Another point raised in the context of education is the distribution of students between general and vocational high schools. Three aspects of the educational career seem to be relevant to a person’s position in the labour market: the level of education, the level of specialisation and the qualification obtained. Continuing training (including lifelong learning) is also frequently mentioned as a solution to unemployment, but this is not yet well established for those who most need this training. It is generally believed that longer education (vocational or university) will lead to better job opportunities. Young people with intermediate vocational training, higher general secondary education or a pre-university education had the next best rates of employment, followed by young people with higher vocational training. The position of university students, however, has got relatively worse in the labour market – a phenomenon that is fairly new.

What occupations have disappeared or are bound to disappear in the foreseeable future? Which are the newly emerging occupations? How many people are needed for any specific occupation or economic sector? What should be the qualifications and standards sought in the new professions? These questions have yet to be addressed adequately. It is essential that these questions are answered as well as possible if the relationship between education and the needs of the labour market is to be improved. İŞKUR has responsibility for undertaking these labour-market analyses and developing appropriate measures. In fairness, though, its staff and resources are very limited. In fact, the level of its scarce human resources is by no means comparable with any public employment service in the developed world. It cannot, therefore, fulfil its role properly. Without performing these essential tasks and taking effective measures, merely declaring that “education is so important for finding a job” represents inadequate and simplistic advice in these complex times. It can also have an undermining effect on young people’s lives. The outcome could simply be a waste of human resources. Given that the most important resource for sustainable economic and social development is its people, this represents the waste of the country’s most precious natural assets. One young person in the survey group defined her situation in the following sentence: “It is as bad as not harvesting your products from your fields in spite of your long education”.

Today the numbers of workless individuals are increasing all over the world. At the same time the regulatory function of the state in respect of the economy and the labour market is in decline. These kinds of control are no longer accepted because of the perceived “dependence culture” created by welfare institutions. It is now stated quite openly that the goal of the welfare state has shifted from protection to increasing the burden of responsibility on individual citizens. Under these conditions the family and its welfare role have become very important, not only in Turkey but in many parts of the world. The memory lingers of the old times before the advent of the welfare state. In that era the family and community-based social organisations – such as religious institutions – were the responsible agents relied on to sustain welfare during the hard times experienced by individuals. The politics and economics of the present era invite people to recall this shared past. The old forms of welfare – especially the family – are once again invoked as the main sources for sustaining the future welfare of citizens. This invitation to return to the past in these new times must also recognise the potential for negative effects on the individual, family and society at large.

Young people are at a crossroads in the process of social reproduction. When social structures are weakened, this is felt most acutely by young people: it is they who become the most vulnerable and dependent. Young people’s sense of collective responsibility towards their society is very important and development of this civic sense is needed for social peace. My study shows that gender, education, occupation, skill, social class and location influence the chances of being unemployed. Such factors also mediate the way in which unemployment is experienced differentially. All relevant dimensions of policy must therefore be considered by the responsible authorities in order to ensure the healthy social reproduction of a good society. If young people become fully dependent upon their families, then they will obey only the rules of that specific family and will go on reproduce these patterns and values when they eventually establish their own families. Considering the rich diversity of society, this could be a serious obstacle for the (re)production of common collective social values. As a result, young people’s natural loyalties to their families may move even more decisively in this direction, at the expense of any residual sense of social solidarity with the state. This, in turn, may mark a drift away from a wider sense of social responsibility to society as a whole.

“Becoming a citizen” has been taken up as a useful concept when talking about young people’s membership of adult society. It offers a more useful framework than adulthood for understanding the end product of youth. Full citizenship yields three types of rights: civil, political and social. The social rights include, among other things, minimum standards of financial security that should enable all citizens to realise their political and civil rights. Therefore paid work and/or sources of income are paramount in young people’s transition towards citizenship. Young people’s entitlement to full citizenship must involve an actual capacity to exercise those rights. The relationship between citizenship and paid work is one that must be revisited and reviewed closely by the state. The future well-being of young people and the state depends on strengthening that critical relationship.

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The labour-market positions of Estonian and non-Estonian young people

Siim Krusell

→ Background to the ethnic composition of Estonia

Estonia, in common with other post-communist countries, has undergone a transition, moving away from the principles of a planned economy to the logic of the free market. At the outset it should be understood that originally the non-indigenous, mainly Russian, labour force that arrived in Estonia as a result of directed immigration contributed a great deal to the dynamic expansion and development of the national economy. Directed immigration was made more attractive for such workers by offering them economic and social benefits. Through the use of such incentives it was possible for non-Estonians to enjoy a higher socio-economic position than they would have experienced in their own country of origin. In many cases it also placed them in a more advantaged social position than members of the host community.

The restoration of the Republic of Estonia inevitably brought about great economic and social changes. Primary and secondary economic sectors (extraction and manufacturing) were affected profoundly by the collapse of the previous economic and trade arrangements. The Citizenship and Language Act, the Aliens Act and

related statutes created a situation in which most people who arrived in Estonia during the Soviet occupation now found themselves categorised as immigrants. They were faced with a choice of meeting the requirements for naturalisation, adopting a wait-and-see attitude or applying for citizenship in another country.

But being an immigrant in the independent Estonian nation-state soon became synonymous with a disadvantaged socio-economic position. Higher unemployment and lower income were soon common among non-Estonians, and labour-market segmentation along ethnic lines became more pronounced. It is certainly true that in the Soviet era the Estonian labour market was already characterised by a degree of ethnic segregation in certain occupations and sectors of the economy. For the most part Estonians worked in agriculture, education and culture, while non-Estonians dominated mechanical engineering and the oil-shale industry. Estonians engaged in most occupations related to culture and education, whereas non-Estonians tended to be employed as engineers, as skilled craft workers and in related trades. This segregation deepened further in the 1990s. Indeed, many jobs started to assume an almost single-nation profile. These were often jobs in the white-collar, skilled crafts and related trades sectors, and tended to be at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Apparently, many of these jobs were secured with the help of social connections: through friends, relatives and acquaintances.

→ Ethnic origin as a reason for labour-market differences

Estonian labour-market indicators are less favourable to immigrants than to the native population. This is, though, consistent with the experience of many developed countries. In Canada, for example, it was found that immigrants have a greater risk of poverty. This risk increases even more in the case of second-generation immigrants (Kazemipur 2001). Sweden has also highlighted considerable differences in pay between immigrants and native citizens (Albrecht et al. 2000). Many theories have been advanced to explain this phenomenon. According to human capital theory, wage disparities between ethnic nationalities are caused by differences in human capital. According to this theory, differences in income and social position that result from ethnic origin would disappear if people were given equal opportunities to acquire education and professional skills (Rubinson and Browne 1993).

Alternative approaches to human capital theory are based on the presumption that such differences between immigrants and native people cannot be explained merely by failure to invest in the education of non-native residents. Discriminatory processes in the labour market can be seen at work in gender, race and ethnicity/nationality. There are many discriminatory labour-market mechanisms that result in differentiation and inequality between these social categories. For example, if a sufficient number of employers share a negative attitude to certain national minorities, then – even if they have equal capabilities – the earnings of such groups will be considerably lower than the native population's (Grand and Szulkin 2000).

Supporters of statistical discrimination theory claim that this is not necessarily based on an economically irrational antipathy to minorities. An employer operating in a free market is mainly interested in maximising profits, but her/his recruitment and promotion decisions can still inadvertently result in unequal outcomes for workers from particular racial or ethnic backgrounds. Employers' decisions largely depend on the information they have about the people seeking jobs. There is often less information available to employers about job seekers from national minorities. When hiring new people, employers thus often base their decisions on prevalent stereotypes and social categories. There may for example be a perception that, because some national/

ethnic group is over-represented in an occupation, it follows they must excel in this particular area of work. There may also be negative stereotypes at play in popular perceptions of certain groups' poor work ethic and low productivity. National minorities may well be at risk of being less valued than the native population. An employer may thus treat people with the same level of education differently, particularly if the education was acquired abroad. At its worst, discrimination against national minorities in relation to high-status posts can be a means of ensuring that the privileged position of the dominant ethnic group is maintained. Such monopolistic practices have been described by Grand and Szulkin (2000).

Calvo-Armengol (2004) and Jackson (2004), cited in Beaman (2006), found the explanation for the different positions occupied by ethnic groups in a segregated labour market lies in the differentiated social structures and networks to which various groups have access. So, higher unemployment among national minorities may be the result of intra-network processes. In other words, they are likely to be less aware of work opportunities in the wider labour market.

Employment among immigrants in Estonia

The disadvantages immigrants experience when first adapting to local employment conditions are often transmitted to successive generations. These disadvantages may take different forms, but they are nonetheless usually present. This theme is explored below. First, though, some preliminary points should be made. When one compares young Estonians and non-Estonians aged 15 to 24, one must take into account that most people in this age group are – for various reasons – still economically inactive. Thus it differs significantly from other age-groups in the working-age population; as a result, all groups of young people experience higher levels of unemployment and lower levels of pay when compared with the population as a whole.

The labour-market position of young Estonians/non-Estonians can be compared on the basis of various indicators, notably pay and occupational/professional status. It is also important to analyse employment data – the percentage, distribution and profile of the unemployed – and the job requirements of vacancies in the labour market, including qualifications, skills and experience. Ideally, it is instructive to assess the expectations of job-seekers in the labour market. For example, are the vacancies sought and the salaries paid commensurate with the qualifications of job-seekers? It is also useful to analyse the degree of fit – or, indeed, mismatch – that occurs between qualifications possessed and labour-market position.

The important structural changes in the economy of Estonia had, on the whole, been achieved by the later 1990s. Employment rates for young Estonians and non-Estonians were broadly similar between 1997 and 2000, though the employment of young people dropped from 38% or 39% in 1997 to 31% or 32% in 2000. That said, the majority of young people were engaged in education during this period. In 2005, however, the unemployment gap between Estonians and non-Estonians aged 15 to 24 was the highest for nine years. This was mainly the result of a considerable decrease in the unemployment rate among young Estonians during the previous year – from 17% in 2004 to 9.5% in 2005 (Eamets et al. 2006).

Many trends could be highlighted among the categories of youth-labour status, but there is only space to draw attention to selected key points. It should be noted at the outset that a low percentage of young people in Estonia is employed, whether they are Estonian or not. Nevertheless, the percentage employed is still higher among Estonians; it was equal to that of the non-Estonians only once, in 2002.

The percentage of employed persons among Estonian youth in comparison with non-Estonian youth was six percentage points higher in 2006. At the same time, the unemployment rate among young non-Estonians was higher than that of Estonians. However, in 2006 the unemployment rate was considerably lower than in previous years, both for young Estonians and young non-Estonians. The percentage of inactive persons was higher in 2006 for the first time among non-Estonian youth than among Estonian youth.

Table 9.1 Estonian/non-Estonian youth, by labour status 1998-2006

	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
	%				
<i>Estonians</i>					
Employed	38	32	27	28	33
Unemployed	5	9	5	7	3
Inactive	58	59	68	67	64
<i>Non-Estonians</i>					
Employed	35	29	28	25	27
Unemployed	10	12	8	11	6
Inactive	55	59	64	64	66

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1998-2006.

The main reason for inactivity – for young Estonians and young non-Estonians alike – is their participation in education and training, which has increased in percentage terms every year in both groups. It should also be noted that the rates of maternity, parental and childcare leave have increased and have accounted for greater economic inactivity among Estonians since the year 2002. The percentage among non-Estonians had dropped slightly by 2006. The percentage of pessimistic young people – those who think they will either not find work or believe no suitable work exists for them – is small in both groups.

Table 9.2 Reasons for inactivity among young Estonians/non-Estonians, 1998-2006

	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
	%				
<i>Estonians</i>					
Studies	82	85	92	88	90
Military service	3	3	2	3	1
Disability	2	2	1	1	1
Taking care of a child up to 3 years of age	8	6	3	5	6
Need to take care of children or other members of the family	2	1	1	1	1
Discouraged	2	3	2	2	1
<i>Non-Estonians</i>					
Studies	82	86	88	90	92
Military service	1	3	1	1	1
Disability	4	1	2	1	3
Taking care of a child up to 3 years of age	6	7	7	7	4
Need to take care of children or other members of the family	2	3	2	1	1
Discouraged	5	1	1	1	1

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1998-2006.

Occupational position

Among Estonians in 2000 it was mainly people below the age of 30 who had better occupational positions. In the case of non-Estonians it was mainly those aged over 40. A considerable proportion of non-Estonians, especially the young, were employed in elementary occupations and as support staff in 2000. Now, however, young non-Estonians are more likely to be working as skilled craft and related trades workers. Given the rate at which higher education qualifications are now being acquired, the share of specialists is also increasing in the occupational structure of employed non-Estonians (Pavelson 2006).

There are considerably more managers and professionals among young Estonians than among young non-Estonians: 19% and 7% respectively in 2006. It is worth noting that this difference was there in other years from 1998 to 2006, except for 2004. However, the percentage of skilled craft and related trades workers was higher among non-Estonian youth. The proportion of persons in elementary occupations was significantly lower among employed Estonian youth than among employed non-Estonians. The percentage of clerks is not very high among young people, whether Estonian or non-Estonian.

Table 9.3 Young Estonians/non-Estonians, by occupation 1998-2006

	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
	%				
<i>Estonians</i>					
Managers, professionals	17	14	16	15	19
Technicians and associate professionals	16	12	14	14	12
Clerks	7	4	7	9	6
Service workers	19	23	22	18	21
Craft and related trades workers	30	34	31	32	32
Persons in elementary occupations	11	13	11	12	10
<i>Non-Estonians</i>					
Managers, professionals	6	6	9	13	7
Technicians and associate professionals	8	15	10	9	8
Clerks	8	10	6	3	7
Service workers	17	18	15	18	20
Craft and related trades workers	44	39	49	44	39
Persons in elementary occupations	17	13	11	13	19

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1998-2006.

The percentage of young people working in posts requiring a lower level of education than they have attained is much higher among non-Estonians than among Estonians – 17% and 7% respectively in 2006. Nevertheless, 80% of young non-Estonians have found a job in which the work requirements are compatible with their level of educational attainment. In 2002 slightly more than four-fifths of both young Estonians and non-Estonians occupied positions in which their education met

the requirements of their work. At the same time, 17% of young non-Estonians had jobs that presumed a lower level of education than that achieved. The comparative figure for Estonian youth was 9%.

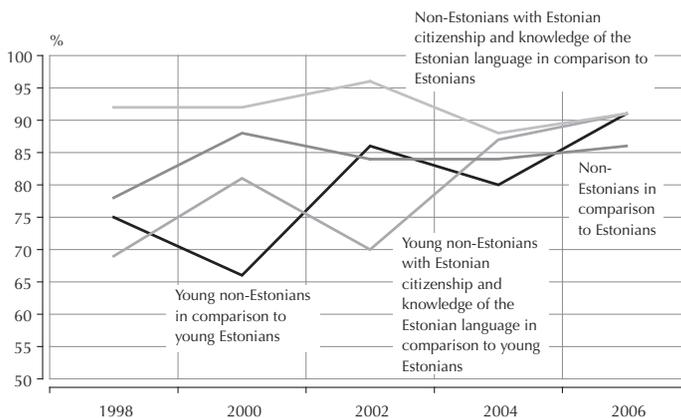
Wage levels and ways of obtaining work

Social networks play an important role in finding jobs. Half the non-Estonian youth who had started work in the past year had got the job with help from relatives or acquaintances, whereas 44% of young Estonians had benefited from such help; 17% of young Estonians and 16% of non-Estonians got a job by responding to a job advertisement, while 19% of Estonians and 22% of non-Estonians made direct approaches to employers. Using this method, 8% of young Estonians received job offers from employers, compared with 3% of non-Estonians.

In 2006 the wages/salaries of young non-Estonians – male and female – were considerably lower than those of Estonians. A disparity between Estonians and non-Estonians is also present among those with a background in higher education, despite the fact that this well-educated group are not only highly qualified, but also enjoy Estonian citizenship and have a good knowledge of the national language. The average wage of young Estonians with higher education qualifications was 6 605 Estonian kroons in 2006. This compares with an average wage of 6 066 kroons for young non-Estonians. Nevertheless, the pay of the latter was equal to the average wage of Estonians as a whole.

Figure 9.1 clearly shows that between 1998 and 2006 the level of pay for non-Estonians was consistently at least one-tenth lower than that for Estonians. It has often been argued that Estonian citizenship and a good knowledge of the Estonian language are the most effective means by which to eradicate disparities in salaries and wages. However, analysis of the available data shows conclusively that citizenship and language skills do not have the equalising effect so commonly assumed. It is, rather, the case that citizenship and language skills are a competitive advantage for a non-Estonian in relation to his/her compatriots.

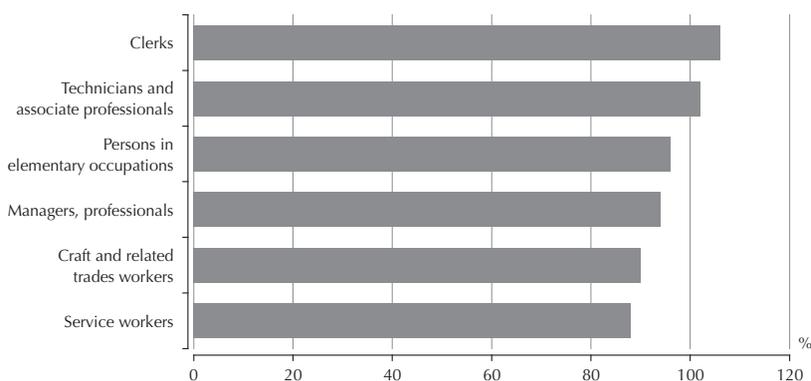
Figure 9.1 Earnings of non-Estonians (young/all) in proportion to average earnings of Estonians (young/all), 1998-2006



Source: Labour Force Survey, 1998-2006

Figure 9.2 shows that in 2006 the average wages/salaries of young non-Estonians were lower than the average wages/salaries of Estonians in most occupations. They were higher only in the case of technicians, associate professionals and clerks. At the same time, the wages and salaries of young managers, professionals, and skilled craft and related trades workers were considerably higher for Estonians than for non-Estonians.

Figure 9.2 Earnings of young non-Estonians in relation to earnings of young Estonians, by occupation, 2006



Source: Labour Force Survey, 2006

Job expectations, coping and mobility

In 2006, 37% of young Estonians, as opposed to 21% of young non-Estonians, looked only for work that was commensurate with their level of education. The rest of those looking for work were willing to accept jobs that did not require such high levels of education. The percentage of people looking for work that would be compatible with their level of education had decreased in comparison with previous years, whereas the drop was bigger among non-Estonians. Moreover, the expectations of young non-Estonians with regard to the level of wage offered were significantly lower than the expectations of Estonians. For example, in 2002, a third of Estonians expected the gross wage to be at least 5 000 kroons in order for them to accept the job. This compares with a third of young non-Estonians who would have agreed to wages amounting to 4 000 kroons. The wage expectations of the same percentiles in 2006 were 7 300 kroons for Estonians and 5 300 kroons for non-Estonians.

Among young Estonians, 60% reported coping well during 2006, while 35% coped with some difficulties and 5% struggled with serious problems. Self-estimates by young non-Estonians were markedly different: only 33% claimed to have coped well, 43% said they coped with some difficulties and 24% experienced serious problems. The capacity to cope had improved for both groups since 2002, but the difference was still very much in favour of Estonians.

Flexibility is an important keyword in assessing labour-market positions. Simonazzi and Villa (1999), cited in Eamets (2002), identify three components of flexibility: labour-market mobility, including the movement of both people and jobs; employment

resilience against economic cycles; and the rate at which the state intervenes in the functioning of the labour market. In terms of the first component, when analysing youth mobility it is possible to track movements from one job to another as well as movements into unemployment or some other category of economic inactivity. In 2006, 73% of young Estonians and 75% of young non-Estonians were working in the same job as the previous year; equal proportions (16%) of the two groups had changed their job once in the previous 12 months; and 4% of young Estonians and non-Estonians had started looking for a new job after losing an existing one. The number of people who did not look for a new job after losing their previous one was higher among young Estonians but, taking into account the peculiarities of the age group, this could mean that they moved back into education.

→ Summary and conclusion

The foregoing analysis has revealed that the labour-market position of young non-Estonians is worse than the position of young Estonians. This is mainly expressed by their levels of pay and unemployment indicators, but also by their respective positions in the occupational hierarchy. Other important indicators include non-Estonians' lower expectations in relation to wage levels and accepting posts that are incommensurate with their educational qualifications. It can therefore be concluded that the labour-market position of young non-Estonians is similar to that of second- or third-generation immigrants in several west European countries.

Leping and Toomet (2007) analysed differences in pay between Estonians and non-Estonians. They reached the conclusion that it would be simplistic to attribute this to overt discrimination by employers. Differences in pay, they argued, are based neither on the sector of the economy in which a non-Estonian works nor on their occupational skills. Indeed, non-Estonians are no worse educated or less skilled than their Estonian counterparts. The point is also made that regional variations in rates of pay cannot account for the ethnic pay differentials in Estonia.

A more persuasive explanation is that, compared with the experience of Estonian youth, young non-Estonians' route into the labour market is considerably more complicated. The journey is also often characterised by episodes of serious hardship. Given the fact that social networks play the biggest role in obtaining a job, the differences in pay and occupational position can also be explained in part by segregated networks. The result, a labour market that is heavily demarcated along national/ethnic lines, is problematic. A network dominated by non-Estonians, for example, may yield fewer potential jobs than one dominated by Estonians. This clearly makes it more difficult for non-Estonians to negotiate their passage into the wider Estonian labour market. Crucially, moreover, the operation of parallel labour markets reinforces the separation of the two main communities in Estonia. This clearly militates against efforts being made elsewhere to achieve social cohesion in Estonian society.

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IV Participation and empowerment

Youth transitions in the south Caucasus: employment, housing and family

Gary Pollock

Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia – the most far-flung post-Soviet transition countries – occupy a corner at the far periphery of Europe. For centuries this has been a contested area, sandwiched between Russia, Turkey and Iran. The recent history of the south Caucasus begins with the break-up of the Soviet Union and the subsequent socio-economic upheavals. Of interest are the experiences of young people who grew up during the transition from Soviet control to national independence. These young people witnessed the dying days of an empire and the turbulence which followed. Now at an age when one would expect them to have maturing careers and families, this cohort are a bridge between memories of the old system and the lived experiences of young people growing up today. This transition generation are modern-day pioneers in the sense that they have not had the trajectories of their parents to look to in thinking about their own futures.

Describing youth transitions as individualised, insecure, fractured, broken or risky has become routine in west European countries. In the south Caucasus, these words have a particular resonance, given the scale of changes since 1989 and the particular problems that result from its complex political geography.

We are only now beginning to understand the contemporary socio-economic context of life in the south Caucasus through representative sample surveys: the Data Initiative (DI) surveys of 2004, 2005 and 2006.

→ The DI and SCLH surveys

These surveys show regional variations between and within countries in education, employment, migration and social and political attitudes. This chapter examines the experiences that have led to various social “destinations”. The DI surveys tell us that young people are now more likely to complete education, but are also likely to experience significant bouts of unemployment – it is not yet clear who the real winners and losers are. Seasonal, employment-related migration and time spent abroad appear to be lengthening – the effects of this on family formation and having children are not yet known. Informed by a belief that one can best understand social processes that develop over time by using a range of related longitudinal measures, we have undertaken a survey of this transition generation with a view to describing and understanding their lives. A sub-sample of young people from DI 2005, those born between 1970 and 1976, was surveyed in early 2007 to collect detailed data on employment, education, housing, family and leisure histories. This allows us to examine interconnections between these ongoing processes and thus to answer questions raised by the findings from the DI surveys.

This chapter reports on progress so far on an ongoing project called Youth Transitions and their Family-Household Contexts in the South Caucasus. This INTAS-funded project (ref. 05-1000008-7803)⁵¹ builds upon a growing body of related longitudinal household survey data in this region. The Data Initiative surveys began in 2004 and have been carried out annually since then. In 2005, six regions were surveyed: each capital city plus one region in each country. Our survey – the South Caucasus Life History (SCLH) – complements DI 2005 in that we have used the same sample lists and have returned to the households to question respondents born between 1970 and 1976 about their life histories from the age of 16. From past work and the DI surveys, we already know many of the issues of growing up in this region, but these are posed as questions which our survey will answer once the data are available. At the time of writing (June 2007) the main questionnaire fieldwork and data entry have been completed, analytic data files have been produced, checking and testing is almost finished and the full analysis will be under way imminently.

→ Transitions: the contemporary discourse

Studying the transition from youth to adulthood has long been a mainstay of social science, with specialists focusing on employment, housing, relationships, family and leisure. This work has always had a comparative or longitudinal dimension, seeking to identify the social factors associated with transition types and change over time in transitional experiences. Since the early 1990s, the discourse on transitions has often focused on theories relating to risk and individualisation. There is debate over how far risk is simply a convenient theoretical tool with which to understand phenomena that have always existed, and how far there has been an increase in the hazards of social life.

51 INTAS, the International Association for the promotion of co-operation with scientists from the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union, was established in June 1993 as an independent international organisation with the aim of helping to preserve the scientific potential in its partner countries.

From a statistical perspective, risk can be understood as equivalent to probability or propensity. For example, all single people are technically “at risk” of getting married, which is simply to say that there is a probability (which can be calculated on the basis of survey evidence) that single people will marry. On the other hand, from a national perspective, an analysis over time can be used to point to step-changes in experience, where risk equates to a change in the propensity for something to happen. For example, with the expansion in numbers of young people entering higher education in the UK, one can say that the propensity (or risk) of a young person being in higher education has increased. Risk, then, need not always be negative. It can be just a convenient way of summarising the effects of structural constraint and individual agency: risk can be regarded as the social context of opportunities.

Nonetheless, much work on social problems has used a risk framework and there is perhaps a tendency to assume that young people now are worse off than they were in the past. Hence we increasingly hear of all the ways in which transitions have become problematic: extended, fractured, blocked, yo-yo and so forth (Biggart and Walther 2006, Bradley and van Hoof 2004). These descriptions may make sense within a limited (national or regional) context, but they will not work so well in a comparative analysis where local contexts are very different. The transition to post-communism is such a context. The level of change and upheaval in post-communist societies far outweighs the relative stability of the countries where these problem-transition theories have emerged. The extent to which an education/employment or family/housing transition might be extended (or otherwise affected) by the institutional “shock therapy” of introducing the free market is, perhaps, far greater than in countries where there have not been equivalent political and economic changes.

The social context of employment transitions

Underpinning our work in the south Caucasus, but also informed by our work more generally, is a belief that different spheres of life associate with one another, sometimes in a determining relationship. In other words, to understand a social outcome at any point in time, one needs to be aware of the prior context in related spheres. Here an outcome is a status on a range of variables. Employment status is typically related to previous employment experience, qualifications and parental background. Yet employment status is not static – it varies over the life-course – and we need to be able to classify different employment trajectories and work out reasons why people have different life experiences. The classification of careers in this way has been a long-standing feature of youth research and has shown the importance of social background, education level and local labour markets (Ashton and Field 1976, Bynner and Roberts 1991, Banks et al. 1992).

With longitudinal data one can interrogate in greater depth the reasons why trajectories unfold the way they do. Firstly, we can construct trajectories that include all employment experiences over a given period (ages 16 to 30 in this survey). Thus we can contrast those in continuous employment with those who have had periods of unemployment, those who dropped out of the labour market to have children, and so forth. We can also contrast those who have upward trajectories (in relation to the type of work being done) with those whose trajectories are stable or declining. Our data allow us to map out social mobility in a truly longitudinal way. Secondly, it is possible to link employment events (getting a job, becoming unemployed and so forth) with other events like moving house, getting married or having children. This means an event-based causal analysis can be undertaken,

where we can hypothesise and test how far employment experiences are related to family-building events. Thus we can test theories about the effects on labour-market experience of delaying marriage and childbirth. The belief in the connectedness of social life has been suggested in work elsewhere (Roberts 2003, Roberts et al. 2003, Pollock 2007); it means that, to fully understand longitudinal social processes, we need to be sensitive to how life develops on a variety of fronts.

→ The south Caucasus

Background

The south Caucasus comprises Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. This is one of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse regions in the world. Contemporary history in this region begins with the decline and break-up of the USSR. The common heritage of the Soviet system is what bound these countries together. Russia remains an important neighbour to all, though diplomatic relations vary considerably. Armenia retains the best relationship with Russia, and Georgia has the worst. These countries are relatively small: Azerbaijan is the largest with a population of about 8 million (see Table 10.1).

Relationships between the countries are complicated by territorial and economic disputes. Armenia is landlocked and has a closed border with Azerbaijan and Turkey, a result of the war and continuing occupation of Nagorno Karabakh – a predominantly (now, since the occupation, completely) ethnic Armenian area in Azerbaijan. Armenia relies on routes through Georgia and Iran to facilitate trade. Azerbaijan has been a major world source of oil for over a century. The Nobels and Rothschilds made their fortunes drilling for oil in Azerbaijan. As with some other oil rich nations in the Middle East, however, having this resource does not always benefit the general population and average levels of wealth in Azerbaijan are no higher than in Armenia and Georgia. Georgia has its own internal territorial disputes which render much of it impassable and militarised. The areas of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, both of which border Russia, contain an ethnic mix which is largely antagonistic to Georgian rule. Russia has capitalised on this tension and has a large military force on the Georgian border. Georgia is the most Western-inspired of these countries. This, together with the ethnic tensions within it, has led to a deterioration of the relationship with Russia.

Table 10.1: Regional characteristics of the south Caucasus

Country	Area	Population	Selected regions	Population
Armenia	30 000 sq. km	3 200 000	Yerevan	1 000 000
			Kotayk	240 000
Azerbaijan	87 000 sq. km	8 400 000	Baku	2 000 000
			Aran-Mugan	1 700 000
Georgia	70 000 sq. km	4 000 000	Tbilisi	1 500 000
			Shida Kartli	280 000

Theories of change

Analyses of ex-communist societies have used a variety of theories to understand the effects of the transition. Four theories in particular stand out (Roberts and Fagan 1999): the influence of Western culture, increased poverty, wealth-based

stratification and traditional divisions. On the basis of a study of leisure practices, which are embedded in the socio-economic context, they found that traditional divisions closely related to gender and social class offered the best framework with which to understand different experiences. In other words, there was a tendency, as in the west, for elites to reproduce themselves by using resources to influence the education of their children, helping to place them on an academic-professional trajectory. As outlined below, the degree of this social reproduction appears to have declined. A question for our survey is, therefore, the extent to which these elites have in fact managed to retain this influence, or whether it has been eroded or even replaced.

Education

Education systems in the south Caucasus have been slow to change. Apart from the almost immediate jettisoning of the Marxist curriculum, at the time of transition the education system was not regarded as in need of urgent reform. The Soviet style had been regarded as operating well in supplying a flow of trained workers for the demands of the communist economy, with about a fifth of young people entering higher education directly from school. Indeed, Georgia and Armenia were regarded as among the best-educated peoples in the whole Soviet Union (Roberts et al. 2000). Although equality of status between vocational and academic schools was the official line, there was a close relationship between parental and children's education experiences (Gerber and Hout 1995). Indeed, parents seeking to encourage their children to gain a good education and having sufficient resources would facilitate university entry by getting private tutors to prepare them for entrance examinations (Roberts et al. 2000).

As the economies began to change, the education systems followed. In broad terms this meant that state funding declined, with a corresponding decline in the condition of state education institutions. Numbers staying on at school and going into higher education increased, and private schools and universities began to appear. State-sponsored education has, therefore, been supplemented by a flourishing private, fee-paying sector. This has had the knock-on effect of young people becoming more reliant than before on families and/or casual jobs to fund their studies. There have been significant changes in the curriculum. Western languages are now more popular than Russian, and there has been a shift towards subjects like law, business studies and IT/computing (Roberts et al. 2000).

Employment

Employment outcomes after the transition to post-communism are a major interest in our study. Evidence thus far has pointed to a complex picture where family connections are no guarantee of success. There are, therefore, problems with an overarching theory of class-based reproduction. The inherent instability of the transition encouraged a feeling of precariousness in young people, given that many high-status professions and individuals had suffered a massive drop in position and wealth.

The work of Roberts et al. (2000) showed that young people felt that a resilient outlook – emphasising hard work, education and a certain amount of luck – would help in the long term. The long-term importance attached to a good education shone through in this study. This has been supplemented by further work in this region (Tarkhnishvili et al. 2005), which found that young people's responses to the problems of the transitional state of labour markets in their countries are predominantly

to be patient and assume that in time the situation will improve. This, again, puts greater pressure on the family, because such patience generally depends on family support. The second most important response to transition-related problems has been to move. Internal and international migration are frequently stated responses to economic difficulties. Migration to the west is the most desirable, but also the most difficult to arrange. The most likely destination is Russia, where temporary migration for work is not unusual.

DI 2005 survey results

DI 2005 gives a snapshot of some issues related to our survey. It was undertaken in two regions in each country: the capital city plus another. The DI survey was of the household and asked a range of questions about all household members: on education, migration and contribution to the household economy. In all other respects, the survey was of the individual respondents' attitudes, beliefs and experiences on a range of modules covering trust in social institutions, crime, the economy and leisure. Table 10.2 shows various sample characteristics of DI 2005, the number of respondents in the birth cohort 1970-76 in each area and the achieved sample for our survey.

Table 10.2: Sample characteristics of the Data Initiative (DI) 2005 and the South Caucasus Life History (SCLH) 2007

Country	Region	DI No. of households	DI Respondents born 1970-76* (% male)	DI No. of people in households	DI No. of members of household born 1970-76	SCLH Projected sample	SCLH Achieved Sample†
Armenia	Yerevan‡	750	76 (39)	3028	269	200	202
	Kotayk	750	95 (25)	3495	298	200	200
Azerbaijan	Baku	750	98 (29)	2916	295	200	201
	Aran- Mugan	750	107 (38)	3638	347	200	214
Georgia	Tbilisi	750	78 (45)	3169	295	200	201
	Shida Kartli	750	69 (56)	2883	279	200	199
Total		4500	523			1200	1217

*A single householder was used as the main respondent in each household. Hence the numbers in this column represent the number of respondents in this birth cohort and not the number of people in the households in this birth cohort, which is of course a lot larger. The SCLH sample is drawn from the full list of household members in DI 2005 who were born between 1970 and 1976.

† There were problems with the Yerevan sample lists for 2005, which meant that it was not possible to locate all the desired household members for the SCLH survey. The Yerevan sample has therefore been supplemented with data from respondents to the 2004 survey born between 1970 and 1976.

‡ The achieved sample is mostly, but not completely, derived from the DI 2005 list. Attempts were made to improve the tracing and contact of the 2005 sample cohort, but where this proved to be impossible we used "reserve" sampling lists. This technique is not unusual in the south Caucasus and other areas where the need to achieve a given sample quota is an administrative priority. Analytically it is possible to separate the primary and secondary samples. There is a need for further work to arrive at a robust weighting of the data for it to be regarded as statistically representative of the populations from the six regions.

These countries are relatively small and the capital cities are by far the most populated areas. Both politically and economically the capital cities are the focus of activity. In the DI surveys the capitals of Yerevan and Tbilisi are strictly urban centres, whereas in Azerbaijan the DI area classified as “Baku” actually denotes a larger region, taking in a surrounding rural area as well as the capital. The dual status of Baku is reflected in the data examined below, where the capital/region distinction is less marked in Azerbaijan than in Armenia and Georgia. The non-capital regions in this study were selected to provide a contrast. In Armenia and Georgia there are towns in the Kotayk and Shida Kartli regions that are close enough for daily commuting, and this is one potential avenue for their future economic development. The Azerbaijani region of Aran Mugan is a lot larger than its counterparts in the other countries, as well as being more remote from the capital city and certainly too far for daily commuting. Although each of the regions has a variety of settlements of different sizes, none comes remotely close to the size and importance of the capital cities.

The remainder of this section reports summary findings which will provide useful context and benchmarks for the SCLH survey.

Table 10.3: Education of the Data Initiative (DI 2005) 1970-76 cohort

	Tbilisi	Shida Kartli	Yerevan	Kotayk	Baku	Aran Mugan
Complete secondary	21	35	22	51	46	65
Secondary technical	22	32	26	23	12	12
Higher and above	53	25	47	15	34	14
Other	4	8	5	12	8	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number in cohort	78	69	76	95	98	107

Levels of education are high: those not completing some form of secondary education are very much in the minority. Advanced education is widespread, especially in Armenia and Georgia where in the capitals about 50% of those surveyed had completed a course in a higher education institution. Unless our sample return to education in later life, their educational experience will have been similar to one provided in Soviet times. Despite the collapse of the Soviet system, education has been slow to change. It will be of interest in the SCLH survey to see if there was a tendency to stay in education for longer as a result of greater uncertainty in the labour market in the early 1990s. Any such effect would signal a family investment in the future, given that to stay in education makes young people reliant on their families for longer.

At the point of survey in 2005 this cohort were between 29 and 35 years of age. Therefore they ought to have had significant experiences of employment and career development. Common to all regions is the prevalence of unemployment. The regions suffer much more than the capitals, with at least 20% of the sample unemployed. High levels of those caring for a family are partly an effect of the high proportion of women in the sample. The SCLH survey will identify the trajectory of employment for each respondent. This means that we will be able to see the complete sequence of employment statuses (and jobs) that “end” with the status during 2007. This longitudinal measure will be of great use in assessing the impact of employment and unemployment through the transition years. We will be able to assess how much young people have extended their waiting time before taking a

job commensurate with their education. We will also be able to analyse different employment trajectories to identify those that appear to have had the most successful outcomes. It will be interesting to determine how far temporary employment-based migration proves to be a useful long-term strategy.

Table 10.4: Employment status of the Data Initiative (DI 2005) 1970-76 cohort in 2005

	Tbilisi	Shida Kartli	Yerevan	Kotayk	Baku	Aran Mugan
Employee of private company (incl. agriculture)	19	23	21	7	10	3
Employee of public company	27	13	22	11	18	10
Self employed	6	10	4	13	8	13
Unemployed	26	38	15	24	10	20
Family carer*	*	*	30	42	40	31
Other†	22	16	8	3	14	23
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number in cohort	78	69	76	95	98	107

* In Georgia this category is not used, and the relevant data seem to fall between “unemployed” and “other”.

† “Other” includes those not employed and not looking for job, students, the retired and the disabled.

Table 10.5: Ownership of goods/resources in the Data Initiative (DI 2005) 1970-76 cohort

	Tbilisi	Shida Kartli	Yerevan	Kotayk	Baku	Aran Mugan
	% saying ‘yes’					
flat	78	20	82	64	48	54
house	33	75	9	35	54	38
dacha	36	4	8	3	4	3
car	36	28	33	22	18	12
computer	17	4	21	5	0	8
internet	13	0	12	1	1	3
telephone	85	19	91	68	49	64
mobile phone	78	46	50	18	44	49
television	97	99	96	93	86	86
automatic washing machine	67	35	37	7	20	8
central heating	10	0	3	6	4	5
livestock	1	42	3	28	26	17
poultry	12	55	5	33	46	27
land	30	73	5	48	38	22
Number in cohort	78	69	76	95	98	107

The data in Table 10.5 show that home ownership, either of a flat or a house, is commonplace. Here ownership may not be by the respondent, because the question asks about “you or your family”: the home may therefore be owned by a parent or another family member. This is the situation at 2005, but it will be of interest to see how it came about. Our data will show how rates of ownership have changed through the years. In general terms, residents of the capital cities are more likely than their regional counterparts to own the non-agricultural items listed in Table 10.5. Baku is exceptional in appearing little different from Aran-Mugan. This can be explained by the Baku survey area taking in rural areas, as explained above. It could, however, be that there is less regional difference in Azerbaijan compared to Georgia and Armenia on the basis of the areas studied here.

Table 10.6: First stated main source of income of Data Initiative (DI 2005) 1970-76 cohort

	Tbilisi	Shida Kartli	Yerevan	Kotayk	Baku	Aran Mugan
Salary from main job	77	30	62	37	44	52
Income from business	12	10	20	20	8	7
Occasional contract	3	7	11	7	8	7
Pension	4	23	3	8	17	17
Other	4	30*	4	28†	23‡	17
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number in cohort	78	69	76	95	98	107

* Two thirds of this figure was the sale of household goods.

† Almost half of this figure was for social welfare.

‡ Most of this figure was income from agricultural activity.

Table 10.6 shows that, where people are in employment, this constitutes their main source of income, particularly in Tbilisi and Yerevan. In the less developed regions there is greater diversity and there is a greater likelihood of living off the land.

Table 10.7: Self-assessment of economic condition of household, Data Initiative (DI 2005) 1970-76 cohort

	Tbilisi	Shida Kartli	Yerevan	Kotayk	Baku	Aran Mugan
Better than fair	8	1	12	7	8	3
Fair	58	65	61	47	51	42
Worse than fair	34	33	26	46	40	54
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number in cohort	78	69	76	95	98	107

In Table 10.7, the majority feel that the economic condition of their household is fair, but there are a great many who believe they are worse off. The Georgians are the most positive in their assessment and the Azerbaijanis the least positive. There is a slight tendency for those in the capitals to be more positive than those in the regions.

Table 10.8: Self-assessment of change in economic condition of household over past three years, Data Initiative (DI 2005) 1970-76 cohort

	Tbilisi	Shida Kartli	Yerevan	Kotayk	Baku	Aran Mugan
Has improved	46	29	47	32	24	25
Is same	31	42	32	33	41	24
Has got worse	23	29	21	36	36	51
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number in cohort	77	69	76	95	98	107

It is interesting in Table 10.8 to note just how many people reported that things had changed either for the better or the worse. This may reflect a combination of both macro and micro factors. A family with steady employment will tend to avoid a worsening economic situation. In a stable economy there should therefore be a tendency towards improvement. On the other hand, where markets are volatile and employment is closely aligned to this volatility, small relative gains can quickly turn into losses. Those living in Tbilisi and Yerevan were the most likely to report improvements in the economic condition of the household over the previous three years. This may indicate some stability alongside increasing prosperity in these cities.

Table 10.9: Self-assessment of social class of household, Data Initiative (DI 2005) 1970-76 cohort

	Tbilisi	Shida Kartli	Yerevan	Kotayk	Baku	Aran Mugan
Lowest	4	0	7	17	10	8
Lower middle	23	20	20	20	32	40
Middle	60	73	57	48	48	48
Upper middle +	10	6	15	15	8	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number in cohort	78	69	76	95	98	107

Self-reported social class is, of course, a subjective measure and may well differ from what a social scientist would allocate. It is nonetheless a useful measure of subjective relativities in and between societies. Georgians are the most likely to allocate themselves to the middle or upper middle class; Azerbaijanis are most likely to self-allocate to categories below “middle”. These class perceptions (see Table 10.9) in many respects map onto the data in tables 10.5 to 10.8 on perception of the household economy and ownership of consumer goods.

The data examined above display significant regional differences in our survey. Differences in experiences and beliefs are apparent in and between countries. Tbilisi and Yerevan appear distinct in their relative affluence and positive perceptions of how society has changed and is changing. In Azerbaijan the heterogeneity of the Baku sampling area may be hiding such a contrast, or there may simply be less of a distinction between Baku and Aran-Mugan than there is between the regions in Armenia and Georgia.

SCLH survey

The South Caucasus Life History used the DI 2005 sample lists and the same six regions. To focus on the transition generation, we targeted respondents born between 1970 and 1976 inclusive.

Figure 10.1: Age range of the South Caucasus Life History (SCLH) sample

Year of sample	Age at time of sample											
	16	19	22	25	28	31	34	37				
2007						*	*	*	*	*	*	*
						*	*	*	*	*	*	*
						*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2004					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2001				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1998			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1995		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1992	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1989	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1986	*											

Figure 10.1 shows the age range of the cohort in different years. We have data for all sample members between the ages of 16 and 30. The youngest sample members were 16 in 1992 and the oldest were 16 in 1986. Thus we have data going back to just before the post-USSR transition and stretching forwards to the present day. All our respondents will have been initially educated under the Soviet-style system, albeit with the younger ones being taught a wider, non-Marxist curriculum. Most will also have been allocated to a particular job on leaving education (where jobs existed) in the style that was common to the planned approach.

The questionnaire contains eight modules of longitudinal data: employment status history, job history, education history, housing history, marriage history, cohabitation history, fertility history and leisure history. In addition there are data on household structure at ages 16 and 25, and at the time of the survey; current economic situation in terms of income, expenditure and consumption of goods; and, finally, there are

data on parental education and employment. The full questionnaire, interviewer instructions and show cards are in Appendix 1.

The longitudinal data were collected using techniques developed on long-established surveys in order to help respondents to remember past events. The methodology and documentation for the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) were particularly helpful in this regard (Freed-Taylor et al. 2007). Before answering the questions, each respondent was asked to complete a Life History Chart where important life events were identified on a grid. This allowed respondents to visually associate the dates of leaving school, getting a job, getting married, having children, moving house, migration, death of a close relative and so forth. This chart was, then, a useful reference point when more detailed questions were subsequently asked about status histories – where dates (month and year) were particularly important.

This type of data presents difficulties in that respondents have various numbers of experiences for each longitudinal module. This means that a traditional cross-sectional survey, where each respondent contributes the same number of variables, was not appropriate. Instead we constructed a questionnaire that allowed each respondent to have a different number of (or even no) experiences on the longitudinal modules. Data collection was not so difficult: we used grids, with the variables along the top, so each employment status was represented by a line of data on the sheet.

Transferring the data to digital files, which could be subsequently analysed using mainstream software, was a greater challenge. A three-step process was used, where the data were firstly entered into a bespoke database. We developed our own On-line Data Entry Tool (which we called ODET) so that our field offices in the south Caucasus could enter the data directly onto a custom built on-line database, housed on a computer server in the UK. Appendix 2 explains the system further and includes an example of a data entry screen. This system mirrored, as far as was possible, the English version of the questionnaire (i.e., the on-line tool had the same structure as the questionnaire). We discussed the possible need for three different language versions of ODET, but each team managed to use data entry clerks who were sufficiently competent in English for us to use a single version. This was useful in that it meant there was a single system in use and there was no need to provide translations of the on-line instructions into three languages. It would, nonetheless, have been possible to have had three such versions in use and for the data to have been entered into a single database.

The second step was to process the data held in ODET from PHP⁵² into a series of SPSS⁵³ files for subsequent analysis (see Appendix 3 for greater detail on how this was done). The final step was to re-assemble the SPSS data for analysis. Unlike many surveys, but like surveys such as the BHPS, the data are held in a number of related files – in effect a relational database. Most statistical analysis requires that these files be processed to produce a customised file that contains the variables needed for a particular purpose. This requires some knowledge of how to manipulate relational databases. Examples of how to do this using SPSS files with SCLH data are shown in Appendix 4.

52 PHP (Hypertext Preprocessor Programming) is a server-side scripting language.

53 SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) is a widely used computer program for statistical analysis.

Analytic methods

In addition to traditional analytic techniques, our data are particularly suited to longitudinal methods. Event History Analysis (EHA) can be used to focus on particular transitions so that the dynamics of moving into and out of unemployment can be explored and modelled. EHA has a track record in social science in helping us to understand the determinants of certain time-related phenomena (Blossfeld et al. 1989, Blossfeld and Rohwer 1995). A drawback of EHA is the need to focus on a single variable as a dependency against which the determining factors are analysed.

Our theoretical position, that there is a need to articulate the different life spheres in an holistic manner, led us to explore the utility of Sequence Analysis (SA), in particular the ways in which SA can be developed into a multivariate tool. SA has been pioneered in the social sciences by Andrew Abbott (Abbott 1995, 2001; Abbott and Forrest 1986, Abbott and Hrycak 1990, Abbott and Tsay 2000). Where any social variable has a time-sensitive component, it can be subject to sequence analysis. In most instances the end product is a typology that informs theoretical development. Studies of social class (Halpin and Chan 1998), housing (Stovel and Bolan 2004) and employment (Scherer 2001) have all been shown to benefit from this type of approach.

The method of Multiple Sequence Analysis (MSA) is still in its infancy. Although implicit in earlier work (Abbott and DeViney 1992, Stovel et al. 1996, Blair-Loy 1999), it has the potential to lead to new areas of enquiry (Pollock 2007). At its most basic level it can provide empirical evidence for theoretical schema by which we reduce data analysis in order to make it more intelligible. Hence, allocating people to particular early career routes on the basis of their education and employment experiences – long used as a method of summarising the transition from school to work – is made more robust with SA or MSA because, rather than analysing start and end points (which are always problematic abstractions in any sociological analysis), the whole sequence of data is used. The particular advantage of MSA is in being able to add further layers to sequences without the need to add them to a model as a time-dependent covariate. Therefore we can examine, for example, employment status alongside marital status history and fertility history without the need to restrict the analysis to any particular event type on any of the contributing variables. This can make MSA a lengthy analytic technique because, with every new variable added, the possibilities for combined effects multiply.

One of the aims of our project is to use both EHA and MSA so we can identify the strengths and weaknesses of each in analysing a rich longitudinal data source. It was with this in mind that the questionnaire development required such attention to the detailed collection of the dates that events occurred.

Methodological reflections

International comparative research inevitably contains particular problems that need to be overcome, though it is not self-evident that similar problems do not exist in national projects. Linguistic and cultural differences and co-ordinating teams in different countries do present challenges, but any truly national survey of the UK would also face the same issues – though perhaps to a lesser degree. There were five main practical problems that we had to overcome.

1. Working in English meant that each element of the questionnaire had to be translated into the local language in order to facilitate the accurate measurement

of the correct concepts (i.e., we used conceptual/functional equivalence as opposed to a direct translation methodology). This required each question in the questionnaire to be discussed in detail so that each team understood why the question was being asked, what would be looked for in the analysis and therefore what were the appropriate answer categories. There is a single set of response categories common to all three teams, thus ensuring that the analysis will be truly comparable.

2. Because there were three separate research teams, we had to arrive at a survey design methodology that was acceptable to all three. Hence questions of sampling, fieldwork, data entry and questionnaire design all had to be ratified by each team. In practice this proved to be fairly unproblematic as there were no direct antagonisms between teams. The only major difference that arose was due to technical problems, which rendered it impossible to operate exactly the same sampling procedure in Armenia as had been done in Azerbaijan and Georgia.

3. Whereas all the partner teams were used to operating a similar set of survey instruments through their prior collaboration on the DI surveys, these instruments did not always coincide with the expectations of the UK team. The routine use of reserve sampling lists to ensure that a pre-defined number of respondents would be achieved appears to be widespread in the south Caucasus. We decided to adopt this methodology, knowing we had structured the data in such a way as to be able to separate primary- and secondary-list respondents should the need arise.

4. The SCLH questionnaire is innovative, though it borrows from established methodologies; it is also a complex survey instrument, so interviewer training and clear instructions on the form were of high importance. We can say that the survey has been a success in that we have collected a body of data, but we will need to determine that these data are truly valid and free from excessive interviewer bias. We can differentiate the interviewers, so it will be possible to explore the extent of any interviewer effects.

5. The use of an on-line data entry system was an innovation of which none of the team members had had any direct experience. The complexity of the survey meant that it would be impossible to use a two-dimensional grid to enter the data. Hence, a standard spreadsheet approach could not be used; this meant a relational database was required. We could have distributed a custom-designed database to each team and left them responsible for managing their own data entry. There is no reason why this would have not worked, were a non-paper data collection procedure (for example CAPI – Computer Aided Personal Interviewing) to be used. Such software would then have been a requirement, and the data from all three teams could easily have been merged on completion. We elected, however, to use an on-line solution. This allowed for the system being updated globally if required (and it was required on a number of occasions), with no need to distribute a “patch” to three separate teams. It also represented a solution that would not rely on local computing systems (other than internet access): the responsibility for backing up the data was with the UK team. Using a central resource meant the UK team had to be available during data entry to respond in a timely fashion to enquiries.

The solution to each of the problems listed above involved dialogue in various forms with the research partners. Central to this was the project meeting in Tbilisi, where the detail of the questionnaire was finalised and where key research design issues were determined. Previous and subsequent communication by

e-mail meant that the Tbilisi meeting was efficiently used and questions arising from it (and later issues) could be dealt with quickly. In addition, we made field visits to all six regions to give direct experience of the areas being surveyed. This was of particular importance to the UK team, to help them place the survey data in context.

→ Discussion

Young people in the south Caucasus had, under communism, been used to stable and predictable transitions into employment. Education figured strongly, as did family support in providing accommodation and a generally secure environment for young people as they grew into adulthood. There were social divisions where parental influence over their children's education and subsequent employment stratified experiences. Thus, life chances were not uniform, despite the government rhetoric. Rather than class reproduction as we understand it in the UK, this was best understood through the influence of elites in society – often related to political networks. The transition to post-communism disrupted these predictable trajectories. We know about aspects of how these transitions have changed from previous studies. Social stratification remains, gender divisions may have got wider, dependence on the family has increased and employment-based migration is not unusual. What we have yet to find out is how experiences have developed since the transition. In other words, we do not know what routes people have taken to reach wherever they now find themselves. Eventually our data will be able to provide such narrative accounts. It will also be able to show where there are links between education, employment, housing, family and leisure experiences.

It is, however, too early to report in any depth on the findings of our survey. At present we have the data, which are close to being finalised. A methodical data-checking process is nearing completion which, as with all quantitative surveys, highlights data-entry errors which must be corrected prior to the full analysis. As well as minor data-entry errors, we need to identify differences in the data where one field office may have misinterpreted a question. Thus far we have not found any significant problems at this level. What we do know is that, from a technical standpoint, the survey has worked. This is not to be underestimated. The questionnaire used here is unusual even by Western standards in seeking to generate a wealth of retrospective data with so many longitudinal elements. The field offices have experience in working in a variety of languages and dialects through their DI surveys. We have benefited from this, but we still need to understand where local translations might be conceptually problematic. The common heritage of the Russian language is helpful in this respect. Future surveys in this region may not work so well as Russian declines in popularity as a second language among younger people.

We also know from field reports that the respondents enjoyed completing the questionnaire and were keen to find out more about why researchers would be interested in the minutiae of their lives. We will be able to have a closer engagement with some of our respondents in the next phase of data collection, because this will be in the form of semi-structured interviews. These will be carried out once we have undertaken preliminary analysis of the survey data.

We have managed to collect detailed life-history data from a controlled sample of people who are representative of the areas from which they have been drawn. This will allow us to map out social origins and destinations in a sophisticated way and allow us to make some generalisations about other young people in similar circumstances in the south Caucasus. Our data will provide a detailed account of

the lives of south Caucasians who grew up during the transition to post-communism. Our findings will be a foundation for future projects, which might usefully examine the currently unfolding lives of young people in this region as they make their various transitions into adulthood.

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Krzysztof Nowaczek

Putting youth in the mainstream of EU employment policy: better governance, more employment, enhanced participation⁵⁴

The transition period of young people to adulthood is getting longer and more complicated. In these turbulent times, unemployment is the most frequently voiced concern among European young people, mentioned by 45% of respondents (Eurobarometer 2007). Indeed, as the last Joint Employment Report on employment policies highlighted, “many member states have seen the labour market situation for the young stagnate. At 18.3%, youth unemployment is about twice the overall rate” (European Council 2007b). Simultaneously, young people believe the fight against unemployment should be the Union’s priority (52%), followed (45%) by reducing poverty and social exclusion (Eurobarometer 2005). Their high expectations of Brussels-based

⁵⁴ The author wishes to acknowledge the support of Collegio Carlo Alberto of Turin, Italy, in conducting the research. Remarks at the seminar on Youth Employment and the Future of Work (May 2007) and advice from Stefano Sacchi were crucial in finalising this text. Any mistakes or omissions are strictly my own fault.

institutions contrast, however, with the limitations of the treaty mandate with regard to employment policies.⁵⁵

On the basis of the 2005 political debate on the constitutional treaty, one might have the impression that many young people were preoccupied with their worries about the job market and concerned that the European Union was not providing any solutions. What is more, they perceived the EU as the transmission belt for liberalising the market and boosting flexibility, leading citizens to feel more insecure about their jobs. Young people pointed to an association between the European Union and globalisation, which is believed to have a negative impact on social protection and increase wealth disparities (European Commission 2006e: 4).

Frustration about the issue of globalisation increased even further because of young people's lack of participation in policy formulation. On the one hand, young people have the greatest trust in the European Union (compared to other age groups). On the other hand, not only did the EU mismatch its actions with the expectations of young people, but it remained deaf to the voices raised at the bottom level. Against this background, on account of the call for drastic changes, some recent developments at EU level might have opened a window of opportunity for the introduction of positive and constructive changes.

Following the 2001 White Paper on European Youth (European Commission 2001), the Council resolution of 2002 on a new framework of co-operation in the field of youth called for inclusion of the youth dimension in other policies and programmes, at European and national levels, with special reference to employment. Such a mainstreaming of youth issues was supposed to ensure that youth priorities are taken into account when various policies are developed (European Council 2002). The consensus among member states on enhancing co-operation in this field can be explained by a statement of Pierre Mairesse (Director for Youth, Sport and Relations with the Citizen within DG Education and Culture), who declared that the starting point for EU youth policy was simple: "We recognised, there won't be an active citizenship if young people don't have a job".⁵⁶ Despite these efforts, the social and professional integration of young people is at a worryingly low level. Due to the demographic challenges and the pressure of globalisation, the situation requires further involvement of EU structures to create opportunities for young people.

This chapter is structured as follows: the first section introduces the institutional dimension – the location of youth employment issues on the EU agenda. The second section explores the youth dimension of the Open Method of Co-ordination in employment policy, and those elements of the European Employment Strategy that contribute to youth policy are introduced.⁵⁷ The final section argues that strengthening of structured dialogue may improve the level of participation of young stakeholders in policy-making. This in turn may lead to better employment policy formulation and "ownership" of the policy agenda by youth actors.

55 Within the European Union, employment policy, located under Title VIII, places emphasis on co-ordination. For youth issues, laws or framework laws may establish incentive measures, except for the harmonisation of the laws and regulations of member states.

56 Full interview available at: www.youthweek.eu/interview-mairesse.html.

57 Only measures targeting youth directly and exclusively are listed. The contribution of general employment policies to improving the position of young people in the labour market still needs to be acknowledged.

→ European Youth Pact: youth and employment issues

In their letter of 29 October 2004, the leaders of France, Germany, Spain and Sweden urged the EU to invest in youth because it was perceived as an asset for the future. Three years after the adoption of the 2001 White Paper, youth issues were high again on the EU political agenda. The Commission communication on the mid-term review of the Lisbon Strategy incorporated the youth dimension in its evaluation widely, and proposed a “number of measures central to unleashing the potential of young people” (European Commission 2005b). This political initiative was built on the basis of the European Employment Strategy and was supposed to be backed up by funding from the EU, particularly the European Social Fund.

Following these developments the spring European Council adopted in 2005 the European Youth Pact, a groundbreaking document mainstreaming the youth dimension in EU policies. The pact envisaged three key areas: (1) employment, integration and social advancement; (2) education, training and mobility; and (3) reconciliation of family life and working life. Actions in these areas, drawing on the Lisbon Strategy, were to be mainstreamed in the European Employment Strategy, the Social Inclusion Strategy and the Education and Training 2010 Work Programme. The European Council called upon the European Union and member states to envisage several lines of action, including action related to youth employment policy:

- endeavouring to increase the employment of young people;
- monitoring policies for the sustained integration of young people into the labour market, in the context of a mutual learning programme on employment;
- inviting employers and businesses to display social responsibility in the area of vocational integration of young people; and
- encouraging young people to develop entrepreneurship and promoting the emergence of young entrepreneurs (Presidency 2005: 19-20).

Consequently, the European Youth Pact became the part of the re-launched Lisbon Strategy in March 2005. In order to ensure meeting the three horizontal objectives of the Lisbon Strategy – more and better jobs, growth and better governance – young people were promised a more prominent role in the Lisbon agenda. Renaldas Vaisbrodas, then President of the European Youth Forum, strongly believed that “a European Pact for Youth could rejuvenate the Lisbon strategy and reinforce the effective implementation of the objectives” (European Youth Forum 2005). As a follow-up to the introduction of the European Youth Pact, in February 2007 the European Council indicated four priorities in further implementation of the pact:

- young people in the transition period between school education, vocational training and employment;
- the use of local and regional strategies to implement the European Pact for Youth, to foster high-quality measures aimed at better social and professional integration;
- equal opportunities for social and professional integration of young people through individually tailored measures; and an
- enhanced youth dimension of the Lisbon Strategy for the better social and professional integration of young people.

In a key message to the spring 2007 European Council, national ministers for education, youth and culture acknowledged that “young people constitute a valuable resource for both the present and future of the European Union and European society at large”. To achieve the aims of the Lisbon Strategy for growth and jobs,

incorporation of the youth dimension into national implementation of the Lisbon Strategy at all levels was considered crucial (European Council 2007a: 4). Member states should use the European Pact for Youth to achieve the aim of young people's better integration. Evaluation of the above measures and their results were required by 2008, when the first Lisbon cycle (2006-07) would come to an end.

The above contribution of the Council on implementing the European Pact for Youth was one of 14 documents submitted to the spring 2007 European Council under the heading "Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Employment" (Presidency 2007). This might be one reason why not more than half the paragraph from the 2007 European Council conclusions was devoted to the youth dimension of the Lisbon Strategy. Nevertheless, the interest of policy-makers in making progress on the youth employment issue was consolidated. Significant public space has also already been given to this topic. Wording was essential at the beginning of the policy-making process, when setting the agenda was the most important task for supporters of an enhanced youth dimension in various policies. Yet, at this stage, actions are more important than the phrasing of official documents. Even if youth is not mentioned explicitly in the declaration for the 50th anniversary of the EU,⁵⁸ it is essential to remember that in the context of the Lisbon Agenda, the year 2007 was proclaimed as the Year of Delivery.

Against the above backdrop, the next section provides an overview of the framework in which youth employment policies are co-ordinated at the EU level. Its main aim is to measure how the youth dimension was mainstreamed into various components of the European Employment Strategy, and thus evaluate the relevance of the European Youth Pact.

→ Youth and the Open Method of Co-ordination in employment policy

The European Employment Strategy was launched in 1997 and subsequently institutionalised into the framework of the Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC). The OMC is seen as another aspect of an experimental and complementary form of governance. The process takes place at two levels. At the first level, the OMC contributes to a common discourse and a common language, as well as a sharing of perceptions of common problems and identification of "the best" solutions. At another level, the OMC leads to policy transfer and convergence of policies by identifying and "faming good performance", and "shaming insufficient results". The OMC can be viewed as a way to avoid the deadlock in policy-making by choosing the most suitable arena for decision-making. It may transform some interests by continuous discussion and exchange of arguments. This, in turn, may lead to the development of policies compatible with the European Community's interests (Szyszczak 2006: 488-9). There are 16 policy fields where a specifically tailored OMC can be detected. Youth OMC⁵⁹ is, in relative terms, weakly institutionalised, but the level of institutionalisation of OMC in employment policies is considered as "very strong" (Laffan and Shaw 2005: 16) or entirely "developed"

58 Declaration on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the signature of the Treaties of Rome. Available at: www.europa.eu/50/docs/berlin_declaration_en.pdf.

59 Youth OMC was introduced by EU politicians to improve participation, information and voluntary activities for young people, and knowledge of youth issues. To this end, in 2003 and 2004 the Council adopted 14 common objectives in the above four areas (European Council 2002, 2005).

(Szyzszak 2006: 494). It is in this latter framework that mainstreaming of youth issues into employment policies was envisaged.

Five major elements of a genuine OMC,⁶⁰ regardless of the policy field, can be identified:

- agreeing on the common objectives for the European Union;
- establishing common indicators as a means of comparing best practice and measuring progress;
- translating the EU objectives into national policies;
- publishing reports, analysing and assessing national policies; and
- establishing Community Action Programmes to promote policy co-operation and transnational exchange of learning and good practice.

The European Employment Strategy has been based on those five elements, which are outlined below. Table 11.1 (p. 166) summarises the key findings.

EU common objectives

Common objectives related to the European Employment Strategy were built around four priorities (pillars): entrepreneurship, employability, adaptability and equal opportunities. Since the 2003 guidelines, these four pillars have been replaced by three main goals: full employment, improving quality and productivity at work, and strengthening social cohesion and inclusion. The principal goal of the pillar on employment has been to attract and retain more people in the labour market. In this respect, it is the relevant objective for young people who may face four “risky” transitions: from education to first job; from unemployment to employment; from housework to paid employment; and from short-term contract to long-term contract. Under Pillar One of the European guidelines on measures promoting employability, four streams of action were envisaged: preventing youth unemployment and long-term unemployment; shifting from passive to active policies; facilitating the transition from school to work; and promoting a partnership for training and lifelong learning. Interestingly enough, all of them (particularly the first) relate to tackling youth unemployment in various ways.

Since 1999, the European Council has been calling for the development of preventive and employability-oriented strategies, building on the early identification of individual needs. To this end, member states must ensure that every unemployed young person is offered a new start before reaching six months of unemployment, in the form of training, retraining, work experience, a job or some other employability measure. Another aim of policy-makers was to ease the transition from school to work, particularly for those young people who leave school without the training required for entering the job market. Bearing this in mind, member states should improve education systems, to reduce the number of young people who drop out of school, and equip youth with the skills to meet contemporary challenges. Developing skills for the new labour market in the context of lifelong learning, national policies should target youth illiteracy and give particular attention to young people with learning difficulties or educational problems. Member states are asked to develop measures aimed at halving by 2010 the number of

60 The list has been drawn up on the basis of the European Commission’s description of the OMC for social inclusion (available at: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_inclusion/index_en.htm) and existing literature on this form of governance (e.g., Dehousse 2002, Borrás and Jacobsson 2004, Laffan and Shaw 2005).

18- to 24-year-olds with only lower-secondary-level education who are not in further education or training. More indirectly, member states should aim at “developing entrepreneurship” by making it easier to start up and run businesses that, when necessary, can offer apprenticeships (European Council 1999, 2001). The ultimate goal of these multiple measures should be the effective integration of young people into the labour market.

These objectives, though relevant for ten years now, have not been fully realised because the measures actually implemented have proved insufficient. As requested in 2007, after revision of the European employment guidelines, member states were supposed to revise their employment policies with a view to adopting even more youth-friendly instruments:

- concentrating on an inclusive labour market, adopting a life-cycle approach and developing an integrated approach for those with fewer opportunities;
- providing better guidance and counselling at the earliest possible stage; and
- implementing measures aimed at reconciling work and family life, such as child-care programmes or employment services (European Council 2007a: 3-4).

Indicators measuring progress

The Commission proposed a number of indicators to measure progress in implementing the European Employment Strategy (European Commission 2003). Some were related directly to “performance” and opportunities offered to young people in the labour market. Against this benchmark, the Commission evaluated member states’ policies and their outcomes. The first five-year period of the European Employment Strategy (1997-2002) was measured against four benchmarks: (i) indicator of effort (proportion of young/adult unemployed becoming unemployed in month X and starting an individual action plan before reaching 6/12 months out of work); (ii) rate of non-compliance (proportion of young/adult becoming unemployed in month X, still unemployed in months X+6/12 and not having started an individual action plan); (iii) rate of inflow into long-term unemployment (proportion of young adults still unemployed at the end of month X+6/12 with no break); and (iv) activation rate, this being the number of participants in training and similar measures who were previously registered unemployed, in relation to the total of registered unemployed (European Commission 2002).

National policies translating EU objectives

The European Commission requires member states to submit national reform programmes (national action plans until 2004) related to the Lisbon Strategy for Jobs and Growth.⁶¹ National governments report on their policies and measures, targeting issues identified in the previous EU guidelines. To this end, the youth dimension of employment has always constituted a significant part of national surveys, evaluated later by the European Commission in joint employment reports (see below). Some member states refer directly to goals set in the European Youth Pact and its prioritised areas (education, labour market, social inclusion and participation). Very often the list of indicators used for analysis in national reform programmes is divided into two subgroups, related to either all people or youth.

61 Work on national reform programmes is a crucial process when advocacy coalitions like trade unions, business associations and youth organisations can ensure that planned government policies take their priorities fully into account.

This gives a clearer picture of young people in the labour market and as a target group of policy measures.

Over the years, the Commission has rightly acknowledged that the EU operational targets related to youth unemployment should be taken into account in all national action plans. All member states refer in their national reports to the common objectives established at EU level and those highlighted by the European Council. More importantly, the European Youth Pact had some impact on domestic policies. The adoption of the document fostered involvement of youth ministries in the Lisbon process and the mainstreaming of the youth dimension in various policy fields. Ten member states referred explicitly to the pact in their 2006 national reform programmes, leading to them reaching the overall objectives of the Lisbon agenda submitted to the European Commission (European Council 2006). In most cases, member states indicated which policy measures contributed to the goals envisaged in the European Youth Pact (e.g., Belgium, Cyprus, Spain, Sweden). In some cases, the pact was perceived as driving changes in the structure of employment or education policies (e.g., Finland, France).⁶²

Publishing joint reports

On the basis of the national action plans, the Commission drafts annual joint employment reports, which summarise and evaluate domestic efforts in realising the EU objectives in employment policies. To provide a better overview, the Commission also publishes reports on employment in Europe, with descriptions of labour markets and studies on particular aspects of employment (e.g. mobility, entrepreneurship, wages).⁶³ At this stage, EU institutions use their “naming and shaming” weapon by indicating countries with the lowest performance.

As reported in 2006, at 18.5% youth unemployment in the EU still remained about twice the overall EU unemployment rate. Large disparities are evident between member states: eight countries have rates above 20%, especially high in Slovakia and Poland at about 30% and 37% respectively, whereas Denmark, Ireland and the Netherlands have a relatively low level of some 8.5% (European Commission 2006b: 36). In contrast to the recent increase in employment in other age groups, 15- to 25-year-olds have witnessed a slow decrease in the activity rate, falling from 46.5% to 45.2%. As indicated in the recent Commission report on employment in Europe, this may be due to increased participation in education which – in the longer term – should have a positive effect on overall employment performance (European Commission 2006b: 38). As the 2006/07 Joint Employment Report indicated (European Council 2007b), progress in reducing early school leaving has been slow: in 2005, 6 million young people left education prematurely. In order to reach a target of 85% of 22-year-olds in the EU having completed at least upper secondary education, member states need to intensify their efforts in formulating and implementing appropriate policy measures.

The Joint Employment Report of February 2007, which devoted special attention to youth employment, was adopted and forwarded to the March 2007 (spring) European Council. The report pointed out that youth unemployment is still a severe

62 National reform programmes from 2006 are at: http://ec.europa.eu/growthandjobs/key/nrp2006_en.htm.

63 Employment in Europe reports are at: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/employment_analysis/index_en.htm.

problem in many member states, in spite of the implementation of measures promoting increased employability and the introduction of incentives for employers to hire young people. Several member states have been still far from reaching their medium- and long-term targets (giving a new start to young unemployed within six months by 2007, and within four months by 2010). In 2006, fewer than half the member states met the target of a new start within six months by 2007. The drafters of the report called also for more attention to be given to ensuring access to upper secondary education for all young people, including migrant and minority youth (European Council 2007b).

In its reporting on domestic policies, the most relevant added value of the European Union would be to facilitate the exchange of best practice, not only among national governments but also between local authorities or NGOs directly involved in work with young people. The best idea would be the publication of a handbook for policy-makers and practitioners that could draw on the best ways to mainstream the youth dimension in employment policies. Such a publication, like the *EU Handbook on integration for policy-makers and practitioners* (relating to immigrants), would be more reader-friendly than the rather technical joint employment reports. It would include, for example, an accessible section on best practice in EU member states. This kind of approach would reach policy implementation, practitioner and grassroots levels in a way that the standard communication cannot. In this respect, the relevance of the European Youth Forum (with about 100 member organisations) and the Council of Europe (with 47 member countries) should not be underestimated. Their co-operation in compiling, distributing and promoting such a publication would be of a great assistance to EU institutions.

The youth ministers gathered in the Council in February 2007 emphasised, however, that “any increase in the amount of reporting currently required of member states should be avoided”. They also endorsed a proposal of the German, Portuguese and Slovenian presidencies to issue a regular “European youth report” that would collect information on the situation of young people in Europe. Besides evidence gathered via Youth OMC, the report would aim to include the relevant data and structured examples of good practice (European Council 2007d). The Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA) built upon this idea and stipulated that such a highly publicised annual review, prepared for each spring European Council (always devoted to the Lisbon agenda) could stimulate public debate on these issues. EU leaders would consider the report and make new commitments where necessary. BEPA suggested that the first edition of the report should be devoted to the topics of youth and the welfare state (BEPA 2007: 76). The working document issued by the Commission in September 2007 provided an overview of youth employment across the European Union, identified policies implemented in 2005-06 in all member states and compiled recommendations (European Commission 2007c). In spite of its relevance for stakeholders and policy-makers, the document lacks the visibility crucial for reaching the wider audience to which reference has already been made.

EU financial incentives

Several budget lines offer significant financial contributions to policies adopted at domestic level. The European Social Fund has been the EU’s financial instrument for investing in people. As defined by the European Commission, its mission is to help prevent and fight unemployment, to make Europe’s workforce and companies better equipped to face new challenges and to prevent people from losing touch with the labour market. Some 80 billion euros have been provided over the period

2000 to 2006. Young people (particularly the unemployed) have been one of the main target groups for projects financed by the fund.

The Equal Programme has sponsored initiatives aimed at testing new means of tackling discrimination and inequality experienced by those searching for a job or already in work. The activities across the EU have contributed to meeting existing guidelines such as “employment pathways for young people”, “early identification of needs”, “job search assistance, guidance and training”, “inclusive education and training policies and action to facilitate access to initial vocational training” and “reduction in number of early school-leavers”. Some projects financed through this EU fund have aimed at improving the situation of young people facing discrimination on various grounds, such as gender, ethnicity or disability. The websites of the European Social Fund and Equal list all funded initiatives in publicly accessible databases.⁶⁴ They serve as online handbooks that practitioners can search for the most suitable initiatives.

Several education-related budget lines like Erasmus and Leonardo da Vinci in the Lifelong Learning Programme also contribute to employment-related initiatives. Moreover, the new edition of Youth in Action 2007-13, with its budget of 885 million euros, has been built in the context of the Lisbon Strategy and the European Youth Pact. In this programme, for 2008, the European Commission offered 2.4 million euros to support non-governmental organisations active at European level in the field of youth. PROGRESS, an EU programme introduced in 2006, is used, *inter alia*, to support implementation of the European Employment Strategy by developing statistics, indicators and surveys, providing studies of key issues, strengthening partnerships with relevant stakeholders through mutual learning, information and communication, and identifying and disseminating good practice. Table 11.1 summarises the youth-related elements of Employment OMC in their institutional and policy-related contexts.

→ Structured dialogue and participation of youth in policy formulation

The European Commission has plans to co-operate with young people on youth-related issues within “structured dialogue”.⁶⁵ In the longer term, it believes this dialogue will ensure the aim of better governance. The dialogue is based on three major themes, one per year: social and professional integration of young people in 2007; intercultural dialogue in 2008; and further perspectives of youth policy at European level in 2009. The results of each step of the structured dialogue are supposed to have an impact on the EU policy. Member states agreed to involve young people in a structured dialogue whenever policy initiatives related directly to them are discussed.⁶⁶

64 Databases available at: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/esf2000/index_en.html and http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/equal/index_en.cfm.

65 The structured dialogue is defined as “an instrument to actively involve young people in policy shaping debates and dialogue in relation to the European agenda”. More details available at: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/policies/structured_en.html.

66 It is important to note that consultation with youth on the EU policies is not to replace social dialogue but to complement it.

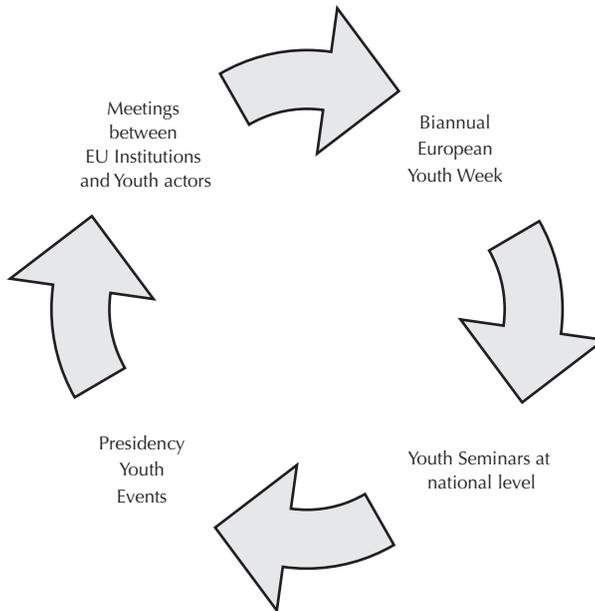
Table 11.1 Open Method of Co-ordination as applied to youth employment

Elements of OMC	Youth dimension of Employment OMC
<i>Institutional context</i>	
Treaty basis	Articles 125-130 of the Treaty establishing the European Community
Three-fold platform for institutional co-ordination	Employment and Social Policy Council gathers national ministers acting on the basis of qualified majority voting; Employment Committee working with the European Commission (Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs); consultative role for the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions.
<i>Policy content</i>	
Agreeing on common objectives for the EU	Employment guidelines related to: tackling youth unemployment, easing the transition from school to work, developing skills for the new labour market in the lifelong learning context, promoting a life-cycle approach to work, expanding and improving investment in human capital.
Establishing common indicators	General indicators: indicator of effort, rate of non-compliance, rate of inflow into long-term unemployment, activation rate. Youth-related indicators = targets: halving by 2010 the number of 18- to 24-year-olds with only lower-secondary-level education who are not in further education and training, reducing the youth unemployment ratio, offering every young person a new start before sixth month of unemployment.
Translating EU objectives into national policies	National action plans for employment (1998-2004), national reform programmes (2005-06)
Publishing reports, analysing and assessing national policies	Joint employment reports from 1998 onwards
<i>EU financial incentives</i>	
Establishing a Community Action Programme	European Social Fund, Equal, Lifelong Learning Programme 2007-13, Youth in Action, Progress

The main youth political forum in the EU, uniting a number of perspectives, is the European Youth Forum (EYF). It plays an active role and has constant influence on decision making at European level, its member organisations having a decisive position in ensuring effective implementation of decisions taken at EU level. In 2006, the EYF discussed with the European Commission youth organisations' access to the European Social Fund. It participated in the presidencies' meetings (organised by the Austrian and Finnish EU presidencies) following informal Council meetings on employment and social affairs in January and July 2006. The Forum contributed to preparations for European Employment Week in May 2006 (European

Youth Forum 2007a: 23) and produced a shadow report on the implementation of common objectives in the areas of information and participation. It was based on the reports prepared by national youth councils, in parallel to member states' national reports of 2005 (European Youth Forum 2006). The Finnish Youth Network was contracted by the EYF to undertake an independent study evaluating the OMC process in youth policy (Rahja and Sell 2006).

Figure 11.1: Structured dialogue between youth organisations and EU institutions



Source: Author's graphic, based on the Youthweek event website.

Following the adoption of the European Youth Pact, the European Youth Forum established six aims that should be taken into account by EU policy-makers.⁶⁷ Two of them were related directly to employment: one was the promotion of active youth participation in the European Employment Strategy and the other concerned facilitation of information exchange and encouragement of co-operation by youth organisations in this field. The European Youth Forum has also continued to assess implementation of the European Youth Pact within the Lisbon strategy. To this end, the EYF identified several quantitative and qualitative indicators that should be part of the European Employment Strategy. Consequently, commitments made by EU policy-makers included:

- reduction of European youth unemployment from 18% in 2006 to 9% before 2010;
- reduction by 50% of the average transition period between school or training and obtaining a paid job;
- high-quality education, training and work-experience programmes for the young unemployed;

⁶⁷ Available at: www.youthforum.org/en/our_work/Policy_areas/employment_priorities.htm.

- improvement of education systems to prevent young people leaving education early and to ensure they have the ability and skills to adapt to technical and economic change, with reduction of early school leaving by 50% in the period 2006-10; and
- development of specific measures to support those young people who suffer multiple discriminations in the labour market, notably women, disabled and migrants.

The European Youth Forum wishes to play an active role in the EU's Employment Strategy and be recognised as a key stakeholder in structured dialogue with youth.

Figure 11.1 shows the framework within which the European Youth Forum and other youth organisations seek to influence the EU policy-making process. One major channel by which to voice their preferences and opinions is participation in youth events that gather together politicians, bureaucrats and practitioners from the youth sector. The first half of 2007 saw three important events of this kind. An evaluation of their relevance for policy input (and in consequence, policy output) brings mixed results.

The first youth summit was held in Rome⁶⁸ on 24-25 March 2007 to coincide with the official summit of the Heads of State and Government in Berlin. It was the centrepiece of the EU's youth package, meant to celebrate the signing of the Rome treaties 50 years before. To this end, EU policy-makers designated youth as the key target group and signalled their will to engage in further dialogue. The Rome Youth Declaration called for improved access for youth organisations to the decision-making process on issues like managing demographic change; debate on flexicurity; reform of the pension system; and developing European migration and integration policies. The concluding message of the Declaration is more than telling: "Listen to what we have to say, ask us what we need and then act!" (Rome Youth Event 2007).⁶⁹

According to Jillian van Turnhout, vice-president of the European Economic and Social Committee, the final declaration of the Rome Youth Summit was quite strong and clear, but there is still a "long way to go regarding the follow-up and ensuring that action is taken".⁷⁰ No tangible impact of the Rome Declaration can be identified, despite the previous commitment by the Youth Committee of the European Parliament to discuss it, an invitation from the European Economic and Social Committee to present it at a plenary meeting in May and a principal commitment by Commissioners for Education and Communication Strategy.

Bettina Schwarzmayr, president of the European Youth Forum, stressed after the Rome Youth Event that the major concerns of the EYF are still the same: true and genuine youth participation that would not be based on "one-off events but a culture of youth participation" with a "clear structure from the beginning to the end of the processes". Dialogue should be structured in a clearer manner, with stakeholders knowing their exact role and the framework within which they can contribute, and their participation should be guaranteed at national as well as European level. To this end, the structure of the link between European and national tiers should be

68 More information available at: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youthweek/index_en.html.

69 The full text of the Rome Youth Declaration is available at: www.youth-event-germany.de/downloads/4-20-820/Youth%20Summit%20Roma.pdf.

70 Full interview available at: www.youthweek.eu/jillian-van-turnhout-interview.html.

well defined in advance, along with technical details (e.g. actors, venues, deadlines, frequency of meetings, agenda). Yet Bettina Schwarzmayr has only “vague ideas on how it could be [structured], but [she still doesn’t] think it is as concrete as we would like it to be”.⁷¹ Similarly, Jillian van Turnhout underlined that “youth policy should not be just about participation of young people in events and activities”. Rather, youth policy should mean involvement in all levels of governance, because it is a genuine youth contribution – and not “diplomacy” – that will guarantee visible effects after the subsequent meetings.⁷²

This critical voice was particularly significant for the second event, the Cologne Youth Event organised by the German Presidency. According to Gislinde Boehringer, the preparations and the event itself were rather bad examples of structured co-operation between the authorities and youth associations. The German Federal Youth Council expressed its disappointment about the first preparatory meeting in September 2006. At the second meeting the Youth Council was presented with the final programme, with effectively no chance to comment on its content. Their late critique was not taken into account by government organisers. Only a few days before the event, the Youth Council was urgently requested to delegate chairpersons for the working groups. Boehringer concluded her critical overview of the event by saying “a lot is always said about the participation of young people, but politicians should ask themselves whether they want youth involved actively” (Boehringer 2007).

The other key event that year, the third European Youth Week,⁷³ took place between 3 and 10 June 2007, with events organised throughout Europe to promote Youth in Action and European youth policies, as well as contributing to the structured dialogue with young people. Nearly 200 young people had a chance to make tangible contributions to the European Commission’s Plan D – Democracy, Dialogue and Debate. To this end, members of the European Commission joined the youth debate, and ten working groups discussed the general theme, social inclusion and diversity of young people. One group tackled directly the issue of employment and social inclusion. The subtitle of the seminar – Doing it our way – signified the determination of the young participants to have a stronger say in policy-making. The final conclusions of the youth event were subsequently forwarded to the European Commission and the Council of Youth Ministers. It is still to be seen what impact the youth events will have on policy formulation. For the time being, one of the most evident successes of the youth organisations was the Commission’s draft of a charter on internships (European Commission 2007b), following the campaign of the European Youth Forum to introduce common standards on the availability and quality of internships (European Youth Forum 2007b).

71 Full interview available at: www.youthweek.eu/301.html.

72 Full interview available at: www.youthweek.eu/jillian-van-turnhout-interview.html.

73 The first European Youth Week, Youth IN Action (INitiative – INclusion), ran from 29 September to 5 October 2003; the second, in December 2005, had the slogan “Youth takes the floor”. Those who took part in the second seminar called for a more structured involvement in policy formulation, notably the participation of youth bodies in social dialogue on the European Youth Pact, frequent consultation of youth organisations by social affairs/other ministries, presentation of the outcome of consultations to Mr/Ms Lisbon of that country, promotion of the social economy by reducing numbers of early school-leavers, and enhanced consultation of youth bodies by national, regional and local authorities (European Commission 2005c: 19).

→ Concluding remarks and the future

This chapter has presented the channels by which the youth dimension joins the mainstream of EU employment policy. EU policy-makers promised more youth-friendly policies, and the European Youth Pact and the Open Method of Co-ordination have, to some extent at least, been reasonably successful in this respect. They have brought a crucial focus on youth employment and helped member states to reflect on this issue in a more systematic, open and harmonised manner. National governments were required to give attention to common objectives and to offer a floor for a consultative process with non-governmental actors. The OMC has stimulated a process of mutual learning on good practice. This is perceived by some scholars and commentators to be one of the biggest advantages of this new form of governance. Nevertheless, there is no common system of mainstreaming the youth dimension into the European Employment Strategy. Consequently, ensuring proper standards of good-quality provision in this area is difficult. According to the European Commission's Bureau of European Policy Advisers, the co-ordination of youth policies at the EU level should be more "wide-ranging and systematic in order to favour cross-cutting issues and translate findings and actions into concrete measurable outcomes" (BEPA 2006: 17).

Identifying youth as a target group has been the great success of the European Union. In 2000, such activities and policies were certainly not integral to the work of the EU. The European Youth Pact has proved to be an important mechanism in constructing a political consensus on youth employment and giving further impetus to related developments. As a matter of fact the European Youth Pact was a major step in the development of European youth policies and, as highlighted by the Youth Council, built an essential basis "for further initiatives over the next ten years" (European Council 2007c: 2). Neither EU nor domestic employment guidelines can neglect the special status and needs of young people. What researchers and practitioners now highlight is the necessity to translate this political motivation into more effective reforms.

What has been the role of the European Youth Pact and youth organisations in this process? It is true that events organised at European and domestic level have helped to mobilise youth networks. In lobbying, the contribution of these bodies was essential. EU documents (e.g., European Youth Pact) and processes opened the window of opportunity for them to upload their preferences and give them political relevance. But EU policy-making machinery – though transparent enough to observe the process – has not been sufficiently opened up to allow non-governmental institutions genuine access to the decision-making venue. In particular, the Open Method of Co-ordination requires detailed expertise if participants are to have their say at European and national level – especially in highly technical matters.

Three major developments will shape the future EU youth employment policy agenda. Recent years have witnessed a greater degree of mobility of young people within the European Union. This may raise the question of a brain drain from new member states that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007. It is too early to evaluate these recent migratory movements, though the character of migration, skills of mobile youth workers and jobs undertaken suggest that some of them may return home with increased resources and human capital earned abroad. Nevertheless the mobility of young people has an impact on both the sending and receiving countries. Unemployment rates among young people have declined recently in central Europe, not mainly because of active policy measures, but because of the outflow of unemployed (in conjunction with an improved macro-economic

situation). Open borders cannot be a substitute for national employment policies. Instead, governments should focus on providing the best possible opportunities for those who stay and those who would like to return. The key role of EU institutions has been the facilitation of workers' mobility by encouraging young people to gain foreign work-related experience or by removing obstacles to free movement of persons. To this end, following the 2006 European Year of Workers' Mobility, the Commission launched in autumn 2007 the pilot "Your first job abroad" initiative for young workers wishing to plan their first mobility experience (European Commission 2007b).

The European Commission launched in Autumn 2006 a wide consultation on modernising labour law to meet the challenges of the 21st century (European Commission 2006c). It was in the context of the debate on flexicurity that stakeholders at domestic and EU levels contributed. This was before the formal Communication was adopted, so it was a crucial moment for intervention; for that reason, the European Youth Forum (EYF) submitted their views. The EYF took account of a number of issues, concerns and views expressed by young people: the balance between flexibility and security; the availability and quality of internships across the EU; working conditions; wages; and the reconciliation of professional, private and family life (European Youth Forum 2007b). Nevertheless, the recent Communication on flexicurity (European Commission 2007a) did not incorporate key elements that needed to be considered: notably, an acknowledgement that young people are over-represented among labour-market outsiders and face problems in gaining work. When the Communication was published, the European Expert Group on Flexicurity emphasised that more effort was needed to meet the target that every young person who has left school or university and become unemployed should be offered a job, apprenticeship, training or other employability measure within 100 days. The group recognised the need for youth to have better information on job opportunities, especially via media that are popular among the young (e.g., internet, job fairs, job clubs), and help in securing easy, cheap and open access to training in entrepreneurship skills within the education system (European Expert Group on Flexicurity 2007).

The poor employment situation of young ethnic minorities and migrants has been another urgent problem neglected so far by policy-makers. In consequence, democratic welfare states have failed to promote the integration of unemployed young immigrants (see, for instance, Malmberg-Heimonen 2006). An analysis of the events in France in autumn 2005 would suggest that "assimilation" is no solution for socio-economic challenges. It would appear that lack of proper employment opportunities started the chain reaction that eventually led to riots on the streets. In ageing Europe, the number of newcomers from outside the European Union, as well as second- and third-generation migrants, is constantly growing. In order to tackle problems of young migrants in the labour market, national governments need to co-ordinate departments responsible for youth, employment and migrant policies.

The administrative constraints explain why EU initiatives targeting the position of young immigrants in the labour market are so scarce. Co-operation is required of the three key directorates general: Employment and Social Affairs; Education and Culture; and Justice, Freedom and Security. It is not only co-operation between different Directorates General that is required, though, but also the synergy of three grand EU projects related to the Lisbon agenda, the creation of an Area of Justice, Freedom and Security – and, not least, bringing the EU closer to young citizens. In view of the above, it is with regret that one must note the limited interest of

youth organisations in lobbying for proper EU policies targeting the problems of unemployed young immigrants. None of the youth associations replied to the crucial 2005 Green Paper on “an EU approach to managing economic migration”. It was only recently, in the context of assessing the implementation of the European Youth Pact, that the European Youth Forum called for specific measures supporting young migrants facing multiple discrimination in the labour market. For the harmonised functioning of European societies, it is important to focus on this aspect of youth and migrant policies. Youth NGOs could ensure that solutions envisaged at the EU level turn out to be both youth- and migrant-friendly.

Further European integration will never be possible without the involvement and support of the younger generations. In this context, the European Commission’s goal has been “to create a climate of youth-friendly policies or youth-friendly Europe”.⁷⁴ As stipulated in the 2007 Work Programme, “the Commission will continue to try to better involve citizens in the policy process at all levels, particularly young people and women. The challenge is to improve the citizens’ image of the EU, knowledge about the EU, and interest in the EU” (European Commission 2006a: 10). In a similar tone, the Commission defined in 2007 a strong partnership between the EU and young people as a “commitment by the EU and member states to develop better opportunities for young people and a commitment by young people themselves to play an active part” (European Commission 2007b: 2). Drawing upon these declarations, one could infer that not only do youth organisations need the youth-friendly involvement of the Commission, but equally the Commission and the EU need the contribution of youth, which will in turn help to build a positive and open-minded image of Europe. For policy-makers, listening to young people should be more important than just talking. On the other side, young people are looking forward, not just to participation in meetings but also to a structured and continuous involvement in policy-making.

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⁷⁴ Interview with Jan Figel, Commissioner for Education and Culture, available at: www.youthweek.eu/youth-summit-in-rome.html.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire, show cards and instructions

→ South Caucasus life history questionnaire

Tracing and Contact		QID, REG and D2005QID to be completed prior to fieldwork		
QID: Questionnaire Number		[write here]		
REG: Region	[write name here]	[write code here]		
D2005QID: Linked DIS2005 Questionnaire Number		[write here]		
LOC1: Is target respondent still living at 2005 location?	[circle response code]	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = No contact at all	If 1 → RESP1 If 2 → LOC2 If 3 → LOC2	[if contact made at later visit write " LOC1 = 1 " in this box]
RESP1: Is target respondent willing to be interviewed?	[circle response code]	1 = Yes 2 = No (not now or not present) 3 = No (never)	If 1 → page 3 and start interview If 2 → Arrange a day and time for interview If 3 → encourage to respond, if not go to REF	[write " RESP1 = 1 " in this box when an arranged visit is made and interview done]
REF: Why are you unwilling to be interviewed?	[write here]			
LOC2: Where is target respondent now living?	[collect as much data as possible and write on this page: forwarding addresses and phone numbers AND names and contact details (addresses and phone numbers) of friends, relatives and neighbours or anyone else who might know their whereabouts]			
Other details that may help location	[write here]			

For interviewer: special codes throughout the questionnaire:	-5 = refused to answer	-7 = not applicable
	-6 = don't know or cannot remember	-8 = episode has not ended

VISIT / CALL BACK REGISTER

[to be completed by Interviewer after the interview or the person making contact and signed by the field supervisor and used for follow up purposes. All attempts at contact to be logged and signed by the fieldwork supervisor]

Contact number	Name of Field worker making contact	Date	Time of Day (use 24 hour clock)	Contact type 1 = Visit to original address 2 = Telephone Call 3 = Visit to new address	Result 1 = Interview completed 2 = Refusal 3 = Arranged day and time for interview 4 = No Contact made	Action to be taken 1 = no further action needed 2 = call back at rearranged time 3 = telephone to make contact (from tel. number collected) 4 = visit new address (from details collected) 5 = call back to original address	Signature of Field Supervisor Sign to show agreement with the details listed. A new signature is needed for each contact attempt.
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							

Interview details

DATE: Date of Interview		
INT: Interviewer	[write name here]	[write code here]
TS: Time interview started [24 hour clock]		[Interviewer should tear off the Life History Calendar at the back of the questionnaire and give to respondent then read out the instructions on how to complete this page. On completion, interviewer starts asking questions at section 5 overleaf.]
TE: Time interview ended [24 hour clock]		

 Interviewer not to complete this section

Data entry details

Data entry clerk [to be completed by data entry clerk]	Name: Code:	
---	----------------	--

Date of data entry

--	--

Supervisor [to sign once data entry is completed]	[sign here]
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Section S. Information about yourself			
S1. What is your gender?	<i>[circle response code]</i>		1 = male 2 = female
S2. When were you born?	<i>[write in year and month]</i>		Year of birth Month of birth
S3. Where were you born?	<i>[read out all responses and circle correct response code]</i>		1 = in this area / city 2 = in this country but in a different area /city 3 = in a different country 4 = Don't know

Section A. Household general characteristics over the years							
Please provide some information on the members of your household at different points in your life. Include all those who were living in your household during most of the year when you were age 16, age 25 and now. By "household," we mean those people who usually live together, comprise one economic unit, and have a common budget (excluding guests). Categorise people by their relationship to you, i.e. we will first ask you to tell us about how many of your parents, step parents and parents in law were in your household when you were aged 16. Do not include yourself.							
A Not counting yourself, how many of the following were living in your household on your.... <i>[interviewer to note the number for each category including '0' where relevant, code -6 for DK/cannot remember]</i>							
	1. number of your parents, step parents and parents in law	2. Number of your grandparents	3. Number of your brothers and sisters (including brothers and sisters in law and step brothers and sisters)	4. Number of your own children	5. Number of other children (of brother and sisters and step children)	6. Your partner (wife or cohabitee)	7. Other people
A1 16th Birthday?						
A2 25th Birthday?						
A3 now?						

SECTION ED: Education	
Please tell us about your main post-elementary school education, that is education from the age of 16	
Ed1 What age were you when you first left full time education?	[Code -7 if respondent had no education up to age 16]
Ed2 What sort of educational institution was this?	
Ed3 What is your highest educational qualification?	
Ed4 What experience have you had of education since the age of 16?	

Ed4.1 [Episode: start with the earliest]	Ed4.2 What sort of institution was this? [show card Ed4.2] 1 = University, Polytechnic or other Higher Education 2 = General secondary school 3 = Professional/ technical/vocational secondary school/college 4 = Specialised (academic) secondary school 5 = Special school for disabled 6 = Other	Ed4.3 What was the mode of study? [read responses] 1 = Full time 2 = Part time	Ed4.4 What Sector was this? [read responses] 1 = Public 2 = Private	Ed4.5 Who paid for most of the fees? [read responses] 1 = Family 2 = Self 3 = State 4 = Other	Ed4.6 What was the year this started?	Ed4.7 What was the month this started? [if <i>unsure</i> <i>about</i> <i>month</i> <i>insist on</i> <i>a best</i> <i>guess</i>]	Ed4.8 What was the year this ended? -8 = not ended (still doing it)	Ed4.9 What was the month this ended? [if <i>unsure</i> <i>about</i> <i>month</i> <i>insist on a</i> <i>best guess</i>] -8 = not ended (still doing it)	Ed4.10 What Qualification did you gain? [show card Ed4.10] 1 = Did not complete secondary school (failed) 2 = Did not complete secondary (dropped out) 3 = Secondary school diploma 4 = BA 5 = MA 6 = Aspirantura 7 = Doctorantura (PhD) 8 = Other (no degree for this course)	Ed4.11 What was the main reason for doing this course? [show card Ed4.11] 1 = To escape military service 2 = To find a good spouse 3 = Family tradition 4 = To develop a career 5 = To work abroad 6 = Personal development / Interest / Aptitude 7 = other
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										

SECTION EMP: Employment history						
We would like to know what your employment history has been from the age of 16. Only tell us about periods which lasted for one month or more.						
Emp1 What did you do when you left full time education? Please tell us the MAIN position (employment status) that you had if you had more than one position at the same time. [Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]						
Emp1.1 [Episode: starting with the earliest]	Emp1.2 Which of the following best describes your employment position at this time? [show card Emp1.2] 1 = In full time education... 2 = Working full-time (i.e. in at least one job for 30 hours a week or longer) for an employer... 3 = Working part-time (i.e. in at least one job for less than 30 hours a week) for an employer 4 = Self-employed (including farmers) 5 = Out of Work... 6 = National service (including military service) 7 = Maternity leave 8 = Family Care 9 = Long-term Sick / disabled 10 = Retired 11 = Something else	Emp1.3 What year this started?	Emp1.4 What month this started? [if unsure about month insist on a best guess]	Emp1.5 What year this ended? -8 = not ended (still doing it)	Emp1.6 What was the month this ended? [if unsure about month insist on a best guess] -8 = not ended (still doing it)	Emp1.7 Were you happy in this position? [read responses] 1 = Yes [→ Emp1.1] 2 = No [→ Emp1.8]
	Emp1.8 Which position would you have been most happy to be in? [show card Ed1.8] 1 = In full time education... 2 = Working full-time (i.e. in at least one job for 30 hours a week or longer) for an employer... 3 = Working part-time (i.e. in at least one job for less than 30 hours a week) for an employer 4 = Self-employed (including farmers) 5 = Out of Work... 6 = National service (including military service) 7 = Maternity leave 8 = Family Care 9 = Long-term Sick / disabled 10 = Retired 11 = Something else					

SECTION EMP: Employment history (continued)

Emp1 What did you do when you left full time education? Please tell us the **MAIN** position (employment status) that you had if you had more than one position at the same time.

[Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]

Emp1.1 Episode: starting with the earliest)	Emp1.2 Which of the following best describes your employment position at this time? [show card Emp1.2] 1 = In full time education... 2 = Working full-time (i.e. in at least one job for 30 hours a week or longer) for an employer... 3 = Working part-time (i.e. in at least one job for less than 30 hours a week) for an employer 4 = Self-employed (including farmers) 5 = Out of Work... 6 = National service (including military service) 7 = Maternity leave 8 = Family Care 9 = Long-term Sick / disabled 10 = Retired 11 = Something else *Only tell us about changes to your MAIN position/employment status*	Emp1.3 What year this started?	Emp1.4 What month this started? <i>[if unsure about month insist on a best guess]</i>	Emp1.5 What year this ended? -8 = not ended (still doing it)	Emp1.6 What month this ended? <i>[if unsure about month insist on a best guess]</i> -8 = not ended (still doing it)	Emp1.7 Were you happy in this position? [read responses] 1 = Yes 2 = No [→ Emp1.1] [→ Emp1.8]	Emp1.8 Which position would you have been most happy to be in? [show card Ed1.8] 1 = In full time education... 2 = Working full-time (i.e. in at least one job for 30 hours a week or longer) for an employer... 3 = Working part-time (i.e. in at least one job for less than 30 hours a week) for an employer 4 = Self-employed (including farmers) 5 = Out of Work... 6 = National service (including military service) 7 = Maternity leave 8 = Family Care 9 = Long-term Sick / disabled 10 = Retired 11 = Something else
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SECTION J: Job [if respondent has had no jobs since leaving full-time education – draw a line diagonally across this page]										
Please tell us about all your MAIN jobs that you have done since leaving full-time education. Only tell us about periods which lasted for one month or more. Tell us about your MAIN job even when you have done more than one job at a time.										
J1 What jobs have you done since leaving full-time education? [Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]										
J1.1 Job number: starting with earliest]	J1.2 Which of the following best describes your job at this time? [show card J1.2] 1 = Self-employed (Low level) 2 = Self-employed (Own business) 3 = Working for a family business 4 = Working for a state enterprise or administration 5 = Working for an international employer 6 = Working for a local (non-international) private employer 7 = Working for a local NGO 8 = Working for an international NGO 9 = Military Service 10 = other	J1.3 Was this job full or part-time? 1 = Full-time (30 hours per week or more) 2 = Part-Time (Less than 30 hours per week)	J1.4 Was this job officially registered? 1 = Yes 2 = No	J1.5 How would you describe the work you did in this job? [show card J1.5] 1 = Managerial 2 = Intellectual, artistic, liberal 3 = Clerical, office job 4 = Farm work 5 = Manual work 6 = Petty traders	J1.6 What was the year this started?	J1.7 What was the month that this started? [if unsure about month insist on a best guess]	J1.8 What was the year this ended? -8 = not ended (still doing it)	J1.9 What was the month this ended? [if unsure about month insist on a best guess] -8 = not ended (still doing it)	J1.10 What was the reason you left this job? [show card J1.10] 1 = Left for a better job 2 = Left for a different job 3 = Made redundant / company bankrupt 4 = Dismissed / sacked 5 = Temporary job ended 6 = Took retirement 7 = Health reasons 8 = Left to have a baby 9 = Look after family member or other person 10 = War / Natural Disaster 11 = To become a student 12 = Other	J1.11 Did you have any other paid jobs while you were doing this one? 1 = Yes 2 = No

SECTION J: Job (Continued)

J1 What jobs have you done since leaving full-time education?
 [Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]

<p>J1.1 Job number: starting with earliest]</p>	<p>J1.2 Which of the following best describes your job at this time? [show card J1.2] 1 = Self-employed (Low level) 2 = Self-employed (Own business) 3 = Working for a family business 4 = Working for a state enterprise or administration 5 = Working for an international employer 6 = Working for a local (non-international) private employer 7 = Working for a local NGO 8 = Working for an international NGO 9 = Military Service 10 = other</p>	<p>J1.3 Was this job full or part-time? 1 = Full-time (30 hours per week or more) 2 = Part-Time (Less than 30 hours per week)</p>	<p>J1.4 Was this job officially registered? 1 = Yes 2 = No</p>	<p>J1.5 How would you describe the work you did in this job? [show card J1.5] 1 = Managerial 2 = Intellectual, artistic, liberal profession 3 = Clerical, office job 4 = Farm work 5 = Manual work 6 = Petty traders</p>	<p>J1.6 What year this started?</p>	<p>J1.7 What month that this started? [if unsure about month insist on a best guess]</p>	<p>J1.8 What year this ended? -8 = not ended (still doing it)</p>	<p>J1.9 What month this ended? [if unsure about month insist on a best guess] -8 = not ended (still doing it)</p>	<p>J1.10 What was the reason you left this job? [show card J1.10] 1 = Left for a better job 2 = Left for a different job 3 = Made redundant / company bankrupt 4 = Dismissed / sacked 5 = Temporary job ended 6 = Took retirement 7 = Health reasons 8 = Left to have a baby 9 = Look after family member or other person 10 = War / Natural Disaster 11 = To become a student 12 = Other</p>	<p>J1.11 Did you have any other paid jobs while you were doing this one? 1 = Yes 2 = No</p>
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SECTION M: Marital Status			
Please tell us about your different legal marital statuses that you may have had over the years.			
M1	What is your current marital status?	Circle one number	→ C1
		1 = Never Married	
		2 = Married	→ M2
		3 = Separated	
		4 = Divorced	
		5 = Widowed	
IF ANYTHING OTHER THAN NEVER MARRIED → M2			
M2 Please tell me about your marital status history: i.e. when you first got married and any subsequent changes. <i>[Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]</i>			
M2.1 [Event Number: start with earliest event]	M2.2 [Event type] 2 = Married 3 = Separated 4 = Divorced 5 = Widowed	M2.3 What was the year that this happened?	M2.4 What was the month that this happened? <i>(if unsure about month insist on a best guess)</i>
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
GOTO C1			

SECTION C: Cohabitation (living as married)
ASK ALL RESPONDENTS

Please tell me about any time that you may have spent cohabiting with another person, that is living as if married but without being legally married. Only tell us about periods which lasted for one month or more.
[Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]

C1 Have you ever cohabited with another person?	Circle one number	→ C2.1		C2.6 Why did this cohabitation end? 1 = Got married 2 = Relationship ended 3 = Other
		1 = Yes	2 = No	
C2.1 [Episode number: start with the first episode of cohabitation]	C2.2 What year did this begin?	C2.3 What month did this begin? <i>(if unsure about month insist on a best guess)</i>	C2.4 What year did this end? <i>-8 = not ended</i>	C2.5 What month did this end? <i>(if unsure about month insist on a best guess)</i> <i>-8 = not ended</i>
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

SECTION K: Children	
Please tell me about any children that you have parented. Ignore adopted and step children but include those children who have died at birth	
K1	Do you have any children? <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">1 = Yes → K2</div> <div style="text-align: center;">2 = No → H1</div> </div>
K2	Please tell me about your children, that is children you have parented, starting with the oldest: <i>[Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]</i>
K2.1 [Child Number: start with the eldest child]	
K2.2 What is this child's sex? 1 = male 2 = female	
K2.3 What was the year of birth?	
K2.4 What was the month of birth? <i>(if unsure about month insist on a best guess)</i>	
K2.5 Where is your child now? <i>[read responses]</i> 1 = living with you 2 = living elsewhere 3 = stillborn 4 = died → K2.6 and K2.7	
K2.6 [if child has died] Year of Death [-7 = not applicable]	
K2.7 [if child has died] Month of Death <i>(if unsure about month insist on a best guess)</i> [-7 = not applicable]	

SECTION H: Housing and place of residence changes

Please tell me about all the different houses / flats that you have lived in since the age of 16 including the address that you were living in then. If you were based at an address, but spent short periods away from it, count the whole period at this place of residence as one address.

H1 Please give details for each place of residence you have lived in starting with the house you lived in at the age of 16.

[Allow the respondent to refer to the Life History Calendar if necessary]

H1.1 [Residence number: start with residence at age 16]	H1.2 What type of house was this? [show card H1.2] 1 = house 2 = flat 3 = other (including IDP housing)	H1.3 Who was the main occupier after you moved in? [show card H1.3] 1 = Self 2 = Partner 3 = Both 4 = Family (parents) 5 = Family (other) 6 = Other	H1.4 Which of the following best describes the tenure of this property at the time you moved out (or now if you are still there)? [show card H1.4] 1 = Privately owned (pre 1991) 2 = Privately owned (1991 and onwards) 3 = Publicly owned 4 = Private renting 5 = Other	H1.5 How many people lived at this property right before you moved out (or now if you are still there)? Include self and all adults children and babies.	H1.6 Who was the main occupier right before you moved out (or now if you are still there)? [show card H1.6] 1 = Self 2 = Partner 3 = Both 4 = Family (parents) 5 = Family (other) 6 = Other	H1.7 What was the year you moved there? code 77 = already living there	H1.8 What was the month you moved there? (if unsure about month insist on a best guess) code 77 = already living there	H1.9 [For address numbers 2 and onwards:] Which of the following best describes this address change? [show card H1.9] 1 = Same village, town or city 2 = Same Oblast but not same village, town or city 3 = Same country but to different Oblast 4 = To a different country	H1.10 What was the year you moved out? -8 = still there	H1.11 What was the month you moved out? (if unsure about month insist on a best guess) -8 = still there	H1.12 What was the main reason that you moved out? [show card H1.12] 1 = wanted larger / better home 2 = because of work / partners work 3 = marriage or relationship began / ended 4 = wanted to buy / rent own home 5 = no choice (e.g. Family decision) 6 = other dwelling made available by family 7 = war refugee / IDP / Natural disaster 8 = Other
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SECTION P: Parental education and occupation

**Thinking about when you were brought up, please could you tell us a little about your parents
(both natural and step parents)**

What is/was their highest education?

[show card P1]

	Your Mother (P1) <i>Circle one only</i>	Your Father (P2) <i>Circle one only</i>
University, Polytechnic or other Higher Education	1	1
General secondary school	2	2
Professional/technical/vocational secondary school/college	3	3
Specialised (academic) secondary school	4	4
Special needs course	5	5
Primary	6	6
None	7	7
Don't Know	-6	-6

What is/ was their usual occupation?

[show card P3]

	Your Mother (P3) <i>Circle one only</i>	Your Father (P4) <i>Circle one only</i>
Managerial	1	1
Intellectual / artistic / liberal profession	2	2
Clerical / Office job	3	3
Farm work	4	4
Manual work	5	5
Housewife/ husband	6	6
Don't Know	-6	-6

Section ECON: Economic Issues

ECON1 How much did your household spend last month on each of the following?

Expenses	Amount (in local currency)	Thinking about an average month over the past year, how typical was this expenditure? 1 = More than usual 2 = About the same as usual 3 = Less than usual -6 = Don't Know [circle one number per category]	More	Same	Less	DK
ECON1.1: Education			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.2: Health			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.3: Utilities			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.4: Food			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.5: Flat rental			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.6: Clothing			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.7: Babysitter/Housekeeper/ Driver			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.8: Recreation			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.9: Leisure			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.10: Transport			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.11: Cell phone			1	2	3	-6
ECON1.12: Other spending			1	2	3	-6

ECON2 How much was YOUR OWN income in the last month?

[Show card **ECON2**

		Write in code from show card ECON2
ECON2.1	Income from paid employment	
ECON2.2	Income from self employment	
ECON2.3	Income from state benefits	
ECON2.4	Other Income	

ECON3 How much was your HOUSEHOLD income in the last month (Add together all income in each category from each household member)?

		Write in code from show card ECON2
ECON3.1	Income from paid employment	
ECON3.2	Income from self employment	
ECON3.3	Income from state benefits	
ECON3.4	Other Income including income from other relatives	

<p>Thank you for helping us by answering these questions. We appreciate the time that you have given us.</p>																									
<p>INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWER</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Check that all pages of the questionnaire have been completed – complete table opposite →. 2. Attach the Life History Calendar to the front of the questionnaire. 3. Note the time that the interview ended (TE on page 3). 4. Complete the visit / call back register on page 2. 5. Deliver the completed questionnaire to your fieldwork supervisor 	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: center;">section</th> <th style="text-align: center;">Tick if completed</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">S and A, page 4</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">ED, page 5</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">EMP, pages 6 and 7</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">JOB, pages 8 and 9</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">M, page 10</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">C, page 11</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">K, page 12</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">H, page 13</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">L: page 14</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">P: page 15</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">ECON, pages 16 and 17</td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	section	Tick if completed	S and A, page 4		ED, page 5		EMP, pages 6 and 7		JOB, pages 8 and 9		M, page 10		C, page 11		K, page 12		H, page 13		L: page 14		P: page 15		ECON, pages 16 and 17	
section	Tick if completed																								
S and A, page 4																									
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C, page 11																									
K, page 12																									
H, page 13																									
L: page 14																									
P: page 15																									
ECON, pages 16 and 17																									

QID: Questionnaire Number	<i>[copy from page one of the full questionnaire]</i>																												
LIFE HISTORY CALENDAR																													
<p>We would like to know about some things that have happened to you since the age of 16. It is not always easy remembering details of events that may have happened some time ago so we are concentrating on just a few things: your education, employment, getting married, having children, moving house and your leisure.</p> <p>To help in this we would like you to fill in the Life History Calendar below. As you can see we are particularly concerned about WHEN things happened. We hope that once you have completed this calendar it will help you to remember when things happened and in what order. Once you have completed this calendar you will be asked more detailed questions; if you cannot remember exactly the month when something happened please make the best guess you can. For example if you know that you moved house between January and March but can't remember exactly when then it is fine to say that it was February.</p>																													
	Communism	Transition to post-communism						The new millennium	Recent times																				
	1985-1989	1990-1994						1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2007																			
write in notes as highlighted below in the box below the appropriate year	85 86 87 88 89	90 91 92 93 94	95 96 97 98 99	00 01 02 03 04	05 06 07																								
20th Birthday: 20 30th Birthday: 30																													
Address Lived at: write in brief details																													
Migration: Note country migrated to																													
Marital status dates: M = married, S = separated, D = divorced, W = widowed																													
Fertility dates: child 1 = C1 , child 2 = C2 Etc.																													
Year left secondary school: L																													
Year began Higher education: HE																													
Year achieved highest qualification: HED																													

→ Show Cards

Education

Card Ed4.2

- 1 = University, Polytechnic or other Higher Education
- 2 = General secondary school
- 3 = Professional/technical/vocational secondary school/college
- 4 = Specialised (academic) secondary school
- 5 = Special school for disabled
- 6 = Other

Card Ed4.10

- 1 = Did not complete secondary school (failed)
- 2 = Did not complete secondary school (dropped out)
- 3 = Secondary school diploma
- 4 = BA
- 5 = MA
- 6 = Aspirantura
- 7 = Doctorantura (PhD)
- 8 = Other (no degree for this course)

Card Ed4.11

- 1 = To escape military service
- 2 = To find a good spouse
- 3 = Family tradition
- 4 = To develop a career
- 5 = To work abroad
- 6 = Personal development / Interest / Aptitude
- 7 = Other

Employment

Card Emp1.2

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 = In full time education... | 1 = In full time education... |
| 2 = Working full-time (i.e. in at least one job for 30 hours a week or longer) for an employer... | 2 = In a full-time job (30 hours a week or longer) with an employer... |
| 3 = Working part-time (i.e. in at least one job for less than 30 hours a week) for an employer | 3 = Working part-time (i.e. less than 30 hours a week) for an employer |
| 4 = Self-employed... | 4 = Self-employed... |
| 5 = Out of Work... | 5 = Out of Work... |
| 6 = National service (including military service) | 6 = National service... |
| 7 = Maternity leave | 7 = Maternity leave |
| 8 = Family Care | 8 = Family Care |
| 9 = Long-term Sick/ disabled | 9 = Long-term Sick/ disabled |
| 10 = Retired | 10 = Retired |
| 11 = Something else | 11 = Something else |

Only tell us about changes to your MAIN position/employment status

Card Emp1.8

- 1 = In full time education...
- 2 = Working full-time (i.e. in at least one job for 30 hours a week or longer) for an employer...
- 3 = Working part-time (i.e. in at least one job for less than 30 hours a week) for an employer
- 4 = Self-employed...
- 5 = Out of Work...
- 6 = National service (including military service)
- 7 = Maternity leave
- 8 = Family Care
- 9 = Long-term Sick / disabled
- 10 = Retired
- 11 = Something else

Card J1.2

- 1 = Self-employed (Low level)
- 2 = Self-employed (Own business)
- 3 = Working for a family business
- 4 = Working for a state enterprise or administration
- 5 = Working for an international employer
- 6 = Working for a local (non-international) private employer
- 7 = Working for a local NGO
- 8 = Working for an international NGO
- 9 = Military Service
- 10 = Other

Card J1.5

- 1 = Managerial
- 2 = Intellectual, artistic, liberal profession
- 3 = Clerical, office job
- 4 = Farm work
- 5 = Manual work
- 6 = Petty Traders

Card J1.10

- 1 = Left for a better job
- 2 = Left for a different job
- 3 = Made redundant / company bankrupt
- 4 = Dismissed / sacked
- 5 = Temporary job ended
- 6 = Took retirement
- 7 = Health reasons
- 8 = Left to have a baby
- 9 = Look after family member or other person
- 10 = War / natural disaster
- 11 = To become a student
- 12 = Other

Housing**Card H1.2**

- 1 = house
- 2 = flat
- 3 = other (including IDP housing)

Card H1.3

- 1 = Self
- 2 = Partner
- 3 = Both
- 4 = Family (parents)
- 5 = Family (other)
- 6 = Other

Card H1.4

- 1 = Privately owned (pre 1991)
- 2 = Privately owned (1991 and onwards)
- 3 = Publicly owned
- 4 = Private renting
- 5 = Other

Card H1.6

- 1 = Self
- 2 = Partner
- 3 = Both
- 4 = Family (parents)
- 5 = Family (other)
- 6 = Other

Card H1.9

- 1 = Same village, town or city
- 2 = Same Oblast but not same village, town or city
- 3 = Same country but to different Oblast
- 4 = To a different country

Card H1.12

- 1 = wanted larger / better home
- 2 = because of work / partners work
- 3 = relationship began / ended
- 4 = wanted to buy / rent own home
- 5 = no choice (e.g. Family decision)
- 6 = Other dwelling made available by family
- 7 = War refugee / IDP / Natural Disaster
- 8 = Other

Leisure**Card L**

- 1 = never
- 2 = less than once a month
- 3 = 1-3 times a month
- 4 = 1-2 times a week
- 5 = 3-6 times a week
- 6 = every day

Parental education and employment**Card P1**

- 1 = University, Polytechnic or other Higher Education
- 2 = General secondary school

- 3 = Professional/technical/vocational secondary school/college
- 4 = Specialised (academic) secondary school
- 5 = Special needs course
- 6 = Primary
- 7 = None
- 6 = Don't Know

Card P3

- 1= Managerial
- 2= Intellectual / artistic / liberal profession
- 3= Clerical / Office job
- 4= Farm work
- 5= Manual work
- 6= Housewife/ househusband
- 6 = Don't Know

Economic issues

ECON2

(note to local research teams: these categories should be converted to the local equivalent for the same Dollar numbers)

- 1 = Zero
- 2 = from \$1 to \$25
- 3 = from \$26 - \$50
- 4 = from \$51 - \$100
- 5 = from \$101 - \$200
- 6 = from \$201 - \$500
- 7 = from \$501 - \$1000
- 8 = over \$1000

Instructions

General interviewer instructions

- 1/ Read all text highlighted in the grey boxes. Read all the questions as worded.
- 2/ Instructions to you are enclosed in square brackets thus: [...instructions...]
- 3/ special codes throughout the survey are as follows:
 - 5 = refused to answer
 - 6 = don't know or cannot remember
 - 7 = not applicable
 - 8 = episode has not ended

Every answer should have a coded response, either one of the response codes as listed on the form, or one of the special codes above.

4/ You the interviewer are to write all responses on the questionnaire other than for the Life History Calendar. Do not allow respondents to write any responses themselves.

5/ The life history calendar should be separated from the questionnaire at the start of the interview and then attached to it at the end of the interview. It is a separate

sheet so that the respondents can complete themselves. Its main function is to help respondents remember events from the past. The calendar will also be used for data checking so we must be able to match up each Life History Calendar with the associated questionnaire. It is therefore imperative that the questionnaire number is entered onto the Life History Calendar.

Allow the respondent time to complete this table and indicate that it is to help to remind them about things later on.

The questionnaire number **MUST** be entered onto the Life History Calendar and the sheet can be detached. Check this before starting the questionnaire itself.

6/ For all questions which require dates (years and months) it is important to get the respondent to accurately remember when things have happened. Where this is difficult allow the respondent to examine the Life History Calendar, if this does not help then allow them to refer to other parts of the survey where the dates that event have occurred have been noted. Where it is the month that cannot be remembered, insist that they give you a 'best guess', for example ask them to name the season in which the event occurred and then note down a season code as follows:

13 = Winter
 14 = Spring
 15 = Summer
 16 = Autumn

Only if they cannot remember the season can you enter the -6 (don't know/can't remember) code

Where it is the year that cannot be remembered then, after trying all other ways of reminding the respondent you must enter the -6 (don't know, can't remember) code.

7/ Where instructed on the form give the respondent the relevant show card.

8/ Complete each page of the form before moving on to the next.

9/ If at any point the respondent indicates that a mistake has been made in an earlier section you should make a note of where you are currently, return to the section where the mistake needs to be corrected and correct it, then return to the point in the form where you were before the correction was made. This may occur when the respondent later remembers an episode that was missed out when the original responses were made.

Page by page Interviewer instructions and information

Page 1: Tracing and Contact

Locating the target sample is the first problem. In some cases this will be easy as the target respondent will still be living in the same location as when the DIS 2005 was undertaken. In many cases it will not be so easy and there is a need to trace the whereabouts of the target sample so that they can be found and interviewed. In some cases it may not be possible to find the target sample. For those in the target sample who we are not able to interview, we need to know the reason why not. This is why there is a 'Tracing and contact' section and a 'Visit and Call back

Register' at the start of the questionnaire. These are used to record details that may be useful in locating respondents at a later date as well as to record reasons why no interview takes place even when contact with the target sample is made. It is therefore crucial that these sections are completed accurately in order to help us to understand how to locate the target sample and understand why some interviews are missing. The 'Visit and Call back Register' will help in recording at what stage we are at in contacting a respondent.

The QID, region and linked DIS2005 questionnaire number should be pre-entered on the form by the Field office.

There is space to write in the name of the region as well as the code.

If LOC1 and RESP1 are both 'Yes', then an interview will be conducted.

If LOC1 is not 'yes' then further attempts at contact will be required. Try to get details as asked in LOC2 then complete the visit / call back register on page 2. If a later visit makes successful contact, then 'LOC1=1' should be written in the box shown.

If RESP1 is not 'yes' then the interviewer should do their best to encourage the respondent to take part in the survey and offer to come back at a time which is more convenient. If the respondent is certain they do not want to participate then complete the visit / call back register on page 2. If a later visit results in an interview then 'RESP1=1' should be written in the box shown.

Page 2: Visit / Call back register

This should be completed at the end of one of the following:

- an unsuccessful attempt at contacting the respondent
- a refusal by a respondent to be interviewed
- the arrangement of a future time and date that the respondent has agreed to be interviewed
- after an interview has been completed

On completing one entry on the register it should then be signed by the fieldwork supervisor.

Page 3: Interview details and Data entry log

Once a respondent has agreed to be interviewed, the interviewer should write the date of the interview, their own name and code and the time the interview started.

On completion of the interview, the interviewer should then complete TE: time interview ended (there is a reminder to do this at the end of the form).

The interviewer should not write anything in the Data Entry section: this is to be completed at the time of data entry.

Page 4: Sections S and A – self and household information

Section A asks about the number of people that the respondent lived with at different times of their lives. Of importance here is that the respondent should NOT include

themselves when counting people in the different categories. As with all of the questions asking about the past, encourage the respondent to look at the Life History Calendar they have just completed as it will help to focus their minds on past times.

Any member of the household who does not come under one of the headings listed in columns 1 to 6 should be included in column 7: 'other'.

Page 5: section ED – Educational history

On this page we are interested in gathering data on the respondents' educational background. Ed1 to Ed3 begin by asking basic information. Where a respondent has not undertaken any formal education write in code '-7' for Ed1.

Ed4.1 to Ed4.11 ask about episodes of education since the age of 16. Start with the earliest episode, i.e. the first one done during or after the age of 16. You should complete the details for this episode before moving on to the next one. Collect data for as many different episodes that the respondent has had since the age of 16.

Encourage the respondent to look at the Life History Calendar as it will help to focus their minds on past times.

It is very important to get as accurate dates as possible for the start and end times. Where a respondent cannot remember the month that an episode started or ended, use one of the season codes as described earlier.

Pages 6 and 7 Section EMP – Employment status history

All respondents will have at least one entry to this table. Start with the first employment status at the age of 16 and collect all the data Emp1.1 to Emp1.8. then move on to the next one, and so on until you have reached the current employment status.

We realise that some respondents will have a number of different statuses at the same time so we are interested in the status that BEST describes their position – see codes in Emp1.2.

Encourage the respondent to look at the Life History Calendar as it will help to focus their minds on past times.

It is very important to get as accurate dates as possible for the start and end times. Where a respondent cannot remember the month that an episode started or ended, use one of the season codes as described earlier.

Pages 8 and 9: Section J – Job

If a respondent has never had a job since leaving full-time education, draw a line diagonally across this page and **go straight to section M.**

Note that we are focusing on MAIN jobs AFTER full-time education has been completed. Where a respondent has done more than one job at the same time they should describe the one they consider to be the main one.

For all respondents who have had at least one job since leaving full-time education, starting with the earliest, collect data for J1.1 to J1.11 then move on to the next one, and so on until you have reached the most recent, or current job.

Encourage the respondent to look at the Life History Calendar as it will help to focus their minds on past times.

It is very important to get as accurate dates as possible for the start and end times. Where a respondent cannot remember the month that an episode started or ended, use one of the season codes as described earlier.

Page 10: Section M – Marital status

All respondents will have a marital status (M1). Where a respondent has never married – **go to section C.**

Where a respondent has indicated in M1 anything other than ‘never married’, then M2 should be completed. Starting with their first marriage collect data on when it took place. Then ask about any subsequent changes in their marital status up until the present time.

It is very important to get as accurate dates as possible for the start and end times. Where a respondent cannot remember the month that an episode started or ended, use one of the season codes as described earlier.

Page 11: Section C – Cohabitation

All respondents will have an answer to C1. Where a respondent has never cohabited – **go to section K.**

Where a respondent has indicated in C1 that they have cohabited, then C2 should be completed. Starting with their first episode of cohabitation collect data on when it started and ended. Then ask about any subsequent changes in their cohabitation status up until the present time.

It is very important to get as accurate dates as possible for the start and end times. Where a respondent cannot remember the month that an episode started or ended, use one of the season codes as described earlier.

Page 12: Section K – Children

In this section we are interested in any children that the respondent has parented themselves. Hence we do not want to record data for adopted or step children.

All respondents answer K1, if the answer is no then **go to section H.**

We do want to include data for those children who are born dead (stillborn).

Start with the oldest child and continue with the next oldest etc.

Page 13: Section H – Housing and place of residence changes

All respondents will have at least one entry to this section. Starting with the place of residence when the respondent was 16, collect H1 to H12. Then collect data from subsequent residences in the order that they happened.

Encourage the respondent to look at the Life History Calendar as it will help to focus their minds on past times.

It is very important to get as accurate dates as possible for the start and end times. Where a respondent cannot remember the month that an episode started or ended, use one of the season codes as described earlier.

Page 14: Section L – Life-time leisure activity

This response codes listed at the top of the page should be inserted into each year for each category of leisure (L1 to L13). Hence the whole grid should be completed.

Encourage the respondent to look at the Life History Calendar as it will help to focus their minds on past times.

Page 15: Section P – Parental education and occupation

Here respondents are asked to indicate the highest level of education and the usual occupation of their parents when they were being brought up. We are interested in details of the parents who were most involved in bringing the respondent up so this could be a step parent. Let the respondent themselves decide which is the appropriate parent (step or other) to give details about.

Pages 16-17: Section E – Economic issues

Econ1

Here we ask respondents to focus on the previous month and indicate how much money they spent on the categories Econ1.1 to Econ1.12. We also want to get an idea as to how typical this expenditure was so after each amount is given ask the supplementary question 'Thinking about an average month...!' and circle the appropriate response code.

Econ2

Here we want respondents to indicate firstly their income in the listed categories (Econ2.1 to Econ2.4) and then the household income (i.e. income from all household members) in the same categories (Econ3.1 to Econ3.4). As with Econ1, we are focusing upon the previous month.

We are not asking for specific amounts, instead use Card ECON2 and ask the respondent to indicate the income band that best represents the income.

Page 17: Final Instructions to interviewer

In order to ensure that no sections have been missed out there is a check list at the end of the questionnaire. Check that each section has been completed and place a tick next to each section.

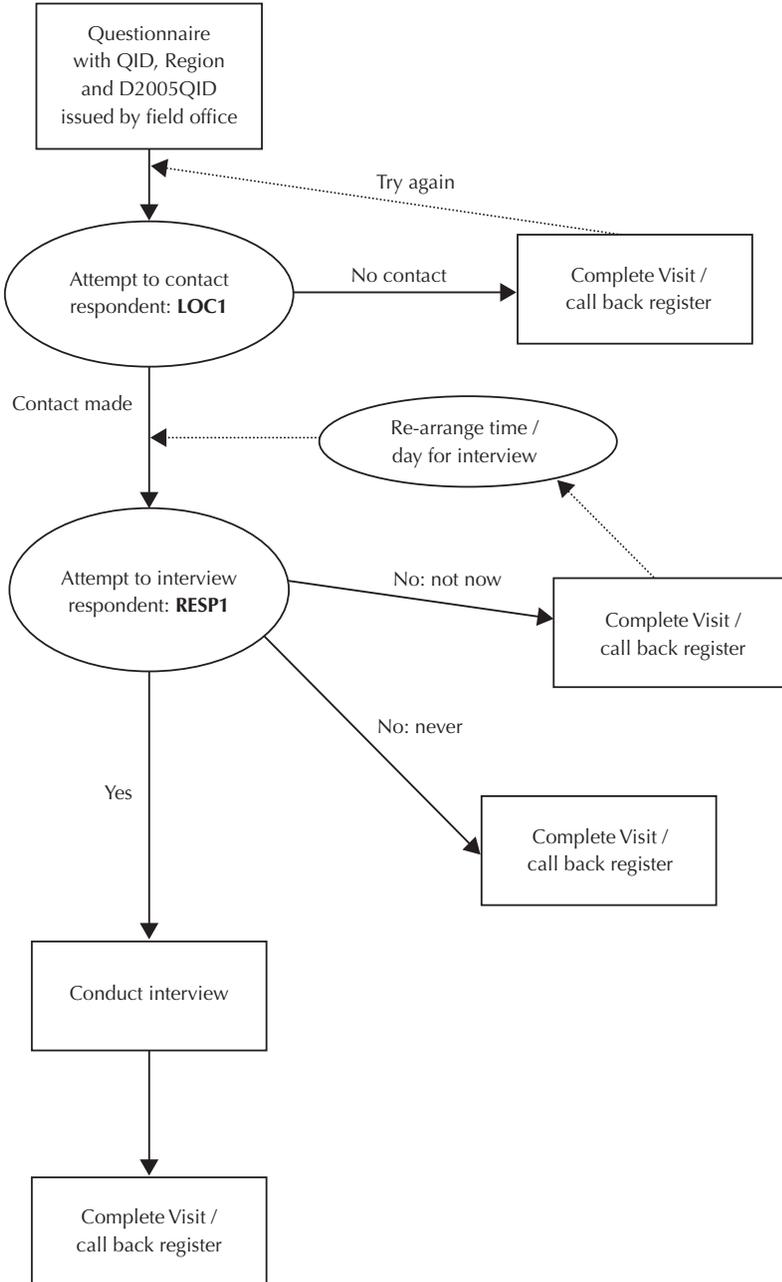
Follow the rest of the instructions prior to returning the questionnaire to the field office.

Figure A1: Flow chart showing when to complete the visit/ call back register

There are three final outcomes:

- 1 = Non-contact
- 2 = Interview refused
- 3 = Interview completed

We will want to know how many of our target sample result in each category.



Appendix 2: The on-line data entry system and testing schedule

ODET (On-line Data Entry and Testing) was written by Guy Lancaster of Manchester Metropolitan University in PHP/Mysequel. The system has four levels of user: the highest level (level 1) can change the code which defines the underpinning structure of the application. Level 2 access can change the appearance of the screens as well as many elements of the structure of the database. Level 3 access can set up interviewer codes and data entry clerk codes. Level 4 access (the lowest) can enter data. Data validation on variables was included in order to prevent the entry of incorrect values. The data was held in a database which we could back up whenever required and from which we could create a .CSV file which could be read directly into SPSS. The data validation ensured that in most cases incorrect values could not be entered. Exceptions to this were few but there were a number of real and apparent errors which had to be checked. Checks were carried out in the UK and by each of the teams.

ODET was distributed along with a user manual. It was tested in the UK and by each of the teams using dummy data prior to being used for entering the actual data.

Figure A2: The first screen for data entry in ODET

South Caucasus Questionnaire Data Collection System - Microsoft Internet Explorer provided by Manchester Met. University

Address: http://www.sociology.mmu.ac.uk/schl/update.php?next=N

Test5 [C] South Caucasus Life History Questionnaire V.2.2 TESTANIA

Update

OID

Region

Linked OID

LOC 1: Target still at 2005 location? (1=Yes 2=No 3=No contact)

RESP: Willing to be interviewed? (1=Yes 2=No not now or not present 3=No never 7=N/A)

DATE of Interview

INT: Interviewer

TS/TE: Time of interview

Supervisor

update
report
logout

Local intranet 13:32

Appendix 3: Processing the data (PHP to SPSS)

Initial data processing involved running a series of SPSS command files which converted basic raw data into survey data which could be analysed statistically. The raw data were a matrix with six variables which could uniquely identify each item of data in such a way that it could be re-processed to produce a survey data set where an individual respondent and/or an episode associated with them would be the most basic unit of analysis. The six variables are:

V1 = Country ID	i.e. one of the three countries
V2 = Person ID	this was unique within country
V3 = Page	this represented the section of the questionnaire, and often corresponded to the page of the questionnaire
V4 = Row	within a page this uniquely identified a row
V5 = Column	within a page this uniquely identified a column
V6 = Data	the data for the unique combination of V1, V2, V3, V4, V5,

Hence V1 to V5 are spatial co-ordinated for the respondents' data (V6).

The conversion of this raw data file to SPSS format involved a series of command files which sorted the data and inserted V6 (data) into the correct place in a series of pre-defined files. Nine separate data files were produced, one for each longitudinal module and a 'core data' file which contained the non-longitudinal data.

Partial download of data*

V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	
A	109127.00	10	1	.0	1.00	s1 (gender)
A	109127.00	10	2	.0	76.00	s2.1 (year of birth)
A	109127.00	10	3	.0	7.00	s2.2 (month of birth)
A	109127.00	10	4	.0	1.00	s3 (where born)
A	109127.00	20	1	.0	2.00	a1.1 (No. of parents in household at age 16)
A	109127.00	20	1	1	1.00	a1.2 (No. of grandparents in household at age 16)
A	109127.00	20	1	2	.00	a1.3 (No. of brothers/sisters in hh at age 16)
A	109127.00	20	1	3	.00	a1.4 (No. of own children in household at age 16)
A	109127.00	20	1	4	.00	a1.5 (No. of other children in hh at age 16)
A	109127.00	20	1	5	.00	a1.6 (wife/partner/cohabitee in hh at age 16)
A	109127.00	20	1	6	.00	a1.7 (No. of other people in household at age 16)

```

A 109127.00 20 2 .0 2.00    a2.1    age25
A 109127.00 20 2 1 .00     a2.2    age25
A 109127.00 20 2 2 .00     a2.3    age25
A 109127.00 20 2 3 .00     a2.4    age25
A 109127.00 20 2 4 .00     a2.5    age25
A 109127.00 20 2 5 .00     a2.6    age25
A 109127.00 20 2 6 .00     a2.7    age25
A 109127.00 20 3 .0 2.00    a3.1    at time of survey
A 109127.00 20 3 1 .00     a3.2    at time of survey
A 109127.00 20 3 2 .00     a3.3    at time of survey
A 109127.00 20 3 3 2.00    a3.4    at time of survey
A 109127.00 20 3 4 .00     a3.5    at time of survey
A 109127.00 20 3 5 1.00    a3.6    at time of survey
A 109127.00 20 3 6 .00     a3.7    at time of survey

```

* There are almost 500 000 lines of data as shown above in the full data set.

Appendix 4: Data structure and usage

The data are stored in nine separate but related files. The separation of the files allows efficient storage of episode data. Each file can be matched to the others as they all contain country identifiers and respondent identifiers.

Core Data file:

Common variables: Country, Region, Respondent ID
s1 'gender' s2.1 'year of birth' s2.2 'month of birth' s3 'place of birth' a1.1 to a3.7 family composition at 16, 25 and at time of survey ed1 'age left full-time education' ed2 'type of institution' ed3 'highest education qualification' m1 'current marital status' c1 'ever cohabited?' k1 'has any children?' p1 'mother's highest qualification' p2 'father's highest qualification' p3 'mother's usual occupation' p4 'father's usual occupation' econ1.1 to econ3.4.

Longitudinal files

Data file	Educa- tion	Employ- ment status	Job	Housing	Marriage	Cohabita- tion	Children	Leisure
Common variables	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID	Country, Region, Respond- ent ID
Other variables	Ed4.1 to Ed4.11	Emp1.1 to Emp1.8	J1.1 to J1.11	H1.1 to H1.12	M2.1 to M2.4	C2.1 to C2.6	K2.1 to K2.7	L1_85 to L13_07

The common variables allow each file to be merged with each other, such that the data are appropriately matched. Analysis begins with a selection of variables from any of the files which must then be appropriately merged using the key variables in order to produce a customised data file for statistical analysis as shown in the two examples below.

Example 1: when interested in examining the characteristics of the first job that the respondents had we might want to use all of the JOB data (J1.1 to J1.8) plus some of the CORE data (region, gender, date of birth, highest qualification, parental education and employment). Figure A3 contains the SPSS command which produces such a data file.

Figure A3: SPSS command file to match core and job data

```
*data from core data file needs to be sorted on the key variables.
GET FILE 'core.sav'.
SORT CASES BY region id.
EXECUTE.
SAVE OUTFILE 'temp1.sav'.

*data from job file needs to be sorted on key variables.
GET FILE 'job.sav'.
SORT CASES BY region id.
EXECUTE.

* selecting the first job.
SELECT IF (j1.1 = 1).
EXECUTE.

* matching the core and job data.
MATCH FILES FILE = *
      /FILE = 'temp1.sav'
      /BY = region id
      /keep region id s1 s2.1 s2.2 ed3 p1 to p4 j1.1 to j1.11.

* saving the desired variables from the matched data
SAVE OUTFILE 'firstjob.sav'.

* erasing the temporary sort file.
ERASE FILE = 'temp1.sav'.
```

Example 2: a more sophisticated analysis of background characteristics in relation to first job would, however, use the level of education at the time of getting that job. This is more complex as it uses data from three files (core, job, education) and requires some computations in order to identify the qualification possessed at the time of getting the first job. Figure A4 contains the SPSS command which produces the desired data file.

Figure A4: SPSS commands to match core, job and education data, for analysis of qualification on starting first job

```

GET FILE 'core-1.sav'.
SORT CASES BY region id.
EXECUTE.
SAVE OUTFILE 'temp1.sav'.
GET FILE 'job-1.sav'.
SORT CASES BY region id.
EXECUTE.
SELECT IF (j1.1 = 1).
EXECUTE.
SAVE OUTFILE 'temp2.sav'.
GET FILE 'ed-1.sav'.
SORT CASES BY region id.
EXECUTE.
MATCH FILES FILE = *
      /TABLE = 'temp1.sav'
      /TABLE = 'temp2.sav'
      /BY = region id
      /keep region id s1 s2.1 s2.2 ed3 p1 to p4 j1.1 to j1.11 ed4.1 to ed4.11.
* selecting again as the education match introduces empty job lines of data.
SELECT IF (j1.1 = 1).
SAVE OUTFILE 'firstjob2.sav'.
ERASE FILE = 'temp1.sav'.
ERASE FILE = 'temp2.sav'.
*converting season codes to month equivalents.
RECODE j1.7 ed4.7 ed4.9 (13=1)(14=4)(15=7)(16=10).
MISSING VALUES j1.7 ed4.7 ed4.9 (-6).
* job start date.
COMPUTE jobstart = yrmoda(j1.6,j1.7,1).
EXECUTE.
* education end date – selecting out -8's.
DO IF ed4.8 GE 0.
COMPUTE edend = yrmoda(ed4.8, ed4.9,1).
END IF.
EXECUTE.
*flagging where education end events precede – or are same as – job starts.
DO IF edend LE jobstart.
COMPUTE flag = 1.
END IF.
EXECUTE.
* selecting out the flagged episodes.
SELECT IF (flag = 1).
EXECUTE.
* selecting most recent education-job episode.
SORT CASES BY region id ed4.1 (D).
EXECUTE.
DO IF id NE lag(v2,1).
COMPUTE flag2 = 1.
END IF.
EXECUTE.
SELECT IF (flag2 = 1).
EXECUTE.
SAVE OUTFILE 'firstjob2.sav'.

```


Appendix 5: Project chronology

September 2006	First project meeting, Tbilisi, all teams present. Project aims and objectives outlined. Target sample determined. Tasks allocated to each team. Draft questionnaire discussed. Fieldwork plan finalised. Data entry tool plan agreed.
October 2006	Questionnaire updated and distributed for pilot survey along with a completed example, show cards, interviewer instructions and field office instructions.
20 November 2006	After analysis of pilot survey, questionnaire finalised. Final version distributed to all teams along with a completed example.
January 2007	Field trip to Georgia (Tbilisi and Shida Kartli). Field trip to Azerbaijan (Baku and Aran-Mugan).
January/February 2007	On-line Data Entry Tool (ODET) created.
1 March 2007	ODET made available to each team for testing.
29 March 2007	Results of ODET test analysed and updated version of ODET created.
February/March 2007	Main fieldwork in each of the six regions.
April 2007	Field trip to Armenia (Yerevan and Kotayk).
May 2007	Data entry.
June 2007	Conversion of ODET data to SPSS files, distributed to teams.
June 2007	Data files checking schedule distributed to teams.
July 2007	Data files determined to be ready for preliminary analysis.
September 2007	Second project meeting, Tbilisi, all teams present.
September 2007	Field visits to each team in Baku, Tbilisi and Yerevan to train analysts in the processing and statistical analysis of the data.
Spring 2008	Interviews with a sample of the respondents to the quantitative survey in each of the six regions.

List of contributors

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Youth employment and the future of work

Young people are particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in economic trends. Youth employment is therefore high on the policy agenda of those concerned with promoting social inclusion. While youth-targeted employment policies tend to combine both demand-side and supply-side approaches, it is important to recognise that traditional notions of “work” have more recently been challenged and reconceptualised. The old assumptions about gender roles, “job security” and “planned careers” have thus been transformed by the profound economic and social changes of recent decades.

The essays collected here were developed from papers first delivered at a research seminar on youth employment organised by the partnership between the Council of Europe and the European Commission in the field of youth. They represent a diverse and, at times, provocative collection of analytic snapshots of the position of young people on the European labour market. What emerges is a shared commitment to finding flexible responses to economic globalisation and a concomitant concern for promoting the rights, interests and welfare of young people in both training placement and in the workplace.

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