Chapter 4

Fragile transitions from education to employment

Youth, gender and migrant status in the EU

Çetin Çelik, Fatoş Gökşen, Alpay Filiztekin, İbrahim Öker and Mark Smith

Introduction

The current financial crisis has persistently affected youth across Europe by making higher unemployment rates, precarious working conditions and uncertainty 'normal context' for them (Colombo, Leonini and Rebughini, 2018). Beck suggests in his 'second modernity' thesis that the standardisation of life course by major institutions that ensure riskless transitions for individuals between different stages throughout their lives – such as education, work, marriage and retirement – started to weaken decades earlier (Beck, 2016). The present economic crisis, however, gave this destandardisation process an important twist; the capacity of the state institutions in distribution of various goods and services concerning health, education and equitable forms of social welfare have incredibly shrunk (Colombo and Rebughini, 2015).

Welfare states in Europe have responded to destandardisation, precarity, ambiguity and risks in different ways. In this chapter, we map vulnerability in school-to-work (STW) transitions across the EU by the intersectionality of gender and migrant status. By following Anthias (2013), we consider intersectionality as *social location* such as gender, class, race, sexuality, faith, disability and so on, *not an identity*, that create constrains, opportunities and strategies. The following section discusses the conceptualisation of vulnerabilities and the intersectionality of gender and migrant status for risks of vulnerability, and the third section relates these discussions to the variations across institutional frameworks. The fourth section outlines our conceptual methodological approach to the cross-national analysis of vulnerabilities. The fifth section unpacks the variations and pathways of school-to-work transitions of young women and men born inside and outside the EU. The final section draws conclusions while highlighting the limits of current policy making to address the vulnerabilities of young people.

Vulnerability, gender and migrant status

In the broadest sense, vulnerability refers to the situation of individuals, households or communities that are exposed to potential risks and their inability to

anticipate, withstand and recover from adverse shocks (Morrone et al., 2011). Individual risks such as low income and dropping out of school are strongly associated with 'vulnerability to poverty' (Dercon, 2006). However, 'social vulnerability', as opposed to 'economic vulnerability', identifies vulnerable groups such as children at risk, females, the disabled, migrants and the elderly, and it underlines broad structural characteristics that define these vulnerable groups (Loughhead and Mittal, 2000; Eurostat, 2016). This conceptualisation of vulnerability allows us to consider the range of diverse factors affecting vulnerability of young people, such as gender and migrant status.

The labour markets across the European Union (EU) remain clearly divided along gender lines (Bettio et al., 2012). Female labour force participation remains lower than male participation; women still account for most unpaid work in the household, and when women are employed in paid work, they are overrepresented in the informal sector and are among the poorest and lowest paid (Smith, 2012). These gender differences on and off the labour market create risks of vulnerability that interact with other dimensions – for example, poor education, and ethnicity – leading to potentially greater exposure to vulnerability over the life cycle. One such significant dimension is migrant status (Meeuwisse, Severiens and Born, 2010); young migrants generally face non-recognition of training credentials resulting in 'de-skilling', where they can only obtain jobs beneath their qualifications (Cortina et al., 2014). Rubin et al. (2008) show that migrant women fare worse on the labour market than both EU-born women and migrant men. Previous research has identified a range of factors that influence the success of migrant women in European labour markets such as educational attainment and skills, recognition of vocational qualifications, children and family structure, type of migration and length of stay, language skills, social-cultural environment and legal status (Peraccio and Depalo, 2006). When we disaggregate migrant women into those born within the EU and those from third countries outside the EU, it becomes apparent that third-country women migrants face even greater levels of disadvantage in the EU labour force than EU nationals and EU-born migrant women and third-country migrant men (Peracchi and Depalo, 2006).

Vulnerability in institutional contexts

Such risks of vulnerability by gender and migrant status do not occur in a vacuum but are influenced by the institutional environment in which young people find themselves (Whelan and Maitre, 2010). Drawing upon the work of authors such as Esping-Andersen's (1990, 1997), Gallie and Paugam (2000), Korpi (2000) and Walther (2006, pp. 124–129), we can categorise the regime types for the school-to-work transitions to contextualise the risks of vulnerabilities for young people: universalistic, liberal, employment-centred and sub-protective and post-socialist regime. Universalistic regimes are characterised by a comprehensive educational

system with minimal streaming and flexible training possibilities (Esping-Andersen, 1997). While it is typically associated with Nordic countries, such as Denmark and Sweden, the Netherlands can also be considered in the universalistic cluster, provided that the 'hybrid' nature of this country should be recognised (see Walther, 2006, p. 129). In this regime, individual rights and responsibilities are considered part of collective social responsibility. Counselling is highly institutionalised at all stages of education, training and employment and serves to facilitate school-to-work transitions (Walther, 2006). The vocational education and training (VET) system, based on a dual training principle in school and work with employers actively involved in the training, turns into a collectivist skill formation in this regime (Crowley et al., 2013). Hence, the absence of early tracking, availability of second-chance schools and continuing training provided by market institutions prepares the ground for flexible and reversible school-to-work transitions (ETUC, 2012).

Unlike a universalistic regime, a liberal regime emphasises individual rights and responsibilities over collective provisions, and youth is a transition that should end quickly with economic independence (Gallie and Paugam, 2000). Typical examples would include the United Kingdom. The educational system provides little vocational provision and the VET policy is highly focused on relatively low-level qualifications (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2015). Employer engagement with vocational education is also low and internship conditions are generally poor. Young people, therefore, tend to stay in education if possible rather than entering the vocational schemes or labour market at an early age. Entrance to the labour market is structured rather flexibly with multiple and flexible entry points, and this can make the school-to-work transition fragile, uncertain and insecure (ETUC, 2012). Moreover, the educational system equips young people with inappropriate or insufficient skills, causing a mismatch in the labour market (Hadjivassiliou et al., 2015).

In an employment-centred regime, the state, as the key stakeholder, shapes the school-to-work transition (Walther, 2006). Typical examples include France and Belgium. Schools are organised more selectively to channel young people into occupational careers and different segments of the labour market. This selectivity can result in an accumulation of disadvantaged youth from migrant backgrounds in weaker segments of the labour market (Alba, 2011). The limited involvement of employers in the school-to-work system and the 'institutional stasis' that stems from the central role of the state are barriers to smoother and more equal transitions for youth (Smith, Toraldo and Pasquier, 2015). In addition, strict employment protection legislation provides protection for 'insiders' on the labour market at the expense of new entrants and those with temporary contracts (Mills and Prag, 2014).

The sub-protective transition regime is characterised by a relatively low percentage of standard contracts and a high share of young people in unprotected living conditions (Walther, 2006). The family and the informal economy play

significant roles in this regime. Countries from the south of Europe are often used as examples, including Spain and Greece. Typically, vocational training is not well developed and, as is the case in employment-centred regimes, the involvement of companies in vocational training is weak. Against this background, school-to-work transitions are quite heterogeneous, non-linear and unpredictable (Bradley and Devadason, 2008). In addition, transitions are significantly influenced by social class, gender and ethnicity.

Post-socialist regimes might be regarded as a mix of liberal and employment-centred approaches. Comprehensive education programmes are more widespread than vocational education due to the latter's poor reputation and rigidity. Therefore, post-socialist regimes are characterised by a predominance of general education, high levels of educational attainment and weak linkages between the education system and the labour market, often resulting in a mismatch between skills and market needs. In line with Wallace (2002), we include the Slovak Republic in this category (see also Hadjivassiliou et al., 2015).

These five country groupings provide a framework with which to analyse school-to-work transitions and the particular risk to vulnerabilities created for young people. In the next section, we discuss the operationalisation of these concepts in relation to young migrant women and men.

Methods, data and definitions

To explore the vulnerabilities of young women and men in Europe and the impact of their migrant status, we use the EU-SILC (cross-sectional) waves from 2005 to 2013 (Eurostat, 2015), with a particular focus on the economic crisis of 2008–2010. To capture cross-national differences in the duration of school-to-work transitions and the diffusion of precariousness into older cohorts, a broad definition of youth is used to include individuals aged 16 to 29.

Using EU-SILC, we estimated a series of multinomial logit models and calculated the relative risk rates for labour market status of youth *who are not in education*. Our dependent variable in these models depicts four different states: being employed full-time (base state/category), being employed part-time, unemployed and inactive. The independent variables of interest are gender, migrant status, and education level and year dummies. We also control for age and years after finishing school, as an approximation of potential experience. To assess the quality of transition, we estimated simple linear regression models. In these models, the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI)[1] developed by Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Treiman (1992) is the dependent variable, and our variables of interest are age groups, gender and migrant status. The ISEI scores occupations according to their average educational and income levels, reflecting how occupational location influences the ability to convert educational levels into income. It would have been useful to integrate the social class of parents into our analyses; but unfortunately, these data were available only for those young people who were living

with their parents – a weakness where migrants are concerned. Hence, we focused on the occupational positions of young individuals as a dependent variable in our econometric analyses to capture the *quality* of youth transitions varying across vulnerable groups.

To show how school-to-work transitions vary across different institutional settings, we picked countries that represent each regime type discussed in the previous section. We chose Denmark and the Netherlands to represent the universalistic regime; France and Belgium to account for the employment-centred regime; Slovakia as the case country of post-socialist regime; the United Kingdom as the pioneering example for the liberal regime; and Spain and Greece to understand the STW experiences of young people under sub-protective regimes.

Any analysis of ethnicity and migration is limited by the available data, and one important limitation of European data is that we are unable to identify second-generation migrants. The current EU-SILC survey includes a question on country of birth, so it is only possible to consider the stock rather than the flow of migrants, with no information on duration of residence. Thus, in our cross-national analysis, we focus only on migrant youth born outside the EU. Although we could not account for the heterogeneity of this group because of data limitation, this choice is valid in an analysis of vulnerability since existing research has confirmed that 'third country migrants' tend to be among the most-disadvantaged groups among migrant populations and within wider society (Kogan and Müller, 2003)

A final methodological issue is the sample size of non-EU-born youth in the EU-SILC data. Migrants constitute 5–11% of the population (pooled average between the years 2005 and 2013) in the countries represented in this study, except for Slovakia, where there are very few. The share of migrants is higher in the United Kingdom and Spain, approaching 11%, as opposed to Denmark, where they constitute only 5%. In all these countries, the share of migrants is higher among the adult population.

Results

Vulnerable groups and labour market outcomes

Our multinomial logit estimates show that in all of the countries, higher educational attainment is associated with lower risk of unemployment (see Table 4.1). Similarly, age and potential experience of an individual decrease the risk of unemployment. When the results are examined to account for vulnerability, it is observed that the most disadvantaged group in terms of unemployment is migrant females in all countries (Table 4.1, Panel a). Skilled and unskilled female migrants face intersecting gender and ethnic discrimination combined with risks of low-paid employment and a greater share of unpaid domestic work. Research

Table 4.1 Estimation of employment status, relative risk rates (excludes students)

Panel a. Unemployment (relative to full-time employment)

	DK	*NL*	*FR*	*BE*	*SK*	*UK*	*ES*	*GR*
Educational attainment (ref. Lt. Upper Sec.)								
Upper Secondary	0.417**	0.669**	0.345**	0.277**	0.248**	0.381**	0.515**	0.936**
Tertiary	0.275**	0.633**	0.127**	0.162**	0.221**	0.291**	0.414**	0.676**
Gender and migrant status (ref. EU-born males)								
EU-born Females	1.103**	4.851**	1.905**	2.426**	1.589**	1.437**	1.864**	2.730**
Migrant Males	0.992	7.871**	2.001**	2.556**		0.326**	1.336**	0.762**
Migrant Females	1.899**	77.335**	1.948**	2.939**		9.474**	1.500**	2.168**
Interaction between level of education and gender and migrant status								
Nat. Fem. * Upp. Sec.	1.125**	0.562**	0.859**	1.041**	0.732**	0.699**	0.917**	0.673**
Nat. Fem. * Tert.	1.539**	0.281**	0.728**	0.429**	0.483**	0.465**	0.749**	0.395**
Mig. Males * Upp. Sec.	1.733**	0.420**	0.887**	3.019**		2.833**	1.235**	0.952**
Mig. Males. * Tert.	0	0	0.881**	0.921**		3.183**	2.649**	2.237**
Mig. Fem. * Upp. Sec.	0.085**	0.058**	2.307**	3.872**		0.152**	1.862**	0.799**
Mig. Fem. * Tert.	0.997	0.006**	3.299**	1.180**		0.215**	1.401**	0.768**
Age	1.326**	0.563**	0.840**	0.867**	1.029**	1.008**	0.910**	1.216**
Sq. Age	0.995**	1.010**	1.002**	1.001**	0.994**	0.996**	1.000**	0.994**
Yrs. after Grad.	0.864**	0.895**	0.874**	0.796**	0.747**	0.880**	0.859**	0.733**
Sq. Yrs. after Grad.	1.010**	1.010**	1.004**	1.012**	1.026**	1.015**	1.008**	1.014**
Time effects (ref. year = 2005)								
D.Year = 2006	0.866**	0.453**	0.903**	0.742**	0.911**	1.071**	0.910**	0.920**
D.Year = 2007	0.975*	0.241**	0.657**	0.550**	0.715**	0.728**	0.830**	0.898**
D.Year = 2008	0.950**	0.326**	0.790**	0.433**	0.552**	1.375**	1.002	0.776**
D.Year = 2009	1.800**	0.668**	1.330**	0.694**	0.961**	1.884**	2.309**	0.929**
D.Year = 2010	2.439**	0.473**	1.185**	0.808**	1.423**	1.827**	2.911**	1.530**
D.Year = 2011	3.058**	0.410**	1.196**	0.649**	1.618**	2.028**	3.456**	3.201**
D.Year = 2012	2.770**	0.663**	1.354**	0.756**	1.634**	2.748**	4.307**	4.124**
D.Year = 2013	2.602**	1.440**	1.486**	0.799**	2.064**	1.844**	5.544**	5.489**
Observations	8,356	13,927	20,187	11,915	18,766	14,251	31,246	13,822

** and * denote significance at 1% and 5%, respectively. Estimation uses population weights.

Panel b. Inactivity (relative to full-time employment)

	DK	*NL*	*FR*	*BE*	*SK*	*UK*	*ES*	*GR*
Educational attainment (ref. Lt. Upper Sec.)								
Upper Secondary	0.379**	0.358**	0.297**	0.309**	0.092**	0.184**	0.854**	1.264**
Tertiary	0.127**	0.177**	0.209**	0.158**	0.043**	0.116**	0.569**	2.001**
Gender and migrant status (ref. EU-born males)								
EU-born Females	2.706**	6.925**	3.786**	6.604**	5.699**	3.715**	3.494**	8.343**
Migrant Males	2.362**	2.684**	1.303**	2.709**		0.462**	1.336**	1.075**
Migrant Females	4.253**	55.849**	9.136**	17.395**		32.743**	6.032**	11.940**
Interaction between level of education and gender and migrant status								
Nat. Fem. * Upp. Sec.	1.338**	0.871**	1.270**	0.737**	1.077**	1.286**	0.779**	0.306**
Nat. Fem. * Tert.	2.659**	0.712**	0.392**	0.423**	1.524**	0.999	0.600**	0.065**
Mig. Males * Upp. Sec.	0.136**	1.197**	1.770**	3.358**		4.168**	0.846**	0.346**
Mig. Males. * Tert.	0	0	0.287**	2.296**		7.057**	2.051**	0.761**
Mig. Fem. * Upp. Sec.	2.088**	0.285**	3.570**	2.357**		0.389**	0.827**	0.505**
Mig. Fem. * Tert.	2.032**	0.215**	1.806**	2.466**		0.305**	1.123**	0.172**
Age	1.255**	0.404**	0.359**	0.347**	0.431**	0.791**	0.284**	0.386**
Sq. Age	0.993**	1.018**	1.020**	1.020**	1.016**	1.002**	1.023**	1.017**
Yrs. after Grad.	0.892**	0.945**	0.953**	0.988**	1.105**	1.135**	0.942**	0.821**
Sq. Yrs. after Grad.	1.019**	1.007**	1.004**	1.005**	0.999**	1.002**	1.007**	1.013**
Time effects (ref. year = 2005)								
D.Year = 2006	1.038**	0.617**	0.902**	0.810**	0.908**	0.923**	1.063**	1.239**
D.Year = 2007	0.781**	0.620**	0.913**	0.732**	0.863**	0.933**	1.053**	1.339**
D.Year = 2008	0.539**	0.825**	0.908**	0.611**	0.761**	0.949**	1.018**	1.346**
D.Year = 2009	0.659**	0.776**	1.049**	0.931**	1.193**	0.940**	1.370**	1.227**
D.Year = 2010	0.810**	0.701**	1.218**	1.066**	1.331**	1.310**	1.457**	1.379**
D.Year = 2011	0.889**	1.070**	1.382**	0.867**	1.107**	0.935**	2.027**	2.152**
D.Year = 2012	1.541**	1.111**	1.288**	0.940**	1.181**	1.373**	2.044**	2.321**
D.Year = 2013	1.735**	1.548**	1.561**	1.168**	1.566**	1.432**	2.178**	2.571**
Observations	8,356	13,927	20,187	11,915	18,766	14,251	31,246	13,822

** and * denote significance at 1% and 5%, respectively. Estimation uses population weights.

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Panel c. Part-time employment (relative to full-time employment)

	DK	*NL*	*FR*	*BE*	*SK*	*UK*	*ES*	*GR*
Educational attainment (ref. Lt. Upper Sec.)								
Upper Secondary	1.351**	0.712**	0.669**	0.529**	0.307**	0.734**	1.504**	0.931**
Tertiary	1.367**	0.703**	0.468**	0.544**	0.231**	0.588**	1.668**	1.091**
Gender and migrant status (ref. EU-born males)								
EU-born Females	2.063**	7.454**	5.345**	7.548**	0.610**	3.121**	5.106**	2.530**
Migrant Males	1.613**	2.102**	4.252**	1.660**		2.420**	1.781**	1.166**
Migrant Females	3.465**	48.421**	2.842**	6.665**		10.234**	6.161**	3.973**
Interaction between level of education and gender and migrant status								
Nat. Fem. * Upp. Sec.	1.544**	1.192**	0.939**	1.098**	4.067**	1.048**	0.666**	1.382**
Nat. Fem. * Tert.	1.243**	0.726**	0.519**	0.391**	2.410**	0.722**	0.406**	0.757**
Mig. Males * Upp. Sec.	0.336**	0.977*	0.633**	1.673**		0.862**	0.795**	0.774**
Mig. Males. * Tert.	1.674**	2.175**	0.638**	0.960*		0.985	1.361**	2.912**
Mig. Fem. * Upp. Sec.	1.947**	0.233**	3.875**	2.646**		0.556**	0.684**	1.227**
Mig. Fem. * Tert.	1.696**	0.063**	1.816**	0.465**		0.559**	0.470**	0.776**
Age	0.546**	0.293**	0.571**	0.243**	0.911**	0.534**	0.966**	0.707**
Sq. Age	1.009**	1.024**	1.010**	1.029**	1.001**	1.010**	0.999**	1.005**
Yrs. after Grad.	0.937**	0.966**	0.918**	0.994**	0.725**	0.820**	0.864**	0.842**
Sq. Yrs. after Grad.	1.014**	1.003**	1.004**	1.000**	1.020**	1.017**	1.007**	1.011**
Time effects (ref. year = 2005)								
D.Year = 2006	0.884**	1.370**	0.965**	0.973**	1.370**	1.127**	1.250**	1.308**
D.Year = 2007	1.018*	1.222**	1.030**	1.238**	0.855**	1.134**	0.948**	1.154**
D.Year = 2008	0.762**	1.358**	0.995**	1.192**	0.752**	1.166**	1.017**	1.202**
D.Year = 2009	0.772**	1.557**	1.231**	1.380**	1.175**	1.415**	1.170**	1.102**
D.Year = 2010	1.157**	1.227**	1.246**	1.456**	1.393**	1.365**	1.419**	1.632**
D.Year = 2011	1.093**	1.762**	1.101**	1.246**	1.169**	1.570**	1.490**	1.740**
D.Year = 2012	2.178**	1.968**	1.148**	1.673**	1.927**	1.556**	1.889**	2.227**
D.Year = 2013	1.673**	2.273**	1.097**	1.449**	1.316**	1.637**	2.734**	2.336**
Observations	8,356	13,927	20,187	11,915	18,766	14,251	31,246	13,822

** and * denote significance at 1% and 5%, respectively. Estimation uses population weights.

shows that female migrants are concentrated in unskilled, undervalued and low-paid sectors, often employed as domestic workers in hard-to-regulate sectors of the labour market (Evans, 2016). Female migrants may also be less able to advance their own interests, they have less decision-making power within the home and they are less likely to have the capabilities to engage with the political decision-making and policy processes (O'Neill and Domingo, 2016). Furthermore, women, whether migrant or not, are more likely than males to be unemployed. The lowest risk of unemployment, on the other hand, is observed among the EU-born male population, in all countries other than the United Kingdom and Greece.

Education provides some protection. Analysis of interaction terms between education level and dimensions of vulnerability underline that more educated EU-born females are less likely to be unemployed in all countries except Denmark. The risk of unemployment among the more educated migrant females; however, is considerably higher in employment-centred countries and Spain. The proportion of female migrants who hold a university degree is, in most countries, almost on a par with that of immigrant men. Nevertheless, educated migrant women have lower rates of employment relative to their EU-born counterparts. Holders of foreign degrees may face problems of recognition as well as factors such as country of origin language barriers and access to certain sectors of the labour market, for example public sector jobs. The latter may particularly affect women more than men, because the professions in which women tend to be concentrated are those which are predominantly regulated by the public sector.

Similar patterns are observed for the risk of inactivity, and higher educational attainment reduces the risk in all countries. The only exception is Greece, where labour market conditions have been very poor and young people have been affected by a lack of job creation capacity of the market. Table 4.1 (Panel b) also reveals that migrant females have the highest risk of inactivity. For example, in the Netherlands, this group is 55 times more likely to be inactive compared to EU-born males. Here, the interaction terms show that inactive migrant females consist mostly of less-educated individuals. In Denmark, France and Belgium, however, the reverse is true.

The school-to-work transition process may involve several intermediate statuses between learning and work, such as temporary jobs, or dual statuses, i.e. combining learning and work, such as part-time jobs (Walther and Pohl, 2005). Part-time work, however, might also be an important indicator of vulnerability. Part-time work, particularly with short hours over an extended period, does not ensure sufficient income security in terms of wages and pension incomes. Hence, in our analysis of STW, we do not treat the part-timers as the ones who have successfully transitioned to employment.

The results in Table 4.1 (Panel c) indicate that education in employment-centred countries is associated with greater opportunities for full-time employment,

unlike in universalistic regimes. Yet in France and Belgium, females and migrants are less likely to be in full-time employment than EU-born males. Yet migrant females in the employment-centred countries are also less likely to be in employment, more like universalistic regimes, regardless of their educational attainment. Even educated female migrants face difficulties while transitioning from school to work. This finding is consistent with the literature that argues that disadvantaged youth are worse off in countries that can be characterised as having less tightly structured education. When education is weakly linked to the workplace and vocational education is obtained on the job, disadvantaged groups can be more adversely affected (Gangl, 2001)

In the United Kingdom, higher levels of education are associated with better chances of full-time employment. Again, as is the case in all other countries, UK males are more likely than other groups to be unemployed or inactive. However, the interaction between gender and education shows interesting results: educated migrant males are more likely to be unemployed or inactive than educated migrant women. To fully understand this finding, one needs to look at the labour market outcomes of diverse ethnic groups whose level of educational and economic resources vary significantly. Unemployment risks for highly educated immigrants vary by gender. Employability and a period of unemployment might be more stigmatising for immigrant males from poorer countries such as Bangladesh and Pakistan, whereas unemployed women from the same countries may be perceived less negatively thanks to gendered notions of nurturing and obedience (Mooi-Reci and Ganzeboom, 2015).

The results for sub-protective regimes show that unemployment and inactivity are more common among women, and this is a more critical issue for young migrant females. As in the case of the liberal cluster, young educated migrant males are found to be least likely to make a successful transition from school to work. Low vocational specificity in the educational system coupled with moderate degrees of labour protection in sub-protective regime countries may explain these findings.

The quality of school-to-work transitions for vulnerable groups

Table 4.2 provides estimation results of our OLS models to assess the quality of transitions for each country. The base line group in the estimation is EU-born male adults with less than upper secondary education. As expected, education plays a crucial role in access to a high-status job for all groups. Similarly, potential experience on the labour market increases the chances of having high-status jobs. In line with the gendered risks noted earlier, having controlled for (potential) experience, females are more likely to have low-status occupations compared to men.

Table 4.2 Determinants of occupation status across vulnerabilities (students excluded)

	DK	*NL*	*FR*	*BE*	*SK*	*UK*	*ES*	*GR*
Young	–0.075**	–1.540**	–3.084**	–1.987**	0.141**	–3.752**	–3.416**	–4.776**
EU-born Female	–0.099**	–0.606**	–2.544**	–1.351**	1.023**	–0.995**	–1.349**	–1.602**
Migrant Male	–2.160**	–3.285**	–2.341**	–5.450**	3.572**	–2.954**	–6.348**	–4.283**
Migrant Female	–2.454**	–3.815**	–4.227**	–5.822**	–0.369*	–1.804**	–10.355**	–9.744**
Young EU-born Female	–0.270**	0.403**	1.942**	–0.056**	–1.129**	0.968**	–0.082**	1.099**
Young Migrant Male	2.089**	0.336**	8.748**	6.079**	–2.824**	4.077**	4.548**	4.257**
Young Migrant Female	–2.659**	6.617**	5.184**	–4.437**		3.437**	1.955**	18.562**
Upper Secondary	4.984**	7.110**	4.691**	4.094**	7.790**	7.331**	5.194**	7.812**
Tertiary	24.575**	22.763**	22.117**	21.083**	24.444**	21.280**	18.881**	24.773**
Yr. after Grad.	0.044**	0.031**	0.153**	–0.232**	0.352**	0.262**	–0.289**	0.047**
Sq.Yr. after Grad.	0.001**	–0.001**	–0.002**	0.005**	–0.008**	–0.005**	0.006**	–0.003**
Constant	33.905**	37.247**	33.141**	38.920**	27.915**	33.381**	38.135**	31.882**
Observations	66,387	113,103	117,561	67,343	84,631	92,200	167,517	70,840
R-squared	0.380	0.370	0.329	0.375	0.323	0.251	0.362	0.447

In all countries, access to higher status jobs – higher occupational scores – for adult migrants are lower than for adult EU-born, more so for migrant females than migrant males. This finding is consistent with the findings of the previous research (Rubin et al., 2008) indicating that migrant women are not only concentrated in a few sectors of the economy, but these sectors are in the lowest-skilled segments, which usually involves low status, low pay, and limited rights within the labour market. Some of these sectors, like sales and services and care services, typically demand unskilled, interchangeable and substitutable labour (Massey and Constant, 2005). It is likely that the lower occupational scores of migrant women are a result of human capital factors – lack of language proficiency, qualifications, unfamiliarity with the receiving country – combined discriminatory processes that lead to disadvantage (Rubin et al., 2008).

Contrary to the disadvantaged positions of the older migrants, we observed that young migrant males are more likely to have high-status jobs in all countries, particularly in France (Table 4.2). This might stem from the fact that, in this analysis, we considered only a small subset of migrants, employed individuals. Furthermore, less-educated migrants are less likely to be employed; hence, in this analysis we observe mostly the more educated subset of migrants whose human capital might provide them with opportunities to have higher-status occupations.

In addition to the quality of jobs, we provide another estimation of quality outcomes by estimating a standard Mincerian hourly wage equation based on salary income, the number of months in full-time employment, and usual weekly working hours during the reference period.[2] Independent variables are as previously indicated, that is, gender, migrant status, age group, education level and (potential) experience. The model also includes the IESE occupation score and time dummies. The results are reported in Figure 4.1.

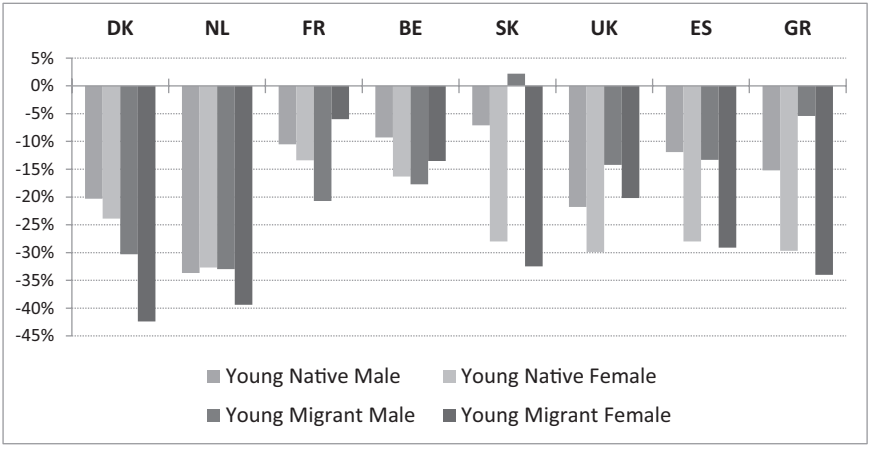

Figure 4.1 Predicted relative wage differences across vulnerable groups relative to adult males (students excluded)

Source: Own calculations on EU-SILC using cross-sectional population weights of those over age 16.

The wage gap between young males and females is widest in the Slovak Republic. Controlling for education and (potential) experience, we found that the wages for migrants are also lower in most countries than for the EU-born population, although young migrants earn more than adult migrants, except in Denmark. This finding might again be a consequence of the problem noted earlier; that is, we considered only a relatively small subset of migrants who have a comparative advantage in human capital. In the United Kingdom and Greece, young migrants in work earn significantly more than any other group in these countries. Note that migrants in the United Kingdom had a higher education than anywhere else, a result that is likely driven by the very few observations on young migrants with lower education in that country. From our analysis of job quality outcomes, we again find that females and migrants are more likely to be disadvantaged. Furthermore, even if these groups have the 'privilege to be employed', the status of jobs they are hired for is lower, as are their wages.

Summary and conclusions

The dynamics of vulnerabilities result in heterogeneous and fragmented transitions between school and the labour market, with women and migrants often suffering the most. Nevertheless, despite these common pressures, this chapter also shows that school-to-work regimes, embedded in the specific structural, cultural, historical and institutional contexts of various welfare states, reproduce different inequalities to varying degrees.

Overall, our results suggest that low-educated migrant women may have fewer options than EU-born women on the labour market and so take up the more limited range of jobs that are available to them given their qualifications, skills and migrant status. The findings also indicate that less-educated EU-born women have higher rates of employment compared to migrant women. As argued by Rubin et al. (2008), this could be due to a variety of supply, demand and institutional factors affecting the willingness or ability of migrant women to participate in the labour force; unfamiliarity with employment opportunities available; lack of language skills (supply factors); discrimination along gender and/or ethnic/racial lines in the labour market (factors that may be influencing demand); lack of recognition of qualifications; or visa restrictions on employment (institutional factors which affect both supply and demand).

Based on our findings, we argue that regimes characterised by an institutionalised VET system and strong counselling support for training and employment such as that found in Denmark tend to perform *relatively* well in facilitating school-to-work transitions of different vulnerable groups. One of the major strengths of the universal regime seems to lie in its minimal streaming and flexible education, supported by broad second-chance options at local levels, both in education and training. These polices play a major role in integrating vulnerable groups such as low-skilled and minority youth into education and the labour market.

By contrast, France's employment-centred regime, characterised by fewer second-chance options, creates early disconnection of immigrant youth from education and the labour market. The UK liberal regime is an interesting case in terms of the effect of youth unemployment on vulnerable groups. Unlike in other countries, vulnerability is not directly correlated with immigration or minority status. However, this finding should not hide the fact that low-skilled immigrant and minority youth are particularly disadvantaged in a regime characterised by a relatively weak VET system and a low level of employer engagement with training. In the sub-protective regimes of Spain and Greece, transitions are more heterogeneous, non-linear and unpredictable. Limited standard workplaces, unprotected living conditions, and a large informal economy combine with an undeveloped VET system to make socio-economic status, gender and ethnicity strong determinants of youth unemployment. Additionally, compared to other regimes, in sub-protective regimes such as Greece, gender vulnerability is a highly distinct characteristic.

In the countries considered in this chapter, there is some evidence of policies aimed at narrowing the gaps, but only for the most disadvantaged and in a limited range of areas, namely, improving the level of educational attainment. The gender gaps documented in this chapter actually reflect segregation of educational and training choices as well as a range of other processes both in and out of the labour market that serve to reinforce gender roles and stereotypes. The evidence suggests that gender differences open up early in the life course (Plantenga and Manuela, 2013). and therefore, that a more comprehensive approach is required.

Notes

1 Earlier versions of SILC data use the ISCO-88 classification at a more aggregate level. Starting from 2011, the classification was switched to ISCO-08, with a larger set of 52 occupations that provides a better match with ISEI.
2 The dependent variable is a log of hourly wages for those who are employed full-time, who have reported a positive salary income and whose usual working hours are fewer than 85 per week.

References

Alba, R. (2011). Schools and the diversity transition in the wealthy societies of the West. *American behavioral scientist*, 55(12), pp. 1616–1634.

Anthias, F. (2013). Hierarchies of social location, class and intersectionality: Towards a translocational frame. *International sociology*, 28(1), pp. 121–138.

Beck, U. (2016). Varieties of second modernity and the cosmopolitan vision. *Theory, culture & society*, 33(7–8), pp. 257–270.

Bettio, F., Corsi, M., D'Ippoliti, C., Lyberaki, A., Lodovici, M.S. and Verashchagina, A. (2012). *The impact of the economic crisis on the situation of women and men and on gender equality policies*. Luxembourg: European Commission.

Bradley, H. and Devadason, R. (2008). Fractured transitions: Young adults' pathways into contemporary labour markets. *Sociology*, 42(1), pp. 119–136.

Colombo, E. and Rebughini, P. (2015). Italian young people coping with the consequences of economic crisis: An intersectional analysis. *Oñati socio-legal series*, 5(4).

Colombo, E., Leonini, L. and Rebughini, P. (2018). A generational attitude: Young adults facing the economic crisis in Milan. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 23(1), pp. 61–74.

Cortina, J., Taran, P., Elie, J. and Raphael, A. (2014). *Migration and youth: Challenges and opportunities*. Global Migration Group. UNICEF.

Crowley, L., Jones, K., Cominetti, N. and Gulliford, J. (2013). *International lessons: Youth unemployment in the global context*. Lancashire: The Work Foundation, Lancaster University.

Dercon, S. (2006). *Vulnerability: A micro perspective*. 149 QEH Working Paper Series.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1997). Welfare states without work: The impasse of labor shedding and familialism. In: G. Esping-Andersen, ed., *Continental European social policy. Welfare states in transition. National adaptations in global economies*. London: Sage, pp. 66–87.

ETUC. (2012). *ETUC action programme on gender equality*. Available at: www.etuc.org/en/document/etuc-action-programme-gender-equality.

Eurostat. (2015). *EU statistics on income and living conditions (EU-SILC) methodology – private households*. Eurostat. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU_statistics_on_income_and_living_conditions_(EU-SILC)_methodology_-_private_households [Accessed 26 February 2016].

Eurostat. (2016). People at risk of poverty or social exclusion. Eurostat. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsxplained/index.php/People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion [Accessed 26 February 2016].

Evans, A. (2016). The decline of the male breadwinner and the persistence of the female carer: Exposure, interests and micro-macro interactions. *Annals of the American association of geographers*, 106(5), pp. 1135–1150.

Gallie, D. and Paugam, S. (eds.) (2000). *Welfare regimes and the experience of unemployment in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gangl, M. (2001). European patterns of labor market entry: A dichotomy of occupationalized vs. non-occupationalized systems? *European societies*, 3(4), pp. 471–494.

Ganzeboom, H.B., De Graaf, P.M. and Treiman, D.J. (1992). A standard international socio-economic index of occupational status. *Social science research*, 21(1), pp. 1–56.

Hadjivassiliou, K., Tassinari, A., Speckesser, S., Swift, S. and Bertram, C. (2015). *Policy performance and evaluation: United Kingdom*. WP3.3/UK. STYLE Working Papers. Brighton: University of Brighton. Available at: www.style-research.eu/publications/working-papers.

Hadjivassiliou, K., Tassinari, A. and Swift, S. (2015). *Barriers to and triggers of policy innovation and knowledge transfer in the UK*. STYLE Working Papers, 4.1/UK. CROME, University of Brighton. Available at: www.employment-studies.co.uk/resource/barriers-and-triggers-policy-innovation-and-knowledge-transfer-uk.

Kogan, I. and Müller, W. (ed.) (2003). *School-to-work transitions in Europe: Analyses of the EU LFS 2000 Ad Hoc module*. Mannheim: Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung.

Korpi, W. (2000). Faces of inequality. Gender, class, and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states. *Social politics*, 7(2), pp. 127–191.

Loughhead, S. and Mittal, O. (2000). Urban poverty and vulnerability in India: A social perspective. *Social change*, 30(1–2), pp. 33–54.

Massey, D. and Constant, A. (2005). Labour segmentation and the earnings of German guestworkers. *Population research and policy review*, 24(5), pp. 489–512.

Meeuwisse, M., Severiens, S. and Born, M. (2010). Reasons for withdrawal from higher vocational education. A comparison of ethnic minority and majority non-completers. *Studies in higher education*, 35(1), pp. 93–111.

Mooi-Reci, I. and Ganzeboom, H. (2015). Unemployment scarring by gender: Human capital depreciation or stigmatization? Longitudinal evidence from the Netherlands, 1980–2000. *Social science research*, 52, pp. 642–658.

Morrone, A., Scrivens, K., Smith, C. and Balestra, C. (2011). *Measuring vulnerability and resilience in OECD countries*. Presented at the IARIW-OECD Conference on Economic Insecurity, Paris, France, November 22. Available at: www.iariw.org/papers/2011/morronepaper.pdf.

Mills, M. and Prag, P. (2014). *Gender inequalities in the school-to-work transition in Europe*. Short Statistical Report No. 4. Rand Europe.

O'Neill, T. and Domingo, P. (2016). *Women and power: Overcoming hurdles to women's leadership and decision making*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Peracchi, F. and Depalo, D. (2006). *Labor market outcomes of natives and immigrants: Evidence from the ECHP*. SP Discussion Paper No. 0615 Social Protection, World Bank.

Plantenga, J. and Manuela, S.L. (2013). *Starting fragile: Gender differences in the youth labor market*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Rubin, J., Rendall, M.S., Rabinovich, L., Tsang, F., Oranje-Nassau, C. and Janta, B. (2008). *Migrant women in the European labour force current situation and future prospects*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

Smith, M. (2012). Social regulation of the gender pay gap. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 18(4), pp. 365–380.

Smith, M., Toraldo, M.L. and Pasquier, V. (2015). *Barriers to and triggers of policy innovation and knowledge transfer in France*. STYLE Working Papers. WP4.1/FR. Brighton: CROME, University of Brighton.

Wallace, C. (2002). Opening and closing borders: Migration and mobility in East-Central Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(4), pp. 603–625.

Walther, A. and Pohl, A. (2005). *Thematic study on policy measures concerning disadvantaged youth*. Study commissioned by the European Commission. Tübingen: IRIS.

Walther, A. (2006). Regimes of youth transitions: Choice, flexibility and security in young people's experiences across different European contexts. *Young*, 14(2), pp. 119–139.

Whelan, C.T. and Maitre, B. (2010). Welfare regime and social class variation in poverty and economic vulnerability in Europe: An analysis of EU-SILC. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 20(4), pp. 316–332.