

NEGOTIATE

Overcoming early job-insecurity in Europe

Negotiating transition to adulthood in economic hard times

Rumiana Stoilova
Pepka Boyadjieva
Petya Ilieva-Trichkova
Veneta Krasteva

Institute for the Study of
Societies and Knowledge
(ISSK), Bulgaria

NEGOTIATE working paper no. 5.4

This project has received funding from the European
Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation
programme under grant agreement No 649395



Deliverable 5.4 (D5.4)

Negotiating transition to adulthood in economic hard times

Deliverable type: Report
Dissemination level: Public
Month and date of Delivery: Month 29, July 2017

Authors

Rumiana Stoilova
Pepka Boyadjieva
Petya Ilieva-Trichkova
Veneta Krasteva

© 2017 – NEGOTIATE. All rights reserved
Published by NEGOTIATE HiOA in July 2017



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 649395.

This publication reflects the views only of the author(s), and *the Research Executive Agency (REA)* cannot be held responsible for any use of the information contained therein

NEGOTIATE
Overcoming early job-insecurity in Europe

NEGOTIATE – Negotiating early job-insecurity and labour market exclusion in Europe

Horizon 2020, Societal Challenge 6, H2020-YOUNG-SOCIETY-2014, YOUNG-1-2014, Research and Innovation Action (RIA)

Duration: 01 March 2015 – 28 February 2018

www.negotiate-research.eu

twitter: @NEGOTIATE_EU

Facebook: negotiateEU

Associated Work Package (WP)

WP 5-Negotiating transition to adulthood in the context of economic crisis

Lead beneficiary for D5.4

Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge (ISSK), Bulgaria

WP Leader

Rumiana Stoilova, ISSK
RStoilova@bas.bg

Content

Abstract.....	4
Introduction	6
1. The Role of Education in Creating Differences across European Countries in How Young People Manage the Transition to Work	8
1.1. Framing the problem and research question	8
1.2. Theoretical considerations	9
1.2.1. Institutional features of educational systems	9
1.2.2. Structural characteristics of the social context related to educational development ..	10
1.3. Methodology.....	11
1.3.1. Data and limitations	11
1.3.2. Variables.....	12
1.3.3. Analysis undertaken.....	14
1.4. Results	15
1.5. Discussion of the results	25
2. Gender Differences in the Transition to Adulthood.....	29
2.1. Theoretical considerations.....	29
2.1.1. Grouping of countries and major institutional settings	31
2.1.2. Framing the problem and research questions	32
2.2. Methodology.....	33
2.2.1. Data.....	33
2.2.2. Variables.....	33
2.2.3. Analysis undertaken.....	34
2.3. Results	35
2.4. Discussion of the results	43
3. The Voices of Young People on Institutional Support during the Transition to Adulthood....	47
3.1. Framing the problem and research question	47
3.2. Women and men discuss their transitions to adulthood	48
3.3. Discussion of the results	68
Conclusions	72
Policy recommendations	75
References	77
Appendix	84

Acknowledgements:

This report is based on data from Eurostat, Ad hoc module of the Labour Force Survey, 2009. These data were obtained for the needs of Research Project Proposal 343/2015-ECHP-EU-SILC-LFS. The responsibility for all conclusions drawn from the data lies entirely with the authors. This report also used data from the ESS Round 5: European Social Survey Round 5 Data (2010). Data file edition 3.3. NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.

Abstract

The complex processes occurring over the course of the transition to adulthood are such that systematic analytical effort must be focused at the individual, family, and country levels, in addition to the levels of culture, institutions, and structures. This working paper explores differences across European countries, according to quantitative and qualitative data, in how young people manage the transition to adulthood. Divided into three main parts, the report examines the institutional and structural differences between educational systems, gender disparities under different European welfare regimes, and the institutional support received by young people in their transitions to adulthood.

At the theoretical level, two sets of educational system features which influence early job insecurity are defined: institutional (stratification, vocational preference, standardization) and structural (expansion of education, development of lifelong learning, expenditure on education). The vocational specificity of secondary education positively influences individuals' capacity to find employment and avoid early job insecurity. This study contrasts previous others which have not yet revealed any effects of standardising input and output on experiencing qualification mismatches. Whereas the standardisation of output in educational systems decreases early job insecurity, the standardisation of input is associated with increased early job insecurity. With regard to the structural characteristics of educational systems, it seems that educational expansion has a positive effect and decreases early job insecurity: in countries that invest more money in education, the index levels of early job insecurity are lower and the odds of young people working part-time jobs also decrease.

Gender differences become an evident part of the transition to adulthood at the point when people create families, have children, and assume the roles of parents. The analysis shows that belonging to a minority group, having a child, living with a partner, and either being unemployed or inactive are factors that increased the likelihood of women agreeing that women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family. Of the individual factors influencing attitudes towards gender roles, the most significant is education. Both Mediterranean and post-Socialist welfare regimes appear to have a positive correlation with women's spending larger portions of their time on housework when compared with liberal regimes. Men in countries under post-Socialist welfare regimes are more likely to spend more than 20 hours a week on housework than men in countries under liberal regimes. The same effect could not be observed for men living in Mediterranean welfare regime countries.

The subjective assessment of interviewees regarding the support they have received from the state in periods of unemployment showed the shortcomings, but also positive sides, of institutional support. Financial assistance is important for the interviewees, but it was assessed as too low and inadequate for an independent life. Housing benefits were assessed as valuable, but still insufficient. Regardless, the state's financial support was especially important for young people belonging to ethnic minority groups, the long-term unemployed, and single mothers, and they would not have been able to cope without it. With regard to job or internship opportunities provided as part of active labour market policies, the young people interviewed had realised that most often this support provided them with only temporary jobs that did not help them escape from employment insecurity.

Introduction

The present report focuses on the transition to adulthood of young people in Europe in a period of economic and financial crisis with high levels of unemployment and job insecurity. The text consists of three parts. In the *first part*, we assess the role of different educational and skill formation systems in creating differences across European countries in how young people manage the transition to work. In the *second part*, the focus is on gender differences in the transition to adulthood. We analyse the cultural dimension related to the involvement in paid work, the importance of work-life balance (WLB), and the actual involvement in un-paid work for men and women, with families and children, under different welfare regimes. The *third part* presents the voices of young people and their subjective assessments of the institutional support they received during periods of unemployment at the time of their transitions to adulthood.

The report relies on both quantitative and qualitative data. The empirical basis includes data from the 2009 Ad Hoc Module of the European Labour Force Survey (LFS) on Entry of young people into the labour market, the European Social Survey (ESS) R5 rotating module on Work, Family & Wellbeing (2010/2011), country-level data from the official statistics, and data from life course interviews carried out within the NEGOTIATE project.

The qualitative information is derived from 209 semi-structured life-course interviews with women and men from three birth cohorts (1950-55, 1970-75 and 1990-95). The fieldwork was conducted between May 2016 and November 2016 in seven countries from the Negotiate project: Bulgaria (BG), the Czech Republic (CZ), Germany (GER), Greece (GR), Norway (NO), Poland (PL), and the United Kingdom (UK). A synopsis was made for each interview in English and a national summary by each research team¹ was also prepared in order to present the most precise information from national contexts.

The LFS 2009 ad-hoc module provides important data on the entry of young people into the labour market and is therefore relevant to the present paper. It was carried out in 31 countries, including 27 Member States of the European Union (EU), two EEA countries (Iceland and Norway), Switzerland, and Serbia (for more details see Eurostat, 2012²). The target population of the LFS 2009 ad-hoc module surveyed in all countries covered every person between the ages of 15 and 34, with three exceptions: Denmark, Iceland and Spain.

¹ We would like to thank the researchers from the Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Norway, Poland and the UK for their efforts in preparing the synopsis and for sharing their observations in the national summaries on the basis of which the analysis for the third part had been made. Special gratitude should also be expressed to the young people who made us part of their life course and shared their feelings and experiences.

² <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/1978984/6037334/Evaluation-Report-AHM-2009.pdf>

Specifically, in Spain and Iceland the target population was aged 16 to 34 years, whereas in Denmark the data for some 15-year-olds were missing due to differences in the definition of age. In terms of survey design, almost all countries used a multistage (two or three-stage) stratified random sampling scheme, as in the core LFS.

The ESS R5 rotating module, ‘Work, Family & Wellbeing’, was conducted in 2010/2011 and included a variety of core topics repeated from previous rounds of the survey. This module is especially relevant for the present study because of the survey’s timing (precisely in the period of the 2008 crisis) and the subjective measure of job insecurity that it provides, which is missing in the more recent rounds. The target population included all persons aged 15 years and over residing in private households, regardless of their nationality, citizenship, language or legal status, in 28 countries. Of these, 23 are in the EU: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom; and five are Non-EU countries: Israel, Norway, Switzerland, Russian Federation and Ukraine (See ESS Round 5: European Social Survey 2016³ for more details).

We have adopted and applied the country groupings used by Blossfeld, Buchholz, Dämmrich, Kilpi-Jakonen, Kosyakova, and Skopek (2015). We have selected this distinction because it highlights the critical synergy of institutional settings—such as the structure of educational and vocational training systems, the labour market structure, employment protection legislation, gender culture, and welfare and family policies—which play an important role in labour market entry (*ibid.*). Thus, in the case of the 20 countries from the ESS (part one of the report), two countries fall under liberal regimes (Great Britain and Ireland); four are under a social-democratic one (Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden); five countries fall under conservative regimes (Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland); three are under Mediterranean regimes (Greece, Portugal and Spain); and six fall under post-Socialist ones (Bulgaria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia). In the case of the remaining countries out of the 24 in the LFS, Iceland is classified as a liberal regime, while Austria is conservative, Italy is Mediterranean and Latvia is post-Socialist. In part two of the report we have worked with 24 countries from the ESS, as to the above mentioned 20, we added Cyprus (Mediterranean) and three post-Socialist countries (Croatia, Estonia and Lithuania).

³ ESS Round 5: European Social Survey (2016): ESS-5 2010 Documentation Report. Edition 4.1. Bergen, European Social Survey Data Archive, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data for ESS ERIC.

1. The Role of Education in Creating Differences across European Countries in How Young People Manage the Transition to Work

1.1. Framing the problem and research question

In modern, knowledge-based societies, education has a crucial role in determining individuals' life prospects and trajectories, and this explains the vast amount of research on how the individuals' educational level affects their further educational choices and labour market outcomes (e.g., Jaeger, 2007; Verhaest & Omey, 2010; Kogan, Noelke, & Gebel, 2011). Another strand of research focuses on the importance of educational systems' characteristics in understanding pathways for youth during their transition from school to work. Relying on the seminal work of Allmendinger (1989), authors have shown how cross-country differences in the school-to-work transition are systematically related to the way in which educational systems are organised (Kerckhoff, 2000; Müller & Shavit, 1998; Van der Velden & Wolbers, 2003; Baranowska, 2011). Research interests have focused mainly on the differentiation between general and vocational secondary education, and most hypotheses state that graduates from upper-secondary vocational programmes enter the labour market faster and obtain better quality jobs due to the stronger labour market orientation of their education (Iannelli & Raffe, 2007; Müller & Shavit, 1998; Raffe, 2014; Straková, 2015). There has also been increased interest towards researching the degree of stratification within different national educational systems (Allmendinger, 1989; Kerckhoff, 2001; Shavit & Müller, 1998; Blossfeld et al., 2016) and the impact tracking can have on social inequality in both educational and labour market outcomes (Maaz et al., 2008; Dustmann, Puhani, & Schönberg, 2014; Schindler, 2017).

In recent decades, a significant structural change has taken place in the characteristics of education throughout the world, shaping the context in which graduates of different educational attainment levels are entering the labour market. An important feature of this context is the expansion of both secondary and higher education and increased participation in lifelong learning activities (Blossfeld et al., 2016; Ilieva-Trichkova & Boyadjieva, 2016; Roosmaa & Saar, 2017).

Despite this vast literature on the role of education (both in terms of individual levels of attainment and state educational system characteristics) in people's life trajectories, to the best of our knowledge, no study has yet tried to simultaneously capture the effects of both the individual-related and the systemic characteristics of education on the transition from school to work. Against this background, the main *research question* guiding this section's analysis

is: *What is the role of education—understood as a specific attained individual outcome, as a national system and as a structural contextual factor—in creating differences across European countries with regard to how young people experience early job insecurity during their transition from school to employment?*

1.2. Theoretical considerations

Education and skills-formation systems in Europe are very diverse. Although there are many typologies that categorise countries into different regimes based on certain criteria (Blossfeld et al., 2016; Esping-Andersen, 1990; Hall & Soskice, 2001; Walther, 2006) that to some extent refer to education, none of these typologies capture the main differences between educational systems in a comprehensive manner. Exceptions to this can be found in Allmendinger & Leibfried, 2003; West & Nikolai, 2013; and Atzmüller, 2012; but so far, none of these studies have attempted to assess the linkages between a country's educational regime and young people's job insecurity. Given this, we will focus on two kinds of educational system features—the institutional and the structural—which influence early job insecurity.

1.2.1. Institutional features of educational systems

There is a consensus within comparative stratification research that the three main dimensions on which educational systems can be classified cross-nationally are stratification, vocational orientation and standardisation, and that although these dimensions might be correlated, they refer to theoretically and empirically distinct institutions (Allmendinger, 1989; Shavit & Müller, 1998; Bol & Van de Werfhorst, 2013a).

Stratification captures the level of differentiation of students with different levels of scholastic ability and achievements. The level of stratification within educational systems influences the transition from school to work because it allows for distinction of abilities among graduates, based on their different school tracks, and thus informs employers about the individual capabilities of job applicants (Müller & Gangl, 2003; Levels, van der Velden & Di Stasio, 2014).

Vocational orientation reflects the extent to which systems provide vocationally-specific skills, and is usually defined as the proportion of students in upper-secondary education who are enrolled in vocational tracks. Levels, van der Velden and Di Stasio (2014:

345) emphasise that vocational training is theoretically thought to give vocationally-educated graduates a higher probability of smoother transitions to work, measured by horizontal and vertical match between education and job, because “vocational training teaches skills that are strongly in demand by employers” and “vocationally-trained students are more directly productive”.

Standardisation refers to the level of nation-wide standardisation of regulations, funding, and examinations, i.e., the degree to which the quality of education meets the same standards nationwide (Allmendinger, 1989). There are two forms of standardisation: a) input standardisation, which captures “the extent to which schools can make autonomous decisions about what is being taught, how and by whom” and is a result of the existence of nationwide regulations on teacher training, school budgets, books and curricula; and b) standardisation of output, which reflects “the extent to which educational performance of pupils or students is tested against external standards, such as a national inspection institute or centralised exit examinations” (Levels, van der Velden & Di Stasio, 2014: 345). The level of standardisation can influence the individual school-to-work transition, as provides employers with signals about the type and level of skills that students have acquired (Spence, 1973).

1.2.2. Structural characteristics of the social context related to educational development

The last several decades have been marked by the *expansion of education* as a worldwide trend, especially at secondary levels and higher. The benefits of higher levels of education, including tertiary, are no longer the privilege of the wealthy elite, but are now open to a wider range of the populace across societies. Both secondary and higher education have reached peak masses, and this expansion is expected to continue in the coming decades (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). However, despite this general trend of expansion, many countries differ in the speed of this expansion, creating different conditions in different countries, since the expansion of education is a structural feature of the context in which school-to-work transition occurs and on which it depends. Some studies show that educational expansion not only changes income returns to different educational degree levels, but also affects returns to fields of study (Reimer et al., 2008). There is a widespread fear that the expansion of higher education has led to qualifications inflation and, on a more global scale, to the “broken promises of education, jobs and incomes” for many people with a university degree (Brown et al., 2004; Brown et al., 2011).

Another structural feature of the social context related to education is the *development of lifelong learning*. Data show large differences across countries with regard to participation in lifelong learning, and its meaning changes in different societies. As a result, lifelong learning does not have the same social and personal impact in more highly-developed, democratic societies as it does in more weakly-developed ones, although in both the former and the latter, there may be differences engendered by the specific national institutional systems (Boyadjieva & Ilieva-Trichkova, forthcoming).

It is important to emphasise that educational systems in different countries differ considerably in their *expenditures on education* and the way funds are distributed among educational institutions and at varying levels of education. In some countries, education suffers from serious underfunding as well as ineffective mechanisms for allocating public funds, which influences both how educational institutions function and the quality of education they can offer. Given this, expenditures on education should be perceived as an important structural feature of the educational system.

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. Data and limitations

The empirical basis of this section of the report is individual-level data from the 2009 Ad Hoc Module of the European LFS, “Entry of young people into the labour market”, the ESS R5 rotating module, “Work, Family & Wellbeing” (2010/2011), and country-level data from official statistics (EUROSTAT & UNESCO) and Bol & Van de Werfhorst (2013a).

We have had to adopt some limitations on the data used. In both surveys, we restricted the data to people aged 20-29 years, with ISCED 0-4. We also limited the number of countries to those for which we had sufficient information about all country-level variables of interest, deleting the missing values from the individual level variables in both datasets. Finally, we worked with only 20 countries from the ESS and 24 countries from the LFS – these were countries for which we had sufficient data at country level for all features of the educational systems which we were interested in.

1.3.2. Variables

Here we present the variables we have used. Summary statistics of these variables are provided in Tables A & B (See Appendix).

Dependent Variables

In fact, there is no indisputable measure of early job insecurity. Given this, we selected some indicators which capture the phenomenon. In their study, Karamessini, Symeonaki, Stamatopoulou and Papazachariou (2016) identify a whole spectrum of indicators on early job and employment insecurity that touch upon various aspects of the problem: labour market outcomes, job quality, employment insecurity and the transition from school-to-work⁴. For the purposes of the present analysis, we have relied on existing objective measures of early job insecurity, such as the *unemployment rate, the distinction between part-time and full-time employment and limited vs. permanent contracts*. We have also included a *subjective measure of early job insecurity*: whether people assess their current job as insecure or not.

Independent variables

As we have independent variables from educational systems at country level and at the individual level, we have added a dummy variable which differentiates people with average (ISCED 3-4) to low (ISCED 0-2) levels of education.

For most of the institutional characteristics of education systems, we have built on the work of Bol and Van de Werfhorst (2013a)⁵. From their list of indicators, we have selected the following country indicators for our purposes:

- *Level of stratification*: measured by an index of tracking, which is constructed by performing a factor analysis on three country-level variables that aim to provide a comprehensive overview of tracking, while considering all the dimension's theoretical aspects (including the age of first selection, the length of the tracked curriculum, and the number of distinct school types available for 15-year-old students). The index ranges from -1.078 in Norway and the United Kingdom to 1.789 in Germany. A higher score on the index implies a higher level of stratification.

⁴ For more details on the concept of early job insecurity and early employment insecurity see also Abebe et al. (2016).

⁵ For details on the sources of data used to construct these variables, see Bol and Van de Werfhorst (2013a).

- *Level of vocational orientation*: we have chosen two variables. The first has been borrowed from Bol and Van de Werfhorst (2013a): the *prevalence of vocational enrolment*. It is measured by two indicators, following a principal factor analysis: vocational enrolment as a percentage of upper-secondary education, measured by different sources. The index ranges between -0.7 in Hungary to 1.744 in the Czech Republic. The higher the value of the index, the more vocational education prevails over general at the upper-secondary level. Bol and Van de Werfhorst (2013a) also suggest that vocational education and training systems differ in the extent to which learning takes place in a school-based or workplace-based format. This is why rather than including the country level, we have selected the individual level as a second indicator for vocational orientation: *whether the education of the individual was mainly (or solely) vocational education in a school-based format, or vocational education that was also workplace-based, as opposed to general*. This was possible only in the case of the LFS.
- *Standardisation of input*: measures the extent to which schools were responsible for textbook use, course content and course offerings, and is constructed via a principal factor analysis of variables that capture these three dimensions. The index ranges between -1.114 in Switzerland and 2.067 in Greece. A higher score on the index implies a higher level of standardisation.
- *Standardisation of output*: a dummy variable. When a country conducts central examinations in secondary education, it scores a “one”. In the case of Germany, though, the value is 0.44 because centralised exams are not mandatory in all federal states. In cases when the value is below 0.5, we have recoded it to 0.

For most of the structural features of education systems, we have relied on data from the official statistics at country level:

- *Expenditure on education*: government expenditure on education (ISCED 0-4) as a percentage of GDP (%)⁶. The data are from 2003, with the sole exception of Germany, where the earliest year for which these data are available is 2006.
- *Educational expansion*: population, aged 20-24 years, with upper secondary and post-secondary, non-tertiary education (levels 3 and 4) as of 2008 (%)⁷.

⁶ Source: <http://data.uis.unesco.org/> Extracted on: 22.6.2017.

⁷ Source: Eurostat, Extracted on: 24.6.2017. Data code: edat_lfs_9903.

- *Participation in education and training*: measures the extent to which people participate in lifelong learning. It is included at the individual level. In the LFS, there is a variable regarding education or training either received or not received during the previous 4 weeks. In the ESS, however, the question is worded differently. QF70: *During the last twelve months, have you taken any course or attended any lecture or conference to improve your knowledge or skills for work?* This longer period allows us to test the influence of one specific form of lifelong learning on early job insecurity—work-related learning—for a longer time period.

The last set of dummy variables refers to the countries' grouping (derived from Blossfeld, Buchholz, Dämmrich, Kilpi-Jakonen, Kosyakova, & Skopek, 2015) under the following welfare regimes: liberal, social-democratic, conservative, Mediterranean and post-Socialist.

Table C in the Appendix presents the bivariate Pearson correlations between each combination of these macro-level independent variables. Of the different variables, we have identified correlations between some of them, but none of these correlations are adequately explained through the other variables. The correlation coefficients are not higher than 0.60, which means there is no reason to doubt the results on the grounds of multicollinearity. This means that we can include all these variables in the same model.

1.3.3. Analysis undertaken

To analyse both datasets, we have employed a multilevel modelling technique. The multilevel research design is useful for handling clustered data. It allows for simultaneous modelling of individual and cluster-level characteristics. More specifically, we have used information on both the individual level (level 1) and the country level (level 2). The country where people were interviewed served as the clustering variable. Given that our dependent variables are binary, we have used two-level random intercept logistic models.

More specifically, for the analysis of each of the four dependent variables, we have estimated three models (Tables 1-4). Model 0 is our (unconditional) baseline model containing the intercept (constant) only. Model 1 includes all individual characteristics and institutional and structural features of the educational systems discussed above. In Model 2, we enter the welfare regimes. In Models 1 and 2, the effects are controlled for respondents' gender and their parents' educational level. We have used the `xtlogit` command in Stata 14. Following Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal (2012), we have interpreted the odds ratios

conditionally on the random intercepts of the models. Lastly, we have examined the amount of country-level variance, which the models explain once the variables of interest have been included. The individual level variance in two-level random intercept models is constant across all models. It is $\pi^2/3$ by design, which is about 3.29.

1.4. Results

Table 1 presents the results of two-level random-intercept logistic regression models analysing the likelihood of *being unemployed vs. employed*. The baseline model for the unemployment (Model 0) results in an unconditional intraclass correlation (ICC) of 0.074. This shows that about 7.4% of variation in the likelihood of being unemployed is due to differences between the countries where young people live. In Model 1, individual characteristics as well as institutional and structural features of educational systems are added. The conditional odds ratios of being unemployed are 7.9% higher for females than for males. The odds ratios of being unemployed are about 42% lower for people with medium education than for those with a low level of education. Attainment of vocational education, which combines a workplace and school-based education, decreases the odds by 5.7% for young people to be unemployed. Participation in lifelong learning during the previous four weeks also decreases their odds of being unemployed (by 10.3%). Among the country-level features, our estimates show that the higher the vocational prevalence in a given country, the lower the chances are that young people will experience unemployment.

In Model 2, we have added the regime type of the country. Despite this, our estimates for the characteristics at the individual level are consistent with those from Model 1. At the same time, we can observe some differences with regard to country-level educational features. Thus, similarly to the prevalence of vocational education, the degree of stratification and standardisation of output decrease the likelihood of young people to be unemployed. Estimates for Model 2 also show that the odds of being unemployed for young people living in a country under a social-democratic regime are 44.4% lower than for young people in a liberal-type country.

Table 1. Results of two-level random intercept logistic regression models concerning whether a person is unemployed vs. employed

	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Fixed parameters</i>			
<i>Gender: Ref. Male</i>			
Female		1.079**	1.079**
<i>Parents' educational level: Ref. None of the parents with a tertiary degree</i>			
At least one of the parents with a tertiary degree		0.984	0.987
<i>Educational level: Ref. Low education</i>			
Medium		0.579**	0.579**
<i>Vocational orientation: Ref. General</i>			
School-VET		0.962	0.964
Work-VET		0.943+	0.943+
<i>Participation in education and training (4 weeks): Ref. No</i>			
Yes		0.897**	0.898**
<i>Country-level features</i>			
Stratification		0.947	0.830+
Vocational prevalence		0.568**	0.683**
Standardisation of input		0.944	0.890
Standardisation of output		0.768	0.710+
Expenditure on education		0.925	0.994
Educational expansion		1.013	1.007
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>			
Social-democratic			0.556*
Conservative			0.837
Mediterranean			0.915
Post-Socialist			1.269
Constant	0.163**	0.243*	0.276+
<i>Random parameters</i>			
Intercept	0.513**	0.383**	0.310**
Country-level variance	0.263**	0.146**	0.096**
Explained variance at level 2		44.38%	63.55%
Intraclass correlation	0.074	0.043	0.028
Log likelihood	-27369.1	-27127.1	-27122.2

Source: LFS (2009, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (individual level) = 66542; N (country level) = 24.

Significance: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

If we examine the decrease in the level 2 variance due to the variables' inclusion in the models, we see that the country-level variance for Model 1 decreases by 44.38%, and by 63.55% in Model 2. This suggests that both models have the power to explain a considerable amount of country-level differences in unemployment.

Table 2 presents the results of two-level random-intercept logistic regression models analysing the likelihood of *working a temporary job/on a limited-duration contract vs. working a permanent job/ on an unlimited contract*. The baseline model (Model 0) results in an unconditional ICC of 0.171. This shows that about 17.1% of variation in the likelihood of working at a temporary job is due to differences between the countries where young people

live. In Model 1, we add individual characteristics and institutional and structural features of the educational systems. The conditional odds ratios of working at a temporary job are 20.6% greater for females than for males and 19% higher for people with at least one parent who completed higher education. The odds ratios of working at a temporary job are 14.5% lower for people with medium education than for those with a lower level of education. Attainment of vocational education decreases the odds of working at a temporary job for those educated either mainly in classroom settings or in combined workplace/classroom settings respectively by 16.6% and 26.3%.

Table 2. Results of two-level random intercept logistic regression models concerning whether a person has temporary job/work on a limited-duration contract vs. has a permanent job/ work on an unlimited contract

	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Fixed parameters</i>			
<i>Gender: Ref. Male</i>			
Female		1.206**	1.206**
<i>Parents' educational level: Ref. None of the parents with a tertiary degree</i>			
At least one of the parents with a tertiary degree		1.190**	1.191**
<i>Educational level: Ref. Low education</i>			
Medium		0.855**	0.856**
<i>Vocational orientation: Ref. General</i>			
School-VET		0.834**	0.834**
Work-VET		0.737**	0.737**
<i>Participation in education and training (4 weeks): Ref. No</i>			
Yes		2.681**	2.682**
<i>Country-level features</i>			
Stratification		1.175	1.199
Vocational prevalence		0.732	0.728
Standardisation of input		0.821	0.769
Standardisation of output		0.955	1.315
Expenditure on education		1.043	1.214
Educational expansion		0.998	1.012
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>			
Social democratic			2.266
Conservative			2.625
Mediterranean			6.198**
Post-Socialist			1.725
Constant	0.266**	0.269	0.019**
<i>Random parameters</i>			
Intercept	0.822	0.787	0.639**
Country-level variance	0.676	0.620	0.409**
Explained variance at level 2		8.34%	39.58%
Intraclass correlation	0.171	0.159	0.110
Log likelihood	-26800.4	-25718.3	-25713.4

Source: LFS (2009, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (individual level) = 51266; N (country level) = 24.

Significance: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Participating in lifelong education and training during the previous four weeks, however, increases the odds that young people will work at a temporary job by 2.68 times. Among the country-level features, our estimates show no statistically-significant differences. Once we add the regime type of the country, the estimates show that the odds of working at a temporary job in a Mediterranean country are 6.2 times greater than they are for young people in a liberal-type country.

Finally, if we examine the decrease in the level 2 variance due to the inclusion of the variables in the models, we can see that for Model 1, the country-level variance decreases by 8.34% and 39.58%. This suggests that the included variables at country level only partly explain differences regarding the likelihood of young people to hold temporary jobs/ limited-duration contracts vs. permanent jobs/unlimited contracts because of variations across borders. This implies the necessity, in future research, to think of additional variables to add at the country level which could explain such variances.

Table 3 presents the results of two random-intercept logistic regression models analysing the likelihood of *having a part-time job vs. a full-time job*. The baseline model (Model 0) results in an unconditional ICC of 0.207. This shows that about 20.7% of variation in the likelihood of working at a part-time job is due to differences between the countries in which young people live. In Model 1, we add individual characteristics and institutional and structural features of the educational systems. The conditional odds ratios of working part-time are 3.67 times greater for females than for males and 1.43 times higher for people with at least one parent with higher education than for those without a parent with higher education. The odds ratios of working part-time are about 36% higher for people with medium level of education than they are for people with a lower level of education. Attaining vocational education decreases the odds of working at a temporary job for those educated mainly in classroom settings and for those educated in combined workplace and classroom settings by 39% and 47%, respectively. Participating in education and training during the previous four weeks, however, increases young people's odds of working at a part-time job 3.33 times. Estimates for Model 1 show that as the vocational prevalence increases by one standard deviation, the odds of working at a part-time job increase by 69.8%. At the same time, as educational expansion increases by one percent at the country level, the odds that young people will work part-time decrease by 2.6%.

Table 3. Results for two-level random intercept logistic regression models concerning whether a person has a part-time job vs. a full-time job.

	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Fixed parameters</i>			
<i>Gender: Ref. Male</i>			
Female		3.667**	3.666**
<i>Parents' educational level: Ref. None of the parents with a tertiary degree</i>			
At least one of the parents with a tertiary degree		1.433**	1.431**
<i>Educational level: Ref. Low education</i>			
Medium		1.361**	1.363**
<i>Vocational orientation: Ref. General</i>			
School-VET		0.608**	0.608**
Work-VET		0.531**	0.531**
<i>Participation in education and training (4 weeks): Ref. No</i>			
Yes		3.331**	3.331**
<i>Country-level features</i>			
Stratification		0.874	1.119
Vocational prevalence		1.698*	1.201
Standardisation of input		0.844	0.992
Standardisation of output		0.994	1.219
Expenditure on education		1.327	1.168
Educational expansion		0.974*	0.992
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>			
Social democratic			1.720
Conservative			1.051
Mediterranean			0.744
Post-Socialist			0.319**
Constant	0.196**	0.095*	0.062**
<i>Random parameters</i>			
Intercept	0.928	0.613**	0.409**
Country-level variance	0.860	0.376**	0.167**
Explained variance at level 2		56.30%	80.56%
Intraclass correlation	0.207	0.103	0.048
Log likelihood	-25858.3	-22385.3	-22375.6

Source: LFS (2009, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (individual level) = 56405; N (country level) = 24.

Significance: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Once we add the regime type of the country, we can observe these effects disappearing completely. Estimates for Model 2 also show that the odds of working part-time for young people in a post-Socialist country are 68.1% lower than for young people in a liberal-type country.

Finally, if we examine the decrease in the level 2 variance due to the inclusion of the variables in the models, we can see that for Model 1, the country-level variance decreases by 56.30% and 80.56%. This suggests that the included variables at country level can explain a considerable part of these variations in the likelihood of young people having a part-time job vs. a full-time job through cross-country differences.

Table 4 presents the results of two-level random-intercept logistic regression models analysing the likelihood of *subjective feelings of job insecurity*. The baseline model (Model 0) results in an unconditional ICC of 0.171. This shows that about 17.1% of the variation in the likelihood of assessing one's job as insecure is due to differences between the countries in which young people live. In Model 1, we add individual characteristics as well as institutional and structural features of the educational systems. Estimates show that conditional odds ratios of subjective feelings of job insecurity are 42% lower for young people who have taken a course or have attended a lecture or conference to improve their knowledge or work skills. Model 1 shows that as the vocational prevalence increases by one standard deviation, the odds of assessing one's job as insecure decrease by 43%. At the same time, expenditures on education have a positive influence on subjective perceptions of job security. The higher expenditures on education are, the lower the odds are that young people will perceive their jobs as insecure.

Once we add the regime type of the country, the effect of expenditure on education disappears; however, Model 2's estimates show that the effect of the vocational prevalence remains significant and decreases odds of young people perceiving their jobs as insecure. Our estimates also show that the odds for young people in Mediterranean countries to assess their jobs as insecure are 2.23 times greater than the odds for young people in a liberal-type country. At the same time, the odds ratios of perceiving one's job as insecure are also more than 2 times higher for young people from the post-Socialist type countries than they are for young people from liberal countries, but this effect is not statistically significant.

Table 4. Results for two-level random intercept logistic regression models concerning subjective feelings of job insecurity.

	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Fixed parameters</i>			
<i>Gender: Ref. Male</i>			
Female		1.130	1.138
<i>Parents' educational level: Ref. None of the parents with a tertiary degree</i>			
At least one of the parents with a tertiary degree		0.809	0.822
<i>Educational level: Ref. Low education</i>			
Medium		0.924	0.956
<i>Participation in work related training (12 months): Ref. No</i>			
Yes		0.582**	0.580**
<i>Country-level features</i>			
Stratification		1.162	1.120
Vocational prevalence		0.570*	0.714+
Standardisation of input		1.245	1.107
Standardisation of output		0.888	0.846
Expenditure on education		0.711+	0.786
Educational expansion		1.003	0.993
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>			
Social democratic			1.097
Conservative			0.797
Mediterranean			2.234+
Post-socialist			2.241
Constant	0.744	4.534	3.772
<i>Random parameters</i>			
Intercept	0.824	0.482**	0.268**
Country-level variance	0.679	0.232**	0.072**
<hr/>			
Explained variance at level 2		65.82%	89.43%
Intraclass correlation	0.171	0.066	0.021
Log likelihood	-919.8	-900.8	-894.58

Source: ESS (2010/2011, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (individual level) = 1450; N (country level) = 20.

Significance: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

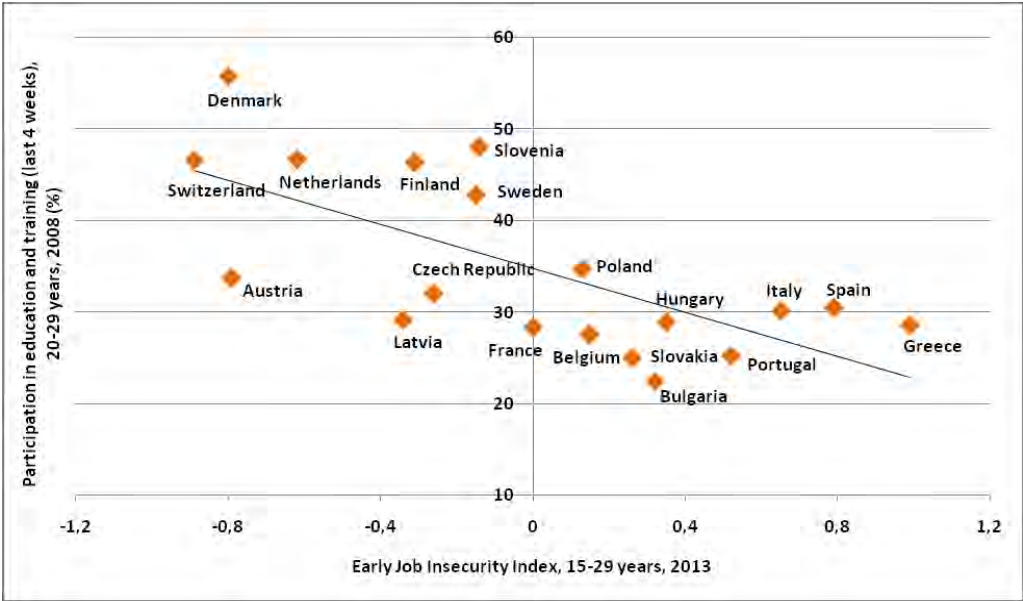
Lastly, examining the decrease in the level 2 variance due to the inclusion of the variables in the models shows us that for Model 1, the country-level variance decreases by 65.82% and 89.43%. This suggests that the included variables at country level explain a considerable part of the variations in how likely young people are to express subjective feelings about job insecurity as a result of differences between countries.

The results have shown that the variety of institutional and structural features of educational systems can have a widespread influence, once various dimensions of early job insecurity (both objective and subjective) are taken into account. This makes it harder to assess its overall effect. In order to address this issue, and to acknowledge the complexity of early job insecurity, we have examined the relationship between the institutional and structural features of educational systems, as well as a more complex measure of early job

insecurity: the *early job insecurity index*. The latter was developed by Symeonaki, Stamatopoulou and Karamessini (2017) and combines a number of objective indicators which claim to capture the whole spectrum of early job insecurity. This index ranges from -1 to + 1, where the lower the value, the lower the early job insecurity, and vice versa; the values were current for 2013. We have examined this relationship at country level for all 19 countries on which data were available. Figures 1-4 illustrate only the most significant correlations found.

Notably, Figure 1 shows that there is a negative correlation between early job insecurity and participation rate in lifelong education and training (over the previous 4 weeks). The correlation coefficient is strong (Pearson’s $r = - 0.683$, $p < 0.001$), suggesting that the higher the participation rate in education, the lower the rate of early job insecurity.

Figure 1. Scatterplot of the early job insecurity index (2013) against the participation rate in lifelong education and training (last 4 weeks) for people aged 20-29 years, 2008.

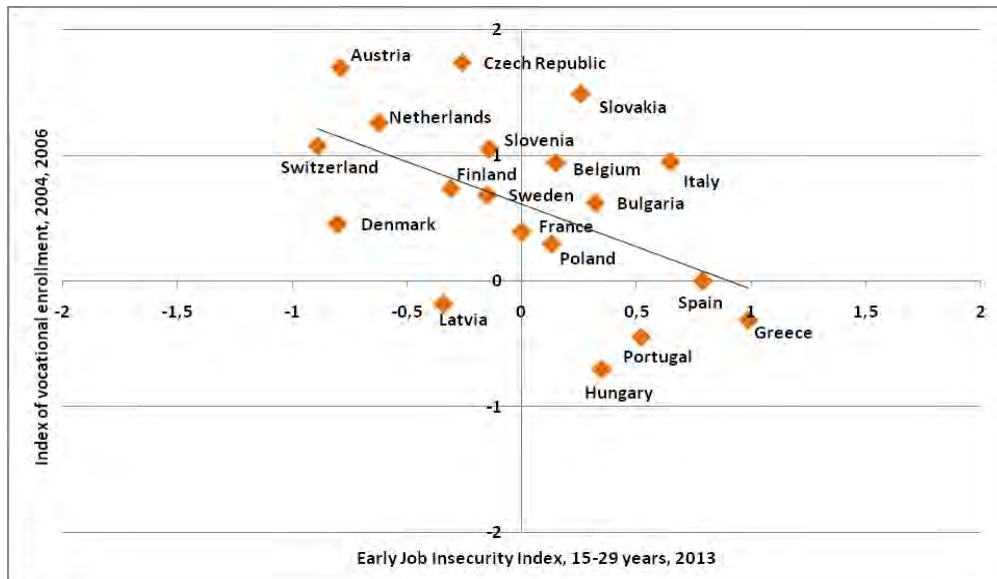


Source: Eurostat, data code: trng_lfs_09, extracted on 03.07.2017 & Symeonaki et al. (2017) (own calculations).

Note: N (countries) = 19.

Figure 2 shows that there is a negative correlation between early job insecurity and the prevalence of vocational education (The Pearson's r coefficient is $= -0.516$ at $p < 0.05$), suggesting that in countries with higher enrolment numbers in vocational education, early job insecurity is lower.

Figure 2. Scatterplot of the early job insecurity index (2013) against the index of vocational enrolment, 2004, 2006

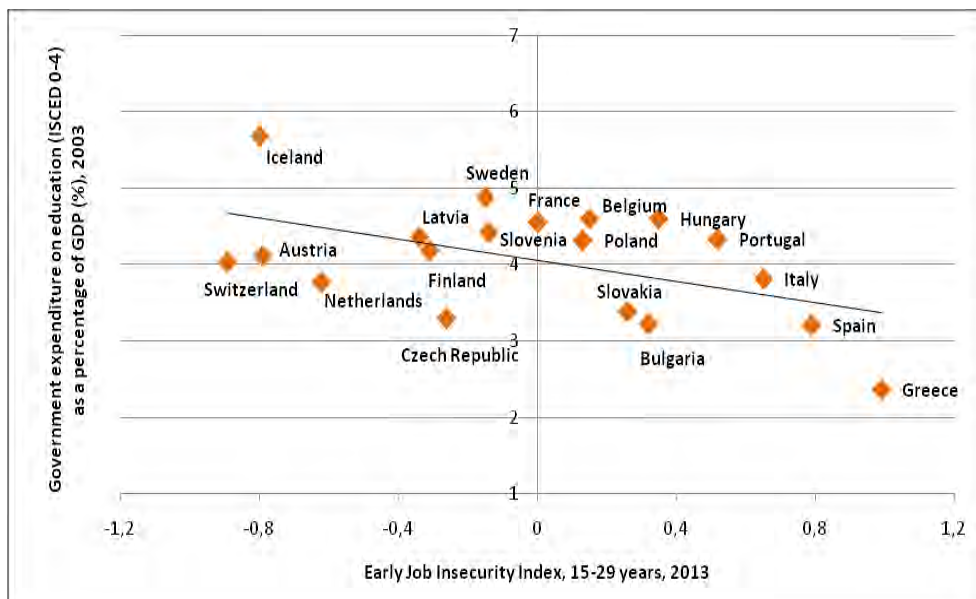


Source: Bol & Werfhorst (2013a) & Symeonaki et al. (2017) (own calculations).

Note: N (countries) = 19.

Figure 3 shows a negative correlation between early job insecurity and government expenditure on education (ISCED 0-4) as a percentage of GDP (Pearson's $r = -0.513$, $p < 0.05$). This suggests that the higher the expenditure on education, the lower the early job insecurity; i.e., in countries that invest more money in education, the levels of early job insecurity are lower. Most likely, this has to do with the better quality of education provided in these countries.

Figure 3. Scatterplot of the early job insecurity index (2013) against government expenditure on education (ISCED 0-4) as a percentage of GDP (%), 2003

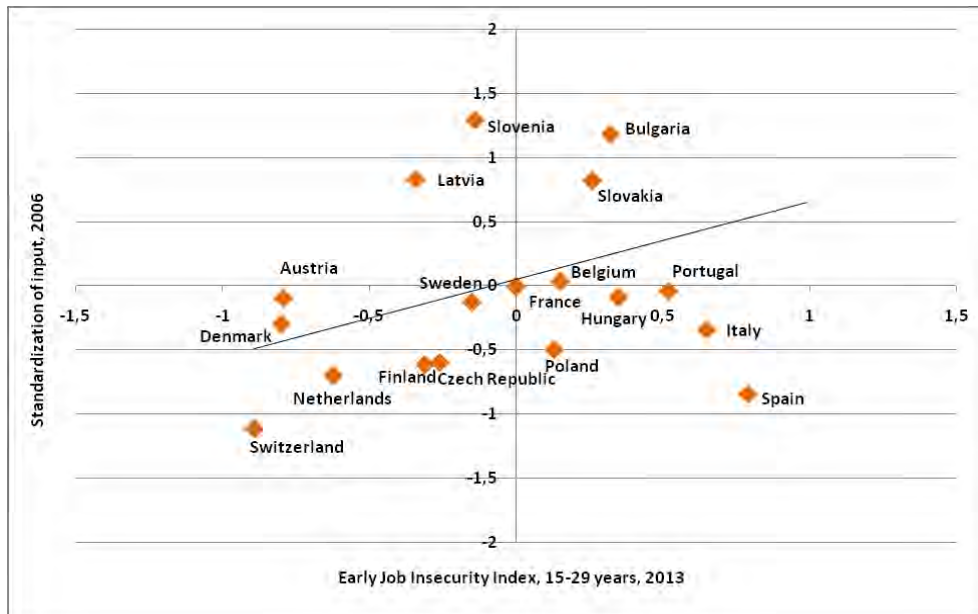


Source: <http://data.uis.unesco.org/> Extracted on: 22.6.2017. & Symeonaki et al. (2017) (own calculations).

Note: N (countries) = 19.

Finally, we have found a positive correlation between early job insecurity and the standardisation of input (Pearson's $r = 0.403$, $p < 0.10$) (See Figure 4), which indicates that standardisation of input is associated with higher levels of early job insecurity at country level.

Figure 4. Scatterplot of the early job insecurity index (2013) against the standardisation of input (2006)



Source: Bol & Werfhorst (2013a) & Symeonaki et al. (2017) (own calculations).

Note: N (countries) = 19.

Although the explored relationships provide interesting insights as to the role of the institutional and structural characteristics of educational systems, further analyses are needed to assess how these features simultaneously influence early job insecurity.

1.5. Discussion of the results

We have built on previous studies carried out within the NEGOTIATE project that explored the institutional determinants of early job insecurity in nine European countries (Hora, Horáková & Sirovátka, 2016) and the risk factors for the careers of young people in Europe during the economic crisis (Karamessini et al., 2016). In so doing, we have investigated the role not only of the institutional, but also of the structural features of educational systems, while combining both macro and micro-level data.

Our results are in line with the main findings of a recent comparative study (Karamessini et al., 2016) which shows that the socio-demographic variables (level of education, parental education, and gender) influencing the chances of being unemployed are consistent across the countries studied, and that individual levels of education are a strong predictor of employability. We go further by taking into account the specificity of the

individual's acquired level of education. Our results clearly demonstrate that the vocational specificity of secondary education (vocational school-based and vocational workplace-based) positively influences individuals' capacity to find employment and avoid early job insecurity.

We also try to explain differences in early job insecurity at country level by considering the characteristics of the educational systems (both institutional and structural). Our results prove consistent with previous research that has pointed out the positive effect of the vocational orientation of educational and training systems, as well as their specificity, in facilitating early labour market integration (e.g., Barbieri, Cutuli, & Passaretta, 2016; Bol & Werfhorst, 2013b, Wolbers, 2007). Further studies are needed to explain our finding that vocational prevalence has a positive influence on working part-time.

In contrast to previous studies, which have not yet revealed any effect of the standardisation of input and output on experiencing qualification mismatches (e.g., Levels, van der Velden & Di Stasio, 2014), we have found that whereas the standardisation of output in educational systems does decrease early job insecurity (when insecurity is measured by the objective indicator of being unemployed), the standardisation of input is associated with increases in early job insecurity. Our findings demonstrate that standardising educational input and output should be regarded separately, as they have different effects. Namely, standardising output has a strong signalling effect on employers, a possible explanation for its positive influence on decreasing unemployment; however, standardising input could potentially limit the individualisation of the educational process—which in the rapidly changing contemporary labour market may reduce young people's adaptability and flexibility, thus increasing their job insecurity.

As regards the structural characteristics of educational systems, it seems that educational expansion, a worldwide phenomenon, has a positive effect on early job insecurity: in countries that invest more money in education, the levels of early job insecurity index are lower and the odds of young people working part-time jobs decrease. At the same time, expenditures on education decrease the odds of young people perceiving their jobs as insecure. However, the fact that no significant influence of education expenditures on some of the objective measures of early job insecurity (at an individual level) have been found suggests that what matters is not only the amount of money spent on education, but also where it is spent and how.

In their recent report, Ayllon and Nollenberger (2016) focus on how the Great Recession in Europe has changed the patterns of young people's schooling decisions; the report reveals that young Europeans (especially the unskilled) are more likely to enrol in

education programs in response to poor labour market conditions, including increased unemployment brought on by the recession. Our findings also point to the importance of continuing education and lifelong learning in overcoming early job insecurity. Previous studies have clearly shown that patterns of participation in lifelong learning are more likely to reinforce, rather than mitigate, existing educational inequalities, as people with a higher-level education are more likely to participate in these than their less-educated peers (Boyadjieva & Ilieva-Trichkova, 2017). Further analyses are needed to reveal whether the lifelong learning activities of people with different levels of initial education have similar or different effects on individuals' job prospects.

At the level of countries' welfare regimes, our findings suggest that social-democratic welfare states adopt more effective policies for decreasing youth unemployment than liberal states do. As far as other measures of early job insecurity are concerned, it seems that the effect of a country's welfare regime is more complicated, and further studies are needed to convincingly explain the results obtained. It is important to emphasise that in all models, except the models for contact permanency, the ICC falls below 0.05, which means that the included independent variables largely explain the differences in outcomes across countries. However, we should emphasise that the characteristics of educational systems (both institutional and structural) alone, or even in combination with the welfare regime as a factor, cannot fully explain early job insecurity in the studied countries. This finding is in line with a previous study which explored how national institutional factors, such as the level of skill transparency in the education system and labour market coordination, account for cross-national differences in the relationship between education and occupational status in 14 European countries. It also suggests that other (individual-level or country-level) factors not included in previous models are also important in predicting occupational status and should be explored further (Andersen & van de Werfhorst, 2010). This leads us to believe that, although very important, education is not a panacea, and it cannot solve structural problems in other spheres of life, such as the economy or the labour market—especially when the emphasis is only on its instrumental value. This allows us to argue, furthermore, that other aspects and roles of education, for example, its transformative and intrinsic role, should also be taken into account (Boyadjieva & Ilieva-Trichkova, 2016).

The results suggest that the institutional features of educational systems at secondary level mainly influence the productive capabilities and skills of people, which is in line with human capital theory. Thus, in the context of the economic crisis, these features have positively influenced early job security in the sense that people's chances of being

unemployed are lowered, and that subjective perceptions of job security are improved. However, it seems that that such features still have a much lower impact on the negotiating power of young people, i.e., on their capacity to find more stable jobs, either under permanent contract and/or full-time. In other words, in the context of the crisis, the institutional features of educational systems exert a weak influence on the opportunity structure of jobs (in terms of negotiating better employment conditions) and on the capabilities of young people who have completed up to a postsecondary, but not tertiary, education in choosing a job that they have reason to value.

In general, our results reveal that although the countries' educational systems and graduates' employability are embedded in the national institutional contexts (types of capitalism and welfare regimes), the educational characteristics at individual and macro levels have a significant and independent influence on early job insecurity during the transition from school to work.

2. Gender Differences in the Transition to Adulthood

Comparative international studies on the role of institutional and individual factors on the transition to adulthood in different social contexts have established that diversity prevails over convergence in these transition patterns. There has been a clear shift in transitional events: the timing of the first union formation may be postponed among the more highly-educated, but in general, not among the lower-educated and the young; entry into parenthood may follow economic independency in some countries, but not in others; and an increasing amount of cohabitation is evident in different countries belonging to the same type of welfare regime, although this differs in its cultural and religious dimensions. On top of all this, it should be added that much of welfare regime theory has been developed for Western Europe (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011), and as such is an obstacle that fails to sufficiently explain the specificities of Eastern European countries. The complexity of processes occurring over the course of the transition to adulthood is such that systematic analytical effort must be focused at individual, family, and country levels, as well as at the levels of culture, institutions, and structures. In looking for the most appropriate theoretical reference point with regard to gender differences in the transition to adulthood, we have sought out similarities in the concepts elaborated within different theoretical frameworks: for instance, the concepts of agency and linked lives are part of both the capability approach and the life course approach.

2.1. Theoretical considerations

Through the **capability approach**, gender is seen as an important social conversion factor which may constrain or enable individual agency and which shapes the capability sets of men and women in given settings. At the same time, gender is related to human identity and can thus be regarded as a personal conversion factor. As Sen puts it, “variations related to sex, age, genetic endowments, and many other features, give us very divergent powers to build freedom in our lives even when we have the same bundle of primary goods” (Sen, 1992: 85-86).

Sen emphasises that when studying the systemic disparities in the freedoms that men and women enjoy in different societies, we should not limit our analysis to gender differences in income or resources, but should also consider gender inequality in other realms of differential benefits, e.g., the division of labour within the household. Furthermore,

capabilities may be especially important in defining the nature of inequality, and hence the scope of possible interventions and policies that might redress these inequalities.

In the life course approach to the transition from youth to adulthood, distinctions between these phases are made in relation to various important role transitions. Individuals leave the strict regulation of the educational system and begin to act in domains less strictly regulated by age. Heather Hofmeister (2009) distinguishes the following life course perspective components, which are key from a gender perspective: individual agency, linked lives, context, and timing.

Individual agency

In the life course perspective, individuals are viewed as active agents shaping their life chances according to their personal goals, values, and abilities. Human agency, understood as “the ability of individuals to make decisions about their own lives that have impact.. is expressed through both early actions and decisions that have lingering consequences, as well as continuing behaviours or behaviours that change course” (Hofmeister, 2009: 387). Examples of change include returning to or leaving school, marrying or divorcing, having a child, and changing jobs. One possible response to job insecurity in economic hard times is the postponement of family formation, with the median age at first marriage rising alongside a parallel trend for parents’ age at the birth of their first child (Appendix, Figure A).

Linked lives

The concept of linked lives is helpful when asking important questions about how lives are organised and determining outcomes upon entering marriage and at childbirth. Who will take care of young children, as well as how long mothers and fathers will be involved in paid work, depends on family policies in the national context, on the resources available to the family, and on the cultural values of the family environment. Following EU integration, migration has become a very important form of linked lives through the informal, transnational markets of paid services (Hofmeister, 2009, Stoilova & Dimitrova, 2015). Women from lower-income countries move to countries with a higher GDP where they take on the care of small children and elderly people, either in private family homes or public care institutions.

Context and timing

Context and timing, combined with human agency and linked lives, create diverse pathways and experiences throughout the course of men's and women's lives. An essential indicator that enables us to understand different country contexts is the distribution of full-time and part-time work among women. Post-Socialist countries have the lowest share of part-time jobs, with raking Bulgaria the lowest among them at 2%, and Estonia, at 12%, with the highest rank. In these countries, part-time work is not a preferred option for balancing the family and a job. The largest share of part-time jobs has been registered in the Netherlands (over 70%) and in Switzerland (over 60%), followed by Germany, Austria, and Belgium (all over 40%, see Appendix Figure B). The share of part-time employment among women falls lower than 40% in Norway, Sweden, and the UK, and it is below 30% in Ireland. Another indicator that strongly differentiates EU countries, and is a significant part of the extent to which welfare states can support families with children, is their Gross Domestic Product. It reflects the total value of all goods and services produced, and is an indicator of a nation's economic situation. Incomes in all post-Socialist countries are below the EU-28 average per-capita income in euros (Appendix, Figure C). Due to these important differences, we will use national GDP as an additional indicator, along with the specific kind of welfare state regime, below.

2.1.1. Grouping of countries and major institutional settings

Gender differences become an evident part of the transition to adulthood at the point when people create families, have children, and assume the role of parent. The mechanism behind different gender-based roles is related to the need for establishing a Work-Life Balance (WLB), which is different for men and women depending on if they belong to more traditional societies, or more egalitarian, universalistic ones in which demands on both genders are largely equalised. That is why we have assessed the cultural values related to expectations towards women after childbirth on the basis of a society's traditional vs. universal childcare role demands on both genders. Depending on the differences between groups of countries, they are generally classified in the literature under one of several welfare regimes: social-democratic, post-Socialist, conservative, Mediterranean, and liberal. Blossfeld, Skopek, Triventi and Buchholz (2015: 372) describe these regimes from a gender perspective as follows: the *social-democratic regime*, typical for Northern Europe, is characterised by high levels of gender equality, the existence of public childcare, and a strong

sector of public employment for women; the *conservative regime*, typical for Western Europe, is characterised by a male breadwinner or 1.5 earner, which often results in interrupted female careers and part-time employment after the birth of a child; the *family-oriented regime*, typical for Southern Europe, sees women traditionally assume family and childcare obligations; the *liberal regime*, in Anglo-Saxon countries, is marked by high levels of “marketization towards individual welfare plans, and by the weak role of the welfare state”, which results in high levels of female employment; and the *post-Socialist regime* of Eastern Europe is characterised by strong family structures and a high level of full-time employment among women, especially in the public sector, as in the social-democratic regime (Stoilova et al., 2012).

2.1.2. Framing the problem and research questions

The creation of one’s own family, childbirth, and rearing children all entail potential differences between the choices young men and young women make about engaging in paid or unpaid work. The negative effects on women’s participation in labour—combining family and work, caring for small children or ailing family members, early childbirth, and the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, and low education levels—have been analysed through biographical interviews in the Negotiate working paper 5.3, entitled “An interview study of early job insecurity and consequences for the transition to adulthood” (Stoilova et al. 2017). Motherhood, especially for early births and single mothers, the need for WLB, and the additional hours put into care work have been analysed as three mechanisms causing gendered labour market outcomes, based on qualitative data. In the present analysis, based on quantitative data, we will continue to look for the dimensions of this gender disparity, which both leads to a gap in the employment of men compared with women, and that also increases the risk of job insecurity for men and women with families and children under different welfare regimes. Our *research questions* are: (1) *How is motherhood treated under different gender cultural regimes in Europe?* (2) *What are the observable differences between men and women making the same transitions to establishing a family and experiencing childbirth in different European countries, in terms of WLB and the hours spent on housework?* and (3) *What factors lead to an increased risk for early childbirth, and are these factors the same under different welfare regimes?*

2.2. Methodology

2.2.1. Data

We have worked on 24 countries from the ESS 2010/2011, but some limitations needed to be imposed on the data used. First, the data was restricted to people aged 15-29 years. Second, the number of countries was limited to only those for which there was sufficient information on all country-level variables of interest—the missing values were deleted from the individual level variables in both datasets.

2.2.2. Variables

We use *four dependent* variables. *The first one* is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent agrees that women should be prepared, for the sake of the family, to cut down on paid work. This question reflects the cultural dimension related to the family roles of men and women on the labour market. *The second* is a dummy variable indicating whether a person considers it important whether a potential job will allow him/her to combine work life with family life, or if they would not take this into consideration. *The third* is a dummy variable related to housework—whether more or less than 20 hours per week are spent on it by respondents. *The fourth* is a dummy variable indicating the occurrence of early childbirth vs. non-occurrence.

As *independent variables*, we have relied upon both individual and country-level characteristics:

At the individual level, we have used a set of dummy variables distinguishing the following: the respondents' levels of education, whether or not they belong to some minority ethnic group, if they had children living at home or not, if they were living with a husband/wife/partner, and the main activity of respondents at the time of the survey. The descriptive statistics of these variables are given in Appendix Table D.

At country level, we have identified a number of variables which could explain the outcome variables. The bivariate Pearson correlations between combinations are presented in Appendix Table E. Among the different variables, we have discovered that the correlations between some of them can be adequately explained through the side variables and the correlation coefficients are higher than 0.60, which means that in those cases, we may doubt the results on the grounds of multicollinearity. Specifically, there is a very strong correlation between the mean age of women at the birth of their first child and their mean age at first marriage. The correlation is also high between females in part-time employment and GDP per

capita. These variables also strongly correlate with the post-Socialist welfare regime, but this means not all of these variables can be included in the same model. So, we have decided to work out two models: one using regimes and one using GDP. As for the regimes, we have included a variable that differentiates whether the welfare regime is liberal (United Kingdom and Ireland), social democratic (Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden), conservative (Belgium, Germany, France, and Switzerland), Mediterranean (Cyprus, Greece, Portugal, and Spain) or post-Socialist (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia). In the model with per-capita GDP, we have included a dummy variable differentiating whether this value, at current market prices in millions of euros, is below the EU-28 average or not.

2.2.3. Analysis undertaken

In this section, we use a multilevel modelling technique to estimate young people's chances of agreeing that a woman should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family, and of considering the work-life balance as important when choosing a job, spending 20 hours and more per week on housework, and early childbirth. For each of these four outcome variables, we have used an empty (unconditional) model, where we examine the extent of variance in outcome variables that can be attributed at country level. Usually, it is worth applying a multilevel modelling approach when the variance is above 0.05; in such cases, we have estimated models that include variables at individual and country level. In the case of the first three dependent variables, we have estimated two separate models for women and men. In the first model, we have included a variable differentiating each country's regime type. In the second model, we have included a dummy variable differentiating whether or not a country's per-capita GDP lies below the EU-28 average. Lastly, we have examined the degree of country-level variance that can be explained by the models, after including the variables of interest. The individual level variance in two-level random intercept models is constant across all of them. It is $\pi^2 / 3$ by design, which is approximately 3.29.

2.3. Results

Cultural values

Respondents could be divided in three almost equal groups concerning the statement that women should be prepared to to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family - 37% agree, 35% disagree and 26% are not able to express any opinion (Appendix, Figure D).

The null model regarding the degree to which female respondents agreed that women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family (Model 0) resulted in an unconditional ICC of 0.113 (Table 5). This indicates that about 11.3% of the variation in likelihood of agreeing with this statement is due to differences between countries. The likelihood ratio test for the null model is significant, making it possible to use a random intercept model instead of an ordinary logistic regression. Model 1 for women shows that the conditional odds of their agreeing with the same statement are 16% higher for women with lower than secondary or post-secondary but non-tertiary levels of education. The odds are lower for women with tertiary degrees.

Belonging to a minority group, having a child, living with a partner, and either being unemployed or inactive are factors that increased the likelihood respondents agreeing that women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family. We have seen a positive effect of Mediterranean regimes on the likelihood of women agreeing with this statement. In Model 2, we have added GDP per capita at the country level instead of regime types. Our estimates for the individual level variables remained fairly consistent with Model 1. At the same time, we have observed a significant and positive effect of lower per-capita GDP on the outcome variable.

Table 5. Results for two-level random intercept logistic regression models on agreement that women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family

	Women			Men		
	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Fixed parameters</i>						
<i>Educational level: Ref. Medium</i>						
Low		1.161+	1.163+		1.286**	1.284**
High		0.810*	0.810*		1.014	1.014
<i>Belongs to a minority, ethnic group: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		1.536**	1.534**		1.620**	1.623**
<i>Having a child: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		1.354**	1.356**		1.102	1.115
<i>Living with husband/wife/partner: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		1.472**	1.466**		1.154	1.141
<i>Main activity: Ref. Paid work</i>						
Education		0.951	0.947		0.956	0.956
Unemployed		1.501**	1.507**		1.226+	1.226+
Inactive		1.573**	1.570**		0.997	1.000
<i>Country-level features</i>						
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>						
Social democratic		0.646			0.705	
Conservative		1.814			1.673	
Mediterranean		2.395*			2.513*	
Post-socialist		1.844			2.712**	
<i>GDP per capita: Ref. Above EU 28 average</i>						
Below EU 28 average			1.950**			2.548**
Constant	0.503**	0.249**	0.256**	0.560**	0.272**	0.284**
<i>Random parameters</i>						
Intercept	0.646**	0.463**	0.566**	0.655**	0.410**	0.490**
Country-level variance	0.417**	0.214**	0.320**	0.430**	0.168**	0.240**
<hr/>						
Explained variance at level 2		48.64%	23.24%		60.97%	44.21%
Intraclass correlation	0.113	0.061	0.089	0.116	0.048	0.068
Log likelihood	-2549.31	-2465.94	-2470.22	-2427.35	-2400.19	-2403.75
N (individual level)	4123	4123	4123	3866	3866	3866

Source: ESS (2010/2011, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (country level) = 24.

Significance: +p < 0.10 * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01.

As far male respondents are concerned, the null model indicates that 11.6% of variance in the outcome variable can be attributed to country-level characteristics. Models 1 and 2, similarly to women, show that lower education and minority affiliation in men have a positive effect on the likelihood of their agreement that women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family. At the same time, unlike the case of female respondents, we have observed that having a child or living with a partner have no significant effect on the conditional odds of agreeing with the above statement. Another point of comparison is that men, like women, were more likely to agree if they were unemployed than

if engaged in paid work. However, we have not observed the same positive effect of inactivity as with our female respondents.

Model 1 shows that in contrast to women, male respondents' estimated conditional odds of agreeing that women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family were higher among men from Mediterranean and post-Socialist countries than they were for men in liberal countries. As in the case of women, lower economic development at country level also showed significant and positive results for men.

Lastly, examining the decrease in level 2 variance due to the inclusion of the models' variables has shown that the country-level variance decreases by 48.64% for women in Model 1 and by 23.24% for women in Model 2. For men, the country-level variance decreases by 60.97% in Model 1 and by 44.21% in Model 2. This suggests that both models have the power to explain country-level differences, but that they better explain young men's attitudes regarding the above statement. In future research, we must seek other country-level variables that could explain the remaining variances.

Importance of work-life balance (WLB)

Most respondents in all countries pointed out that balancing work and family is important or very important when choosing a job (Appendix, Figure E).

The null model of female respondents' attitudes towards the work-life balance (Model 0) resulted in an unconditional ICC of 0.077 (Table 6). This indicates that about 7.7% of the variation is due to differences between countries. The likelihood ratio test for the null model is significant, and enabled us to use a random intercept model instead of an ordinary logistic regression. Model 1 shows that the conditional odds of female respondents considering the work-life balance as important when choosing a job are 21.8% lower among primary-educated respondents than it was those with a secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary level education.

Table 6. Results for two-level random intercept logistic regression models concerning whether a person considers the work-life balance as important when choosing a job

	Women			Men		
	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Fixed parameters</i>						
<i>Educational level: Ref. Medium</i>						
Low		0.782*	0.783*		0.886	0.887
High		1.076	1.076		1.425**	1.427**
<i>Belongs to a minority, ethnic group: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		0.731+	0.727+		0.846	0.844
<i>Having a child: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		2.685**	2.687**		1.119	1.121
<i>Living with husband/wife/partner: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		1.623**	1.612**		1.478**	1.451**
<i>Main activity: Ref. Paid work</i>						
Education		1.350*	1.336*		1.053	1.047
Unemployed		0.751+	0.752		0.738*	0.736*
Inactive		1.175	1.179		1.011	1.033
<i>Country-level features</i>						
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>						
Social-democratic		0.706			0.823	
Conservative		1.451			2.056+	
Mediterranean		1.805			2.707**	
Post-Socialist		1.421			1.825+	
<i>GDP per capita: Ref. Above EU 28 average</i>						
Below EU 28 average			1.586*			1.736*
Constant	7.692**	4.494**	4.410**	4.253**	2.440**	2.947**
<i>Random parameters</i>						
Intercept	0.525	0.439	0.500	0.527	0.356	0.471
Country-level variance	0.275**	0.193**	0.250**	0.277**	0.127**	0.222**
<hr/>						
Explained variance at level 2		30.00%	9.35%		54.24%	19.86%
Intraclass correlation	0.077	0.055	0.071	0.078	0.037	0.063
Log likelihood	-1523.20	-1471.17	-1473.51	-1888.37	-1861.62	-1867.12
N (individual level)	4070	4070	4070	3804	3804	3804

Source: ESS (2010/2011, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (country level) = 24.

Significance: +p < 0.10 * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01.

These odds were also lower for woman belonging to minority groups compared to non-members, and for unemployed women compared to those engaged in paid work. At the same time, the conditional odds of considering the work-life balance as important when choosing a job were about 2.69 times greater for women with children than for women without children, and were about 1.6 times higher for women living with a husband or partner. We see a positive effect on being in education instead of having a paid job by the importance women place on the work-life balance with regard to choosing a job. Interestingly, when comparing welfare regimes, none of the included groups differed significantly when compared with the liberal one. In Model 2, we have added GDP per capita at country level instead of welfare regime type. Our estimates for the individual-level variables remained

fairly consistent with Model 1, but at the same time, we have observed a significant and positive effect of lower per-capita GDP on the outcome variable.

For male respondents, the null model indicates that 7.8% of the difference in outcome variables can be attributed to country-level characteristics. Models 1 and 2 demonstrate that, in contrast to women, higher education levels had a positive effect on the likelihood of men to consider work-life balance as important when choosing a job; also in contrast with women, we have not observed a significant effect of lower levels of education, minority group membership, or having children, on male respondents' conditional odds of agreeing with the above statement. The effect of living with a partner on the outcome variable for men was as positive as it was for women. Similarly, men's conditional odds of considering the work-life balance as important when choosing a job were also lower among the unemployed. However, we have not observed that education exerted a positive effect among men, as it did in the case of women.

Model 1 shows that in contrast to women, the estimated conditional odds of considering the work-life balance as important when choosing a job were higher for men under conservative, Mediterranean and post-Socialist welfare regimes than they were for men in liberal regimes. Like women, countries' lower economic development also showed significant and positive results for men.

Lastly, examining the decrease in the level 2 variance due to the inclusion of models' variables has demonstrated that the country-level variance for women decreased by 30.00% in Model 1 and by 9.35% in Model 2. For men, the country-level variance decreased by 54.24% in Model 1 and by 19.86% in Model 2. This suggests that both models have the power to explain country-level differences, but that they can much better explain the differences in young men's attitudes towards the work-life balance when choosing a job. It will be necessary in future research to seek out other variables at country level which could explain the still unexplained variance.

Housework

Around 40% of young people reported spending less than nine hours per week on housework, with about one third devoting up to 20 hours, and nearly as many saying they did over 20 hours of housework per week (Appendix, Figure F). Below, we will analyse the factors leading to the largest workload of housework among young people, and we will emphasise the differences between men and women and between groups of countries.

In the baseline models regarding more than 20 hours vs. less than 20 hours spent on housework, the percentage of variance at country level amounts to 22.6% (women: ICC 0.226) and 13.8% (men: ICC 0.138) (Table 7). This indicates a significant variation at country level: about 22.5% of the variation in the likelihood of spending more than 20 hours on housework for women, and 13.8% for men, were due to differences between countries. The likelihood ratio test for the null models is significant, which means that we were able to use a random intercept model instead of an ordinary logistic regression.

Model 1 for women shows that the conditional odds of spending more than 20 hours a week on housework were 1.72 times higher for women who belonged to a minority ethnic group than for women who did not. These odds were over 4 times greater for women with children than for women without children, and were approximately 3 times higher for the unemployed or inactive than for people engaged in paid work. Both Mediterranean and post-Socialist welfare regimes appear to have had an impact on women's time spent on housework. Specifically, we have seen that the estimated conditional odds for women under Mediterranean or post-Socialist regimes multiplied respectively by 3.37 and by 3.57, when compared with the odds in liberal countries. In Model 2, we have added per-capita GDP at country level instead of regime type. The estimates for the individual-level variables remained fairly consistent with Model 1, which shows that young women who live in countries with a GDP per capita below the EU-28 average were more likely to spend more than 20 hours a week on housework than women in countries above the average.

Regarding male respondents' answers, Models 1 and 2 show that only two of the individual-level variables had a significant effect on the conditional odds of spending more than 20 hours a week on housework. Specifically, men who lived with a child in their home were more likely to spend more than 20 hours a week on housework or care responsibilities. However, this effect seems to have been lower and weaker than in the case of women.

At country level, though, Model 1 shows that men in countries under post-Socialist welfare regimes were about 5 times more likely to spend more than 20 hours a week on housework than men in countries with a liberal regime. Model 2 shows the effect of per-capita GDP: young men living in countries with a per-capita GDP below the EU-28 average were about three times more likely to spend more than 20 hours on housework per week than men in countries above the EU-28 average per-capita GDP.

Table 7. Results for two-level random intercept logistic regression models on whether women and men spend more than 20 hours per week vs. less than 20 hours per week on housework⁸—respondents aged 15-29 years

	Women			Men		
	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Fixed parameters</i>						
<i>Educational level: Ref. Medium</i>						
Low		1.168	1.170		1.655	1.504
High		0.916	0.922		0.688	0.610
<i>Belongs to a minority, ethnic group: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		1.717*	1.749*		0.692	0.713
<i>Having a child: Ref. No</i>						
Yes		4.071**	4.099**		1.875*	1.789+
<i>Main activity: Ref. Paid work</i>						
Education		1.394	1.352		0.282	0.283
Unemployed		2.984**	3.009**		1.057	1.061
Inactive		3.039**	3.084**		1.091	1.100
<i>Country-level features</i>						
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>						
Social democratic		0.644			2.697	
Conservative		0.830			0.265	
Mediterranean		3.371**			2.705	
Post-socialist		3.574**			4.964**	
<i>GDP per capita: Ref. Above EU 28 average</i>						
Below EU 28 average			4.458**			2.994**
Constant	0.575**	0.096**	0.074**	0.072**	0.025**	0.036**
<i>Random parameters</i>						
Intercept	0.979	0.291**	0.310**	0.725	0.003	0.368
Country-level variance	0.958	0.085**	0.096**	0.525	0.000	0.135
Explained variance at level 2		91.18%	89.98%		100.00%	74.25%
Intraclass correlation	0.226	0.025	0.028	0.138	2.50e-06	0.039
Log likelihood	-739.22	-608.28	-609.00	-202.53	-184.41	-189.73
N (individual level)	1232	1232	1232	729	729	729

Source: ESS (2010/2011, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (country level) = 24.

Significance: +p < 0.10 * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01.

Finally, examining the decrease in level 2 variance due to the inclusion of the models' variables demonstrates that for women, the country-level variance decreased by 91.18% in Model 1 and by 89.98% in Model 2; while for men, it was by about 100% in Model 1 and 74.25% in Model 2. This suggests that both models have very high explanatory powers, providing insight on the majority of country-level differences in the variable outcome.

⁸ Only people living with a partner were asked this question. Therefore, this variable was excluded from the models.

Early births

United Kingdom is the country with the highest average age of mothers at the birth of their first child, over 30, but in the ESS sample of early births, the country also had a considerably high position. In the sample, Bulgaria and the UK were the countries with the highest share of early births, with 8.4% and 3.9%, respectively (Appendix, Figure G). Close behind were the four post-Socialist countries—Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, and Poland—with large shares of early births. Portugal was also among the top ESS countries for this statistic, with a comparatively high share of early births.

The null model on women's early births (Model 0) results in an unconditional ICC of 0.148 (Table 8). This indicates a significant variation at the country level: about 14.8% of the variation in the likelihood of mothers to give birth earlier is due to the fact that the individuals were grouped into countries. The likelihood ratio test for the null model is significant, which allowed us to use a random intercept model instead of an ordinary logistic regression. In the case of men, however, there were only 36 cases of early births in the household. Furthermore, the ICC model for men is close to 0. This means that the differences in variable outcomes for men cannot be attributed to the differences between their countries of residence; this is why we have estimated the model only for women.

Our estimates for Model 1 show that women with lower levels of education were approximately 6 times more likely to experience an early childbirth than those with a secondary education. At the same time, more highly-educated women were less likely to experience early childbirth. Belonging to a minority was also found to be a significant predictor of early births—women from minority ethnic group were more likely to experience early childbirth than other women. The conditional odds of early childbirth were 3.7 times greater for women living with a partner than for those not living with a partner; inactive women were also more likely to experience early childbirth than women who were in paid work. At the same time, women who are students are less likely to experience early childbirth than women in paid work. The welfare regime also demonstrated a significant influence on early births. Estimates showed that women living in countries with social-democratic, conservative and Mediterranean regimes were significantly less likely to experience early childbirth than women in liberal countries were. Replacing regime type with the GDP variable instead, we saw lower GDP exerting a positive, but not significant, effect.

Table 8. Results for two-level random intercept logistic regression models concerning the odds of experiencing early childbirth—women aged 15-29 years

<i>Fixed parameters</i>	Model 0 e(b)	Model 1 e(b)	Model 2 e(b)
<i>Educational level: Ref. Medium</i>			
Low		5.906**	5.519**
High		0.403*	0.385*
<i>Belongs to a minority ethnic group: Ref. No</i>			
Yes		1.815*	1.765*
<i>Living with husband/wife/partner: Ref. No</i>			
Yes		3.704**	3.891**
<i>Main activity: Ref. Paid work</i>			
Education		0.200**	0.204**
Unemployed		1.172	1.213
Inactive		2.021**	2.245**
<i>Country-level features</i>			
<i>Regimes, Ref. Liberal</i>			
Social-democratic		0.251**	
Conservative		0.327**	
Mediterranean		0.361**	
Post-Socialist		0.737	
<i>GDP per capita: Ref. Above EU 28 average</i>			
Below EU 28 average			1.410
Constant	0.027**	0.018**	0.007**
<i>Random parameters</i>			
Intercept	0.757	0.197+	0.498**
Country-level variance	0.572	0.039+	0.248**
Explained variance at level 2		93.19%	56.75%
Intraclass correlation	0.148	0.012	0.070
Log likelihood	-575.05	-433.50	-439.07
N (individuals)	4128	4128	4128

Source: ESS (2010/2011, own calculations).

Note: e(b) = Exponentiated coefficients; N (country level) = 24.

Significance: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

In terms of variance estimates, Model 1 explains the differences in variable outcome at country level by 93.2%. Furthermore, the ICC was far below 0.05: it fell from 0.148 to 0.012. In contrast to Model 1, Model 2 has much weaker explanatory power. The grouping of countries by welfare regimes added considerable explanatory power to the cross-country variations of early births.

2.4. Discussion of the results

In our discussion on gender differences in the transition to adulthood, we have focused on the importance of cultural values surrounding gender, the significance of WLB in job selection, the varying divisions of housework between men and women, and early births; we view these

as gender mechanisms that have a negative influence on women, decreasing their chances of secure and satisfying economic involvement.

Concerning *cultural gender values* and the *first research question (1): How motherhood is treated under different gender cultural regimes in Europe*, we have found that for men, having a child and living with a partner had no observable significant effect in regard to agreement over whether women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family; however, there was an observable effect among women in that variable. The share of men who agreed to the above statement in countries under Mediterranean and post-Socialist welfare regimes was higher than the share of men from liberal regime countries agreeing to it. For women in post-Socialist countries, there was no statistical effect, while for men the effect was positive; men in these countries were more likely to agree. Women from Mediterranean countries also expressed a higher degree of agreement than women from liberal countries did.

With regard to *the second research question (2): The observable differences between men and women in terms of WLB and the hours spent on housework*, significant differences could also be seen between genders and across countries grouped by welfare regimes. In terms of the importance women reported attaching to WLB when choosing a job, there were no significant differences between the first three regimes, compared against with the liberal regime. Women in Mediterranean and post-Socialist countries tended towards spending a larger amount of time on housework, while men's odds of spending more than 20 hours per week on housework, under post-Socialist regimes, were about 5 times higher than of men under liberal regimes. In the additional model, we saw the effect of lower per-capita GDP on the tendency to spend more time on housework for both genders. Even setting aside welfare regime-type groupings, when we analysed the national importance of per-capita GDP being lower than the EU-28, we saw a rise in WLB's significance in job selection. In lower per-capita GDP countries, greater importance was attached to WLB as a result of people being less able to afford housekeeping and childcare services. Lower income levels do not provide personal welfare through marketization, whereas this is possible under liberal regimes—people in these countries rely primarily on the strong role of the welfare state, choose to work in the public sector, which provides better WLB opportunities for women.

With regard to *the third research question (3), Factors lead[ing] to an increased risk for early childbirth*, we found that higher education levels decreased the risk of early childbirth for women. Early childbirths are a form of *linked lives*—the opportunities for women to choose and control subsequent events in their lives become heavily restricted by the

demands of caring for a small child. Under liberal welfare state regimes, the risk of early childbirth is greater compared to social democratic, conservative and Mediterranean regimes.

The most significant of the *individual factors* is education. Women with a higher level of education did not agree that women should leave work to care for the family; by contrast, women with lower levels of education did agree with this assertion, as did men with lower levels of education. Higher education levels increased the importance of WLB in job selection among men, while lower education levels among women decreased the importance of WLB. A possible explanation for this is that the prospects of finding a job for people with lower education levels are far less, and finding any job becomes a priority at the expense of WLB opportunities. Education did not influence the amount of time spent on housework among women; neither does it have an influence among men when marital status and children in the family were set as control factors.

The change of roles in the transition to adulthood includes leaving school, marriage, and having children. After each of these changes occurs during the transition, options for returning to school should be available to all those who want to improve their opportunities and choose further transitions in their lives. In this sense, active agency means making people aware, motivating them, supporting women to remain in school for a longer time, and providing possibilities for additional training after leaving education.

Living with a partner increased women's agreement with the idea that women should cut down on paid work in order to take care of the family, but it did not increase the same agreement among men; the variable increased the importance of WLB among both men and women. The birth of a child led to increased support for this idea among women, but not among men with children; it also increased the importance of WLB for women, but this trend was not visible after controlling for other influencing factors.

The present analysis continues the work of prior international comparative analyses of the role of institutional and individual factors in the transition to adulthood across different social contexts in Europe from a gender perspective; it had added in the distinguishing factor of per-capita GDP to complement other studies based on different types of welfare regimes. Lower incomes, reflected by low GDP per capita, do not allow for full utilisation of the marketization of childcare and domestic work. This leads to visibly greater involvement with housework and care work for both men and women in lower-GDP countries.

In our further analysis of the gender dimensions of the transition to adulthood, we intend to deepen the international comparison regarding the impact of motherhood on women's wages and on their position within the employment hierarchy. We have observed

that motherhood represents an important change in the transition to adulthood, one that leads to an increase in women's involvement with domestic and care work. In order to balance caring for young children with paid employment, mothers choose different strategies in the different welfare regimes; these include choosing less paid work, but better WLB opportunities, or either part-time jobs or jobs with flexible working hours. All of these options have the potential to increase the pay gap between women with and without children.

Policies for increasing birth rates rely mainly on the increase of baby bonuses or the provision of longer parental leave periods. Alternatively, a policy which more closely considers the mothers' wage penalty (MWP)⁹ is worth discussing, as parents thinking of having a first or next child do take into consideration the possible reduction of family income as a result of the decreased pay offered to employed mothers (Nizalova, 2017).

⁹ MWP measures the labour position differences between women with vs. women without dependent children.

3. The Voices of Young People on Institutional Support during the Transition to Adulthood

3.1. Framing the problem and research question

The transition to adulthood is an essentially important stage in the life of every person; it involves many difficulties that stem from both individual and social contexts. The participants in our survey—209 respondents from seven countries—have gone through this transition during a time of economic crisis and/or important political changes which have ultimately led to high rates of unemployment and employment insecurity. Youth entering the labour market for the first time are the most vulnerable in such a situation, as they have less experience and fewer personal contacts to potentially help them find jobs (Bukodi, Ebralidze, Schmelzer, & Blossfeld, 2008).

The institutional framework plays a significant role regarding the possibilities people might make use of when unemployed (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Gallie & Paugam, 2000; van der Velden, Welters, & Wolbers, 2001). Past surveys have shown that regulation, as well as organisation of the education system and labour market (Breen, 2005; Müller & Shavit, 1998; van der Velden & Wolbers, 2003) have an impact on youth's labour market inclusion, and therefore on unemployment and job insecurity during their transition to adulthood.

Labour market policies can generally be divided into passive (various forms of compensation) and active policies (programs for labour market inclusion, obtaining length of service, retraining, etc.). In addition, there are various other forms of financial relief—for socially vulnerable people, those raising children, and those in need of housing, heating, etc. An assessment of state support is usually made based on quantitative indicators of invested expenditure, the scope of compensation, the number of people included in employment measures, and so on. Similarly, the unemployment problem has been studied mainly on the basis of quantitative methods (Pernice, 1996), which cannot reach the depth and nuance only qualitative studies can offer (Blustein, Kozan, & Connors-Kellgren, 2013: 256). In this part of our report, we will attempt to fill this void by studying how the respondents have assessed the state support they received during unemployment in their transition to adulthood; we will do so by analysing the information received through qualitative methods.

The main aim of this section is to show the subjective assessment of respondents regarding the support they have received from the state and other organisations in periods when they were unemployed. For our purposes, using qualitative content analysis of information gathered from 209 semi-structured life-course interviews with women and men

belonging to three birth cohorts (1950-55, 1970-75 and 1990-95) from seven countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Norway, Poland, and the UK), we will focus on what the respondents' narratives reveal about the support they received from state institutions during periods of unemployment at the time of their transitions to adulthood. All interviewees had a primary or secondary education when entering the labour market and had experienced unemployment or job insecurity by the time they were 25 years of age¹⁰. In order to respect the anonymity of the interviewees, we have assigned acronyms. The interviews are cited with abbreviations indicating the interviewee's country, consecutive number, birth cohort, and gender.

The main *research question* addressed here is: *How do people make sense of their experiences of institutional support in periods of unemployment?*

Apart from the interviews (through synopsis prepared by the national teams), the analysis will also be based on the conclusions drawn in national reports supplied by the interviewing teams. Researchers from the different countries are the most qualified to offer precise information about national contexts.

3.2. Women and men discuss their transitions to adulthood

The interviews were conducted with people who had experienced unemployment and job insecurity at the beginning of their careers. What do these interviews tell us about the role of the state? We will present the different welfare regimes of the countries under study in order to orient the reader as to the institutional framework in which the young people's experiences of early job insecurity from seven different countries are placed.

The United Kingdom: a country with a liberal welfare regime

The researchers from the UK team summarised in their national report that the people from the oldest age cohort did not mention state support as a means of finding a job, and that in the opinion of the oldest generational group, unemployment benefits had been limited. By contrast, all the interviewees from the middle birth cohort had claimed jobseeker's allowance when they had become unemployed at the beginning of their careers; others had claimed disability payments or received at-work benefits to compensate for low-paid jobs; some of the interviewees had used food banks, while others had participated in courses proposed by the

¹⁰ The methodology is described in detail in Tolgensbakk, Vedeler and Hvinden (2017) and Stoilova et al. (2017).

job centre. There are examples of people who had been on unemployment benefits for most of their lives. This was the case for Tim, who has survived on benefits most of his life—he has used jobseeker’s allowance (JSA), a housing benefit and council tax benefits. Tim is from a family of unemployed parents who had also claimed benefits. He has no qualifications and was mainly unemployed between the ages of 19 and 23. When Tim first became unemployed, he went to Jobcentre and attended a variety of courses there. However, he feels that most of these courses led to nothing: *“There was a few courses, job search courses, and all that kind of stuff. But they don’t try to be helpful, it is kind of like making up stuff that isn’t really out there.”*

Tim has been part of a longer-term project with a museum which involved unemployed people working in the community. Tim described this as *“a really good setup; it was a nice project, but it didn’t really lead on to anything, unfortunately. There was so many people on it, and so many people in the same situation of, kind of, in the benefit trap really.”* (UK 20 1970-75 M). Regarding his experience when he was unemployed and seeking out support from the state, he felt that there was a stigma attached to claiming benefits, partly fuelled by the government. He generally thought that times were getting tougher, and was cynical about the housing benefit. He had learned that the limit a single person could claim for housing was £600, and thought that all one-bedroom flats were £600: *“... people should be able to have a much more affordable rent for somewhere to sleep at night.”*

Tim thinks the government could do more, adding: *“... [the government should] try and make the Job Centre a bit more of a friendly place I suppose. Not stigmatise unemployment as this terrible, terrible thing. Encourage unemployed people to talk with other unemployed people. And paint a realistic picture of the actual statistics of unemployment. And make people be a bit more supportive to each other.”* (UK 20 1970-75 M)

Robbie did not find the welfare agency particularly helpful for finding a job, either. As he argued, *“A lot of the jobs you see in the job boards most of the time they’re not even there, these jobs. Which is quite annoying, but most of the jobs seem to be waste of time jobs anyway, just like going from one to another”* (UK 06 1970-75 M).

Tim was not the only one to feel stigmatised for receiving state help. Angie signed up for JSA at 21, and it was particularly difficult for her to accept that she had to do that. She also felt stigma associated with going to the employment office: *“I didn’t want to go to that employment office because I thought it was a terrible thing to do. Nobody had ever been out of work in my family before”* (UK 13 1970-75 F). She was also embarrassed to claim JSA: *“I*

remember feeling absolutely devastated that I had to go and sign on and say, "I haven't got a job." I even remember saying to the bloke, 'I won't be here very often I am going to find a job. I am not like these people, I am going to find a job.' I was so distressed having to go this place". The second time she had to go and sign on, she reported that *"I was so depressed, I felt absolutely worthless"* (UK 13 1970-75 F).

According to Angie, her jobseeker's allowance did not help her to find a job. However, as the researchers from the UK team have summarised, the support from government schemes favouring women's return to education, along childcare help and the support of her family, helped her and her partner face difficult moments.

Jade had also received support from the government schemes for single parents. All Jade's courses were paid for by government sources. As she explains: *"Every course I've been on, the government's paid for it. It's been amazing really, when you think about it"* (UK 10 1970-75 F). However, Jade was also subject to pressure from the Job Centre to give up her course and find a job: *"I was on Job Seeker's Allowance and I was volunteering 16 hours a week in a school, plus I had a little paid job in the school, a dinner lady thing, but the JSA would not support me doing my degree. They wanted me to give it up and get a job, and I said, 'But I'm volunteering and I'm doing a degree, and I'm aiming to be a teacher one day'. They would not support me. They hounded me, made me go for meetings every week rather than every other week, and there was no support whatsoever from those guys. I stuck with it, yes, and did it"* (UK 10 1970-75 F). Jade completed the course in Professional Studies in Primary Education, despite the employment office trying to stop her benefits. She felt so bullied by the Job Centre to give up the course, she made an official complaint.

Despite the negative assessments made by some people from this birth cohort when comparing the situation now with that of before, they thought that the services of Jobcentre Plus had generally improved.

The youngest group of interviewees in UK shared the opinion that Jobcentre Plus (UK Public Employment Service) is useless for finding a stable job, and that it had often been hard for them to believe that it could help them when they were unemployed.

Josh was negative about support provided by the job centre. He said, *"It is just hard to find someone that will actually help you... they told me what to do and then left me to it. It was very hard to find a job after that"* (UK 25 1990-95 M). John's experience of the unemployment office was also very negative: *"Going to the job centre just caused me so much hassle"* (UK 21 1990-95 M).

Sadiq's experience with Job Centre was also negative and unsettling: *"I went to the Job Centre once. It didn't feel like a welcoming place to go, everybody was on a tension... I felt like nobody wanted to be there and there was a lot of, 'You have to wait. Fill out this form.' There is some arguing going on in the corner, like, they were arguing with the lady behind the counter... it doesn't feel the best place to be in. You want to get out of there as quick as possible and you are waiting in the line, 'I don't want to do this, let's go'."*

However, the state support that his girlfriend received helped them to cope with the situation: *"She got some grants for her school. She went through the benefits office and we got like housing support and what not, Council Tax support"* (UK 22 1990-95 M). Sadiq also recalls going to food banks.

The lack of career advice or direction given was often mentioned in the UK interviews. The young people had not been prepared for a working life, having received zero professional advice or guidance, either at school or from Jobcentre Plus. Kylie was focused on support mechanisms for post-18 vocational routes. She felt that there was little appropriate training provided to increase employability or help in finding jobs. The interviewee said that career advice had been limited and biased towards university entrance: *"there was no other option, no other support any other way... going to university was the answer"* (UK 23 1990-95 F). She felt that there should be a specialist agency supporting labour market entry that could advise on training and work experience to support the development of CVs that would interest employers.

The information obtained from the interviews shows that the role of charity organisations and participation in voluntary activities are of enormous importance for young people in the UK. Most of the interviewees had done volunteer work in some periods of their lives, which helped them maintain their mental health while unemployed and enhanced their self-confidence—they discovered what they liked doing and went on to professional development in the same field (for instance, Jade was a volunteer in her daughter's school and after that finished a course in Professional Studies in Primary Education). Volunteers have also received support from people in similar situations or from those with more experience in writing CVs, taking job interviews, etc. For example, Josh was positive about an agency to which he was referred after 18 months of unemployment; focused on improving his employability, he received help with his CV, applications, and interview technique. He also appreciated being in a group of job seekers and said, *"we got on really well, started getting a bit friendly and that helped a lot actually, as well"*. Josh also said that volunteering at the

charity shop, where there were “*nice people*”, had been beneficial as he was shy: “*I started to come out of my shell... [and gained] confidence and people skills*” (UK 25 1990-95 M).

We can summarise that the support provided by the Public Employment Service has been assessed by the UK interviewees as poorly adapted to the fast-changing situation in the country and cannot provide the necessary help for unemployed young people. Rather than getting more personal attention and support, the young people felt stigmatised when they were at the employment office. The researchers from the UK observed that the lack of affordable childcare clearly hindered the integration of women with caring responsibilities; the work-life balance was particularly challenging for single mothers. Disabled people also suffer from lack of institutional support—social workers find it difficult to adapt adequately to people with special needs. However, some forms of financial support deserve mentioning, as they have proved important for these young people in their transition to adulthood: the housing allowance, Council Tax support, and other social benefits have been received by some of the interviewees for a long period of time.

Interviewees gave a much more positive assessment of the local organisations or charities that had helped them. Volunteering was one of the main factors helping them (across all birth cohorts) in their transition to adulthood.

Norway: a country with a social-democratic welfare regime

Considering the Norwegian interviews with regard to the topic of institutional support, the observations from the country’s national report show that there were no common denominators or deep generational cleavages in these matters, but only individual differences.

Some of the young people were unaware of the resources offered by the state. Sofie, for example, did not know that the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) could help her get a job: “*Maybe I should have been introduced to NAV and gotten some support at that point, they have job seeking classes, etc., that you can go to. I didn’t know about that. I never identified with NAV, did not know they could give that kind of help. I did not think much about NAV*” (NO 01 1990-95 F). From what her friends had told her, Sofie had a very bad impression of the NAV system in the town she lived in. Toril (NO 02 1990-95 F) also had a negative impression of NAV and did not want to have anything to do with the aid system.

Most of the interviewees had received unemployment benefits or other financial assistance from the state in some periods of their lives. Kristina even said that the state should

help in cases of low income or in periods of unemployment. At times, she had received unemployment benefits, and occasional help in the form of emergency social security payments. She talked about having to beg and quarrel with the state employment agency to get what she was entitled to; eventually, though, she was provided job training classes. Kristina was put in a sort of library apprenticeship which quickly became a full-time job. However, she was not paid accordingly—only with the small benefit from the state agency. During that period, she was in the paradoxical situation of working full-time but still having to go to the social security office to get a living income through emergency help: *“I walked around at the library in the dustbins to find bottles [for container deposit money] to afford buying food.”* She stressed that she felt the public services had only given her the most basic help—they did not help her go on in life, and get into something more stable: *“The labour office, they just sit there, managing people and host classes. They don’t help people into employment. That’s my experience anyway”* (NO 18 1970-75 F).

Other interviewees had participated in different courses (for example, courses on learning how to write a good job application) and trainings proposed by NAV. Martin obtained job training positions through NAV, as well as different types of coaching. He shared that NAV had been helping him, but the system was slow. He had to engage with every new case worker. Some were friendly, while others were *“completely indifferent”* (NO 09 1990-95 M).

Elin shared a really positive attitude towards the state support. She had received social benefits, then found a temporary job that was partly subsidised, one of NAV’s employment measures. Elin admitted that she had received a lot of help from the welfare system: a good physician got her into therapy and other arrangements, and her caseworker at NAV was nice. She was *“(…) seeing people as a resource and not a problem, she had just finished her education and really energetic and nice, and she asked me questions to really get to know me, we really clicked”* (NO 13 1950-55 F).

Other interviewees preferred to rely on their own resources. Grete never needed to ask for public welfare. Among other things, she said, *“to me, that would have been very much a personal letdown”* and *“that’s also something I brought with me from my upbringing, that you don’t take from the community unless you really need to”* (NO 17 1970-75 F).

Several examples again show the important role of volunteer organisations: they gave these young people a way of finding meaning in life and feeling useful while unemployed.

To sum up, most of the interviewees used NAV’s services to look for jobs or get financial help for the unemployed. However, the stories told by the respondents revealed that

the support proposed by the NAV is not appropriate for helping young people to find a stable job. The lack of adequate services from NAV, combined with personal factors such as health issues (mental and physical disabilities), lack of an individual strategy or plan, lack of education, lack of career supervision from parents and teachers, created obstacles for the young people in their transition to adulthood. Although most of the unemployment cases were a result of education/labour market mismatches or of the financial crisis, the Norwegian researchers note that the interviewees viewed their difficulties as stemming from their own personal characteristics/problems rather than as being the outcome of structural barriers. The Norwegian interviewees, in contrast to the interviewees from all other countries, did not point to family formation, or young children, or other care responsibilities as a hindrance to their participation in the labour market.

Germany: a country with a conservative welfare regime

Many interviewees in Germany assessed the institutional support received from the employment offices as low or counterproductive. The young people who were living with their parents assessed the unemployment benefits as sufficient, as they did not have so many expenditures people living on their own would have. Moreover, the German researchers observed that, according to the interviewees, help received from families and friends was more valuable than the support given by the state or the employment office.

Arndt (GER 03 1990-95 M) did not receive institutional support during the time he was unemployed. He had many problems with the employment agency, especially regarding his entitlement to benefits. Thus, due to sanction, he had to survive for three months without receiving any social aid. He took part in programs like application training and team or communication training. He felt these programs were more of an obligation than helpful. His request for cost coverage of a further training measure that would have led to a forklift driver's license was rejected.

Dieter (GER 06 1990-95 M) also had difficulties getting support from the job centre. He never received vocational training, but only offers for marginal employment or employment through temporary job agencies. His wishes were not taken into account, and he was not granted the needed qualification training (e.g. the class B driver's license necessary to receive vocational training as a professional driver). When efforts to find a vocational training position were unsuccessful, he did not receive any further offers.

Greta was also disappointed in the welfare state due to her experience with the programs in which she had participated, which she qualified as ineffective: *“This really was an ABM, a job creation measure. So that we are not included anymore in the unemployment statistics. But of course, there was nothing beneficial about it”* (GER 12 1970-75 F). In addition, a retraining measure she applied for at the state insurance institution and at the employment agency had been refused.

Some people complained that the jobs they were offered by the job centre did not match their individual characteristics and wishes. Hedy received a marginal unemployment benefit, as well as regular consultations from the employment office; however, these were not helpful for her. The centre asked about and identified her personal desires about jobs, but the specific training offers did not take these into account and did not match her search profile: *“There were only textbook offers which, however, did not fit my profile or, rather, what I would like to do. They just looked for job offers matching my lower secondary school certificate”* (GER 16 1970-75 F).

Louise (GER 29 1950-55 F), for example, wished to start vocational training as a pharmaceutical technical assistant. She asked the employment office to finance this further qualification (the first vocational training had focused on helping activities that neither matched her wishes, nor the labour market demands) but she had to fight to get the support of the employment office and had to organise the training mainly herself. Eventually, she received authorisation and successfully completed it.

Besides the fact that the jobs offered by the employment offices did not take into account individual needs and interests, another problem was that most of the job offers were for temporary work. Eric for example, was disappointed by the offers made by the employment office: *“She gave me some stupid things to do. To collect bottles in a disco. And, I mean, I go there and tell her that I have a higher school certificate and that I had jobs and this and that. And first, one gets snarled at, and after that, she prints things”* (GER 07 1990-95 M).

Bastian (GER 04 1990-95 M), who had received Unemployment Benefit II, criticised the amount of the benefit as well as the bureaucratic red tape at the office. He was disappointed in his case managers. He had always received inappropriate job offers, almost exclusively for agency work (subcontracted labour). He had to struggle with the employment office to get further training in quality management.

Annaliese (GER 05 1990-95 F) felt abandoned by the employment service, saying *“they do nothing”*. Her wish to obtain a new training position was ignored. She only got offers

in the field in which she had already been trained, although during consultations she had clearly and constantly rejected continuing work in the field: *“Especially as I informed myself and they do not finance a second vocational training anyway at my age. This is just stupid. You made one wrong decision and then you have to find by yourself how you will get out of this”*. She repeatedly expressed the wish to see a psychologist, which was never granted her. Her requests often went unanswered. *“[...] if you got some job offers from the unemployment agency, all of them were mostly offers from temporary employment agencies [...]. Which is very frustrating, this goes hand in hand also with the economic crisis, it also has something to do with that”* (GER 05 1990-95 F).

It is important to mention that, as in the previous two countries (the UK and Norway), young people in Germany today have problems regarding professional orientation and lack of motivation. They really have no idea what they want to do after school. As Eric said, *“My problem is that I don’t actually know where I want to go and what I want. I don’t know in which sector”* (GER 07 1990-95 M). Many young people had broken off their vocational trainings or cancelled employment contracts after completing vocational training because they feel that it was not the right path for them. This created bigger obstacles to finding new job and hindered a smooth transition for them to adulthood: *“Because it is not as easy as you thought it would be after school”* (GER 07 1990-95 M).

Summarising the issue of institutional support, the German researchers indicate that, apart from increased enforcement of compliance with certain rules, there have been few changes in the labour market policy towards young people in Germany.

Greece: a country with a Mediterranean welfare regime

The Greek results seem to indicate that many interviewees had positive attitudes towards the Greek Public Employment Agency (OAED). Many of the respondents were satisfied with the conduct of the career coaches from OAED. Yianna said about the workers at OAED: *“They were all helpful. They answered all my questions and they were all very polite”* (GR 29 90-95 F). Stavros also has a very good opinion of OAED because he found a job through them: *“They [OAED] helped me a lot to find what I was searching for. The lady was very helpful. She made great effort. She searched continuously to find new positions for me, I was going to the appointments she was arranging for me. She offered me many”* (GR 24 90-95 M).

Despina also had a very high opinion of career coaches at the agency who helped both her and her sister to find jobs. But she admitted that at her age it had been very difficult, if not

impossible, to find a steady and decent job: *“But, no, I won’t find a job. Here my kids cannot find one, kids in their twenties with five degrees cannot find one, and I will find one now that I am 66 years old and only have a Lyceum diploma [upper secondary] and I haven’t even got the Fine Arts degree? I don’t think I will find a job”* (GR 03 50-55 F). She had also used her unemployment card to receive the social solidarity benefit, which was 70-72 euros per month.

Other interviewees also shared that the jobs they found with the help of OAED were not stable, or that they had not received suitable job offers; however, they looked for the cause of this in factors outside OAED, specifically, in the economic situation. The crisis has had a large impact in Greece, according to respondents in all cohorts, as it has led to job loss, fewer opportunities to start a new job, and a considerable decrease of income. The older cohorts compared the situation before with now, and were critical of the situation today for young job seekers. Acamas admitted that the situation was extremely difficult for all workers, and young people in particular. He blamed this on the government and its economic and labour market policies:

“I: It has been established that during the last 40 years Greeks have only made mistakes, at least the majority. First of all, in [name of town] there was a time when there were 10,000-12,000 positions for workers, the department here. And now, what is there? Whose fault is this, who is responsible for these policies? The workers? Isn’t it the politicians’ fault?”

Q: What do you think should be done?

I: They should restore the factories that existed back then. Whether this is called [food factory], whether Sugar, or [prepared meat products factory] or [tobacco factory] or other small manufactures, ... they should restore. Here they were subsidising factories, people from Athens who knew that investments were planned for here, they were taking the money and spending it without doing anything” (GR 05 50-55 M).

The current economic crisis has had a major impact on Julia’s work as a freelance beautician: *“My clients are not the same as those in the beauty parlour who are civil servants, lawyers; we are talking about simple women, simple workers, the saleswoman, the cleaning woman, who was removing her eyebrows and now she is calling and she is crying. She tells you, I don’t have four euros to do my eyebrows, I have it but I will give it to buy milk for my children. She thinks about it. Do my eyebrows, but who will pay for the milk? In the past, what was four euros? Or mobile phone cards; now you listen to people who say that they cannot afford to buy credit for their phones. I used to say, come on, what is ten euros for*

credit? (...) I never imagined such situations, I grew up by myself, I was not spoiled, but I didn't imagine such situations for us and for our kids. What are these kids going to live through tomorrow or the day after tomorrow?" (GR 14 70-75 F).

Many people have used unemployment cards, an opportunity the state provides for unemployed people. These cards provide discount prices from some companies, such as food stores, telephone companies, and free urban transport. But not all people are eligible for such cards. There are a number of restrictions on receiving unemployment benefits, such as working illegally or as an independent or self-employed consultant, contractor, or freelancer.

Among the Greek interviews, we have found a number of people who shared a negative view on OAED and did not believe that the state was helping young people. Mitsos has never looked for a job through the OAED. The only help he reported receiving from the state was the funding of his internship. He had a negative opinion of the government: *"I have the same opinion I always had about the state. There is no change, I believe the state doesn't help at all"* (GR 21 90-95 M). The main criticism levelled at the OAED is that it does not help unemployed people find a job. Julia turned to OAED and had an unemployment card for free public transport. She spoke with career coaches but they told her either that the available positions were occupied, or that they had nothing suitable for her age. In general, she was not satisfied with the services provided: *"[The experience with OAED] is disappointing as far as finding a job is concerned. They issue your unemployment card, they renew it, but as to finding a job for you, it is disappointing, I don't know why, I don't know where it is blocked. Before, the system was not like today, when they have the computer and they see that there are five positions, go and check; before they had a list and they said, here there are people demanding, take down the phone numbers and go. This was not working because for example, I happened to know a lady who was looking for labour and even if she would make an announcement at OEAD, the position would not be added in the list, they would keep it to give it to someone they knew. That is what was happening. For all the other services, OK I didn't have a problem"* (GR 14 70-75 F).

Some of the interviewees had not sought out financial assistance from the state because they were embarrassed. Alexandra had *"heard that other people who are unemployed are receiving but I have not applied because I am ashamed, I don't know why. I count on my savings, but you see as time passes they are reduced, but I am still ashamed of going to the grocery and saying, giving my unemployment card, and saying I am unemployed..."* (GR 01 50-55 F).

The opinions of interviewees in Greece were strongly influenced by the economic and financial crisis, which has particularly affected the Greek state. Most of the interviewees assessed the individual efforts of the officials at OEAD, but blamed the politicians for the situation of the state and the inability of people to find jobs and support themselves. In the transition to adulthood, the youth can take advantage of social benefits such as unemployment cards. The economic crisis, however, has had a negative impact on the size of benefits the state can pay.

Post-Socialist countries

Bulgaria

At the time when the oldest cohort of interviewees entered the labour market, there was no Employment Agency, with its subordinate directorates, to which unemployed youth could turn in looking for jobs. Officially, there was no unemployment, either. Providing jobs for all was a state policy of the socialist state. These interviewees were, in fact, talking about receiving state assistance to find jobs only with reference to the period after 1990. The interviewed women had received maternity benefits after registering as unemployed in the hope that the local employment office would offer them work. The interviewees of this oldest generation shared their disappointment in this state service, since they were not offered jobs they deemed appropriate. They had received job offers that did not answer their specific personal desires and were most often very poorly paid. By a later stage of their lives (at the age of 40-50), some women had taken part in requalification courses to learn a craft, offered and paid for by the state. Nevertheless, the acquired skills did not lead to a change in their employment situation, as other factors (living in rural areas, raising children, caring for the family, resigning themselves to their situation) had a prevailing influence and left them in the same insecure employment situation. An interviewed man from the oldest cohort had never registered as unemployed because he was confident he could find a job by himself, and also because he did not trust the state institutions.

All the interviewees of the middle cohort had received financial assistance from the state at some period in their lives—unemployment benefits and/or social allowances for raising a child. Nevertheless, the opinions of respondents in this age group regarding the social functions of the state were also primarily negative. It was evident that they mistrusted the policies for helping the unemployed and increasing employment, and rated the measures

undertaken by the state as insufficient. In some of the interviews, respondents plainly showed disappointment in the work of the employment offices, assessing it as insufficient and not appropriately oriented.

Lyuba (BG 13 1970-75 F) sought the support of state institutions to find a job. She had been registered in the Employment Agency for a period of one year, in 2014. She was deeply disappointed, and shared that during that time, the institution had offered her absolutely no support: *“They didn’t offer me anything. When I ask them, they say, well there’s nothing, there’s nothing, or we’re looking for computer experts or people with English and accountants and the like, those, highly qualified as you call them”* (BG 13 1970-75 F). According to her, the measures the state takes towards activation and social inclusion of the unemployed in the labour market are insufficient and not properly focused. The respondent believed that state institutions in no way improved her ability to find a permanent job. *“Well I had no support from institutions because they are supposed to offer you a job and guide you to some work, they receive all the job openings. Even if you ask, they don’t offer you anything”* (BG 13 1970-75 F). The respondent had not taken advantage of any form of support from any other state or religious institutions or public services, such as volunteer and charity organisations. The lack of social assistance for people with lower education levels is why the respondent would not continue her education. *“Plus, everything is paid for now, so there is no way. Before you would get free textbooks, now you have to buy them (laughs).”* Her family had not been receiving social benefits because, although her husband’s salary was 500 Bulgarian leva (about 250 euros), the family income exceeded the eligibility threshold for receiving benefits.

Olga (BG 19 1970-75 F) shared a similar opinion. She had registered with the unemployment office, expecting that they would find her a job. She was deeply disappointed, as she had received no help from the office during her unemployment: *“I was not offered any work. Nor did I get any assistance, no social benefits, nothing. I got fed up with them and just told them that I want to get a job, but they say, we have no work for you. So I got sick and tired of that; I used to go regularly to the office to sign the papers, but at one point I decided it was useless so I stopped going. They just do nothing, can’t find work for people, but now, I need money because I want to be with my family, with friends, I can’t sit still at home watching TV and not seeing other people.”* The respondent had received support from the Agency for Social Assistance—the monthly child benefits and a one-off allowance for a newborn child. She had also received help from a religious organisation which provided her with food and diapers for the children. She said this was a good but short-lived change in her

life. She believed the state did not provide adequate support to people like her for raising children: *“I could be raising my kids on my own [if the financial assistance from the State were bigger], and I will be much better off, more vibrant, I wouldn't be lonely anymore, staying home all day, but I would be out with friends. With no money, we can't go anywhere”* (BG 19 1970-75 F).

Besides financial assistance from the state, some of the interviewees had taken advantage of the programs providing jobs for the unemployed and/or retraining. Generally, the respondents who had taken part in various programs for reducing unemployment and providing jobs were satisfied, but they complained that the employment was temporary and that after the end of the program, they were unemployed again or were going from one program into another.

Kliment (BG 24 1970-75 M) had first been included in an employment program after being laid off from a canning and processing enterprise. After that, he was included twice more in six-month job-placement programs. In view of his situation, he assessed the support he had received from the state institutions as useful: *“Well, yes, more or less, it's some kind of assistance, it's something after all”* (BG 24 1970-75 M).

The interviewees from the youngest cohort had been able to take part in programs for subsidised employment, and in programs for youth employment (up to 29 years of age). Nevertheless, only a small part of the respondents knew about these programs, and those who had participated said that the measures had not led to solving the job insecurity situation, mostly because of the briefness of the programs and the low pay offered.

Galina (BG 07 1990-95 F) had not sought the assistance of the Employment Agency or the Social Assistance Agency before she began subsidised employment. Her inclusion in the program did not have a positive influence on her opinion of the state's measures taken to assist young people: *“In general, it does not help young people”*. The main cause she indicated for her negative opinion was, *“well, because, for instance, they hire them for six months or less”* (BG 07 1990-95 F).

Darko (BG 10 1990-95 M) felt that the job proposals he had received (*“... for instance, jobs like cleaning and that sort of thing”*) were unacceptable: *“[B]oth in terms of the salary and the work itself.”* He believed the state and social structures were working ineffectively to overcome unemployment: *“There is no communication at all, they are simply marking off tasks as done; in my opinion, it is not the officials themselves who are to blame but the system itself is like that”* (BG 10 1990-95 M).

Some young people had taken part in training courses funded by the state. Bogdan (BG 06 1990-95 M) had looked for employment through the Employment Agency several times. *“Five times I’ve registered.”* He did not feel satisfied with the work of the officials there: *“Instead of looking for a job for me, they sign me up for courses. Last year they signed me up for a conflict course. How is it possible not to have conflicts between people when they pay 8 leva a day?”* Although he had not found a job through the agency, the respondent shared that in the course, *“they taught me how I should communicate with people, not to quarrel”* (BG 06 1990-95 M).

Militsa (BG 14 1990-95 F) had never sought assistance from welfare services to find employment for two reasons. On the one hand, she stated, *“because I am confident that I can find a job at any time. I have been confident. And I haven’t lost the desire.”* On the other hand, she had no trust in the state. This was made clear with *“I would like to leave and I would do so as soon as I can, I mean I love my country but I don't like my state... because of this, because of the situation we are in—unemployment, low wages, low education, and countless other reasons”* (BG 14 1990-95 F).

The interviewees in Bulgaria had rarely sought or received help from charity, religious, or mutual aid organisations. This could be explained by the underdevelopment of these in the country and of the culture of mutual aid between people experiencing similar problems; the tradition of charity was interrupted in the 1950s, and was slowly revived in the 1990s. The state Employment Agency, and specifically the employment offices subordinated to it, are seen as a very last resort for finding a job, because, according to the interviewees, they offer low-paid work and positions that do not match jobseekers’ individual needs and aptitudes. Some respondents had registered as unemployed because it made them eligible to receive social benefits (child benefits, fuel allowances, etc.): one of the criteria for receiving such benefits is unemployment. In such cases, people are not very motivated to begin work again, especially as the minimum wage is only a little higher than social benefits, which are discontinued once a person finds a job. In not very rare cases, the interviewees had registered as unemployed but also received income from activities in the gray sector of the economy. Programs for inclusion in the labour market had not led to stable employment for them, as only temporary jobs were offered, and in frequent cases these did not continue after the program’s end.

Czech Republic

As with the respondents in Bulgaria, most of the interviewees in the Czech Republic also assessed the help they obtained from the Employment Office as unsatisfactory; it had offered them low quality or useless training. According to the interviewees, the jobs offered were generally of bad quality and poorly paid.

Bohumil (CZ 04 1990-95 M) and Augustin (CZ 03 1990-95 M) appreciated that Employment Office staff had helped with their job search, but admitted that they had been pushed to take low-paid jobs, which they later quit voluntarily. As a consequence, they lost the right to receive benefits.

Barbora had attended several training courses proposed by the employment office, but she assessed them as useless because they were in unusable fields of work, and she was unable to find a job after taking the courses: *“It is completely useless; it doesn't mean that you can find a job afterwards.”* Training was sometimes conditional on an agreement of conditional employment by the employer: *“You only get approval for requalification once you have a real promise for future employment”* (CZ 07 1970-75 F). The lack of job offers was the biggest problem for many interviewees when they were unemployed.

A number of them described the state's support as being too formal, pointing out other problems like slow-moving bureaucratic procedures, insufficient information provided, and insufficient efforts on the part of the officials who were supposed help the unemployed.

Adléta (CZ 02 1990-95 F) shared her disappointment in the work of the employment centre. She had not been offered any possibilities for requalification or subsidised jobs, nor had she received any information about such an option: *“I never knew that I could apply for a requalification...nobody told me that, they do not tell us what we could try, these institutions do not like to give us advice...”* (CZ 02 1990-95 F). She was only sent to a four-day course in “financial literacy”. She judged the benefits (parental leave, unemployment benefits, and social assistance) that she received to be insufficient for independent living.

Eduard (CZ 08 1970-75 M) said that the employment office had not helped him and the training courses had been useless. He said that people from the Employment Office did not care about his health and sent him to distant jobs: *“You cannot get there when you are disabled or unwell or it is just not possible to get to another town. But if you don't get there, they cancel your registration with the employment office and then you only get the lowest minimum, like homeless people.”* According to Eduard, the state's approach is awful; they demonstrated that they do not care about people who have lost their housing: *“The way they*

treat people, they don't care at all. Maybe these people did not cause their own problems, maybe they had some problems in their families, they are out on the streets; no one cares" (CZ 08 1970-75 M).

Some interviewees complained about the attitude of the Employment Office workers. Daniel talked about the bad conduct at the Employment Office and of social workers: *"They mistreat you very much, they shout, 'Where are your papers? I won't deal with you if you don't fill out these papers.' So I say, '[W]hy do you shout at me? Goodbye and next time, please do not shout at me!' They do this instead of advising you"* (CZ 06 1970-75 M).

Gniewomir criticised the attitude of the Employment Office staff: *"They had minimum interest in meeting my requirements... they were pushing me into retraining schemes in which I was not interested... I do not want to attend retraining schemes in something that I do not plan to do or start a business in... it would be a loss of time and a waste of money"* (CZ 12 1990-95 M).

The welfare system provides various kinds of financial support for disadvantaged or vulnerable people, such as unemployment compensation, a housing allowance and supplementary housing allowance, allowances for material deprivation, and child benefits. However, many interviewees were not aware of all the opportunities the state would provide. Marika (CZ 22 1990-95 F) had learned about all these possibilities from a friend: *"I think that the Employment Office employees are trying to discourage people from asking for benefits"*. She did not estimate these allowances as satisfactory: *"I do not understand how anybody can manage to live on that, in my opinion, it is impossible"* (CZ 22 1990-95 F).

In addition to the low payments it offers, the respondents considered access to social assistance as limited – unemployed people living with a partner or with parents are not eligible for financial help. The Czech researchers have observed that social assistance is in various ways restricted for previously employed people, married people, or single parents. However, the Czech interviews point to cases of people who had lived on social benefits and admitted that without social benefits their situation would be very bad.

Květa (CZ 20 1990-95 F) had received a disability pension because of her nervous breakdown: *"It is amazing, it covers my rent and telephone bill... for other people it is no miracle, but it is a lot of money for me."* She thought that if she had not received the pension, she would not have been able to cope: *"I would rather not even think about it... I would maybe end up in the street... I could not cope probably"* (CZ 20 1990-95 F). When her salary from her part-time job exceeded the limit, she was cut off by the employment office. She tried

to request a housing allowance as well, but she did not qualify. Since she was receiving a disability pension, the state was paying for her health and social insurance.

Some interviewees had never had any problems with the social assistance workers, and expressed a positive attitude towards state support. Eva (CZ 17 1990-95 F), for instance, said that the people at the Employment Office had done what they could for her. She realised they had offered her adequate job positions, and that even if they had offered her a better job with higher qualification requirements, she would not have had the capacity to work there. Although she regretted having taken a bartending course, and wished she had taken an English or IT course instead, she perceived it as a good thing that the Employment Office had paid for those courses and that it gave people the opportunity to learn new things.

The interviewees from the oldest cohort talked with some nostalgia about the state support offered when they were younger (in the socialist period). Daria (CZ 10 1950-55 F), for example, remembered that in that period, the state played a more active role in matching vacancies with job seekers. It had also provided secure housing options and benefits for employees (e.g., accommodation for summer holidays). In those times, the Employment Office also helped directly with job searches. In addition, *“They helped us a lot with housing, they would never let anyone sleep outside, it was much better... Once or twice a year we got extra benefits for buying furniture or paying electricity.”*

The payment of health insurance, which is conditional upon registration at the employment office, was one of the main reasons many Czech interviewees had registered there. The unemployed and people without income can thereby ensure that they will receive medical treatment, in case they need it; for women, health insurance is particularly important during pregnancy and childbirth. Overall, however, the institutional support provided during periods of unemployment was assessed by respondents as insufficient when dealing with the difficulties young people encounter in their transition to adulthood.

Poland

As in the other post-Socialist countries, the interviewees from Poland belonging to the oldest cohort had not been able to benefit employment office support before they reached 25 years of age because at the time, unemployment was officially considered non-existent in Poland. After the change of the system of governance, they could register as unemployed and be eligible for the services offered by the state, including social benefits. Nevertheless, some of

the respondents did not feel they should ask for assistance from the state. Bruno, for example, had not sought help from social services. According to him, *“It would be a shame. People are in a much worse economic position than I am”* (PL 08 1950-55 M).

Czesław had not requested any help from the public employment institutions, either, because he thought that other people were more in need: *“I’m a guy and guys have to earn”* (PL 12 1950-55 M).

In this country, too, registering as unemployed provides access to free healthcare, which proved to be an important motivation for many of the interviewees. Some respondents shared that the only advantage of being registered with the District Labour Office was the fact that they could have free access to medical services. Łukasz (PL 28 1970-75 M) shared: *“I was registered at the District Labour Office to have insurance.”* Henryk similarly admitted that his registration at the Labour Office had been beneficial: *“The Labour Office gives me social insurance”* (PL 21 1970-75 M). He said that he had also used the assistance of the Social Welfare Centre, which gave him money for food.

An interesting case is Małgorzata’s: she had been working in a foreign country, but in order to have insurance in her native country, she would travel back each month to register as unemployed at the District Labour Office: *I flew to Poland every month in order to sign on in the Office.”* (PL 25 1990-95 F). The office staff had not been aware that the respondent was concurrently working in the gray economy abroad.

Many interviewees had received unemployment benefits during some period of their lives. Despite the small amounts paid, they did assess the help as significant for people with no other income. More important for many of the interviewees was the possibility of receiving help in finding a job, a task the District Labour Office very often failed to accomplish. Łukasz asserted that the public institutions should have given him assistance in finding a real job: *“At those times only a well-paid job could have helped me, but the Labour Office did not help me find one”* (PL 28 1970-75 M).

When she was unemployed and experiencing difficulty in finding a job, Izabella benefited from the support of the District Labour Office. The Office paid her an allowance for a year, but did not help her find a job. She emphasised that in the 1990s in Poland, the situation on the labour market had been very difficult: *“At the office I received unemployment benefits for a year. During this time, the office didn’t send me to a single interview. There were monstrous queues at the labour offices then”*. She mentioned that the best help for her would have been finding her a job: *“I did not need to be given free money. I needed work then!”* (PL 18 1970-75 F).

Some of the interviewees had participated in internships offered by the Labour Office, but had not been able to continue at a stable job. The low pay offered during that period was also a problem—it had not permitted young people to cope by themselves, and they had been forced to look for jobs, often in the gray sector. Adrian (PL 02 1950-55 M) had been accepted for an internship on the recommendation of the District Labour Office. Unfortunately, the institution could not offer him the vacancy after his completion of the internship, which made him return to illegal temporary work: *“I thought that if I was accepted for the internship, I could also be considered for employment. That seemed logical. It was a waste of time to sit there and learn stuff that will never be useful, as they didn’t plan to hire me”* (PL 02 1950-55 M).

Beata (PL 09 1990-95 F) was also disappointed in the work of the Office, as it was supposed to have given her greater access to job offers; in fact, she managed to find a job by herself: *“I have found my present work on my own. I was formally employed by the District Labour Office, but in fact they did nothing about it. From time to time, I would go there to check in, that’s all. Then both I and my employer had to confirm our cooperation and I received a letter that I had been deregistered”* (PL 09 1990-95 F).

Edmund (PL 16 1990-95 M) criticised the red tape involved, the slow procedures, and the staff’s behaviour towards the unemployed. He had been reluctant to rely on the institution’s support. The very process of obtaining it was complicated for him: *“Filling in documents for registration in the District Labour Office took me two months”* (PL 16 1990-95 M). He also complained that: *“You have to come in the morning to register, and one goes there like cattle to the slaughter, with one’s head down ... I do not believe that the Labour Office will help me find a job”* (PL 16 1990-95 M).

Despite such negative assessments, the child benefits received by mothers did prove to be one of the basic income sources for many interviewees, and this money had helped many of the young families to cope. After 2009, Grażyna benefited from the support of social services as a young single mother bringing up a child. She admitted that, *“The social services paid for me and for the maintenance of the child”* (PL 17 1970-75 F). During the period of parental leave, social services had covered Kazimiera’s costs related to her daughters, such as food at school, layettes, and day-care. She had also received a family allowance, maternity allowance, and child-rearing allowance: *“In my opinion, it was not so bad. Somehow, I coped”* (PL 23 1970-75 F).

In Poland, voluntary organisations assisting people in need also play a role in helping some young people cope with difficulties during their transition to adulthood. Some of the

interviewees, especially those with disabilities, had received help from charity and religious organisations; such was the case of Dobroniega (PL 11 1990-95 F). She had been involved in some voluntary action organised by the church, which had covered costs disabled children's care. Dobroniega asserted that this had helped her overcome her embarrassment.

Other young people had worked as volunteers, and were thus able to learn about the problems facing many people; this experience allowed them to become more aware of their own situation and appreciate what they had. Elke shared: "*The fact that I worked in voluntary organisations meant that I knew that other people have it worse and somehow solve their problems*" (PL 15 1990-95 F).

Jagoda (PL 20 1990-95 F) also assessed that social support was meant for people in a more difficult situation. She had not taken advantage of the support offered by public welfare services. She believed that such institutions should support people who are in worse situations than hers: "*When I compare my situation with the situation of people who really need help, then I realise that I do not have anything to ask from the public assistance institutions*" (PL 20 1990-95 F).

Many of the interviewees from Poland had received state financial support during difficult periods, such as unemployment benefits, social allowance, social scholarships, and helplessness allowance; this aid had proven important to their ability to cope with difficulties during the transition to adulthood. On the other hand, most of the interviewees had relied on the state institutions for social and healthcare insurance, rather than for any real support in finding appropriate work that would have saved them from employment insecurity.

3.3. Discussion of the results

In a recent report based on quantitative data within the NEGOTIATE project entitled *D 3.4. 'How the economic crisis has influenced young people's employment (in)security'* Hora, Horáková and Sirovátka (2016) have focused on the institutional framework reforms carried out in the nine countries studied under the project, more particularly on the four policy areas they view as the most important for young people entering the labour market: the education system, market flexibility (job protection), income support/unemployment protection, and employment support (active labour market policies). Here we will discuss the conclusions drawn about the latter two policy areas, since they have been the focus of this text.

Their findings are that the scope of active labour market policies, which applies most strongly to the measures aimed at human capital development, was reduced precisely during the time of the crisis. Job search services and job experience measures in temporary job

schemes have prevailed in the search for faster and less expensive solutions (Hora, Horáková, & Sirovátka, 2016: 45). This, however, puts young people in insecure jobs that offer low pay and low employment protection. Moreover, the different forms of support for the unemployed are addressed primarily towards people with more work experience, and exclude youth just entering the labour market. All this creates risks for social exclusion (especially among low-skilled workers, migrants, ethnic minorities, and women) and increases dependence on parents; this has been especially true in Greece and the post-Socialist countries, where the social benefits are less. The authors consider Norway and Germany to provide much better income protection, and for longer periods of time, for unemployed young people. In the UK, the state provides less financial protection, but the duration and coverage are good. Greece provides poor coverage for the young, which is also typical of post-Socialist countries like Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Poland where youth benefits are poor, short-lived and paltry (Hora, Horáková, & Sirovátka, 2016: 43).

However, the information obtained from the interviews cannot be used to make clear distinctions between states with regard to their institutional support. In all countries, regardless of welfare regime types, this support was assessed by most interviewees as not suitable or adequate to the situation of young people. Financial assistance was important for many of the interviewees, but nearly all of them—even in Norway and Germany—assessed it as low and inadequate for providing an independent life. Many of the youth interviewed had not received unemployment benefits because they lacked the requisite length of service. This confirms the observation of the researchers in D3.4 that income support/unemployment protection is mostly given to people with longer years of service, excluding young people entering the labour market. Still, for many people belonging to ethnic minorities (especially in Bulgaria and the Czech Republic) and for the long-term unemployed, the money received from the state (in the form of unemployment benefits and/or social allowances) is the only income they have over lengthy periods in their lives.

Housing benefits were assessed as valuable but insufficient: they have provided support to youth at the start of their independent lives, but such benefits were received by very few of the interviewees (mostly in the UK and Norway). In all the states under study, financial support was especially important for single mothers, who would not have been able to cope without it after the birth of their children. These benefits were estimated to be particularly insufficient in Bulgaria, while cases in Norway showed that children and other care responsibilities had not been a hindrance to participation in the labour market. The work-

family balance for mothers has led to labour market insecurity, however, in Bulgaria, Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, the UK, and Greece, as noted in the interviews.

With regard to job or internship offers provided as part of active labour market policies, the young people interviewed have realised that most often this support provided temporary jobs that did not help them escape from employment insecurity; this was confirmed by conclusions drawn in D3.4. According to the interviewees, the trainings proposed by the state were not related to their individual characteristics and needs. In post-Socialist states (especially Bulgaria and the Czech Republic), opinions about institutional support were the most negative—the interviewees cited a shortage of information, improperly oriented programs, rude behaviour on the part of officials, and insufficient financial support.

The lack of state support, low incomes, and lack of jobs has caused some of the young people to move to countries with higher GDPs where they could find better pay for unskilled labour. In some cases, they had registered for social benefits in their countries in Eastern Europe, but at the same time worked in the gray economy in West European countries.

Education and the possibility of raising one's qualification were rated as very important because of the chances they provide youths entering the labour market; in spite of this, cases from Germany—the country with the best developed vocational training system—reflected a negative picture of youth participating in this system. Many young people there had broken off their vocational trainings or cancelled employment contracts after completing the trainings because they felt that those were not the right choices for them. This indicates the need for professional guidance for young people starting school, and then upon entry into the labour market. Lack of guidance for youth—professionally and in life—could also be observed in the other countries studied; it was pointed out in a number of interviews from the UK, Norway, and Bulgaria.

The interviews support the conclusion that young people are in great need of individual support, consisting of career guidance, job-seeking advice, and life advice, in the transition to adulthood. In other words, the need for personal support and guidance is evident from the interviews in nearly all countries, regardless of their welfare regimes. The youth interviewed often expressed that they did not want to be treated by the state officials as just another part of unemployment statistics: every one of them had his/her own specific history, capacities, and preferences for realisation in life. Support, career guidance, and the offer of stable jobs were assessed by youth in all countries as important factors in their transitions to adulthood.

Still, employers also play an important role in labour market entry. Some prefer to constantly participate in various programs, without creating sustainable employment for the youth who have participated in their internships. In other words, they take advantage of state funding received as a result of hiring the unemployed, but do not extend these people's work contracts after the end of the program.

All this goes to show that in order to provide a smoother transition to adulthood for young people, especially in the midst of economic and financial crisis, efforts must be made not only by the state, but by other stakeholders too—employers, job-seekers, and civic and charity organisations. Studies (Casiday et al., 2008; Paylor, 2011) have shown that volunteer work has a positive influence on the health and self-confidence of those engaging in it, which is especially important for people in periods of unemployment and job insecurity. In addition, when working for charity organisations, people can more accurately assess their own situations of vulnerability by comparing themselves with those whom they are helping. Young volunteers gain the sense that they are being useful and doing something meaningful while building a network of contacts and accumulating experience. Last, but not least, volunteering leads to active engagement and inclusion in community life.

Conclusions

In the first part of the report, we focused on how young people experience early job insecurity as one of the key elements of the transition to adulthood in all modern societies (see Shanahan, 2000; Barbieri, Cutuli, & Passaretta, 2016). We have contributed to this widely studied field in three ways.

First, special attention was paid to the incidence of employment insecurity in the early careers of young Europeans, especially relevant in the context of the severe economic crisis which hit Europe in 2008. Our report has specifically shown that a considerable amount of variations across countries in terms of early job insecurity can be attributed to institutional and structural differences in the educational systems, though these did differ according to the various indicators. Secondly, while most previous studies have relied on either objective (e.g., Symeonaki, Stamatopoulou, & Karamessini, 2017) or subjective (Chung & van Oorschot, 2010; Ištoňová & Fedáková, 2015) measures of job insecurity, in our report, we have tried to acknowledge both types of indicators so as to strengthen this trend (De Witte & Näswall, 2003). Third, we have contributed to the literature currently attempting to bridge the role of educational institutions, educational outcomes, and welfare regimes (e.g., Allmendinger & Leibfried, 2003; West & Nikolai, 2013).

In the second part of the report, we focused on cultural gender values, time spent on housework, and factors influencing early childbirth. This analysis has continued the work of prior international comparative analyses of the role which institutional and individual factors play in the transition to adulthood in Europe across different social contexts, including from a gender perspective. We have also added the distinction based on per-capita GDP as a complementary factor to those used in studies based on different types of welfare regimes.

We have observed significant gender differences in the transition to adulthood for young people living with a partner, and among young parents, for whom the needs for WLB increase. Among men, there was no observable significant effect of having a child or living with a partner on reported attitudes towards women cutting down on paid work for the sake of the family; such an effect was observable, however, among women. Both men and women in post-Socialist countries reported spending more than 20 hours per week on housework; this was true only for women in Mediterranean countries, but not for men.

Disregarding the welfare regime types, analysing the importance of per-capita GDP on a national level showed a rise in the importance of WLB in job selection for countries below the EU-28 average for GDP. In these countries, greater importance was attached to WLB due

to paid housekeeping and childcare services being out of reach for low-income households. Lower income levels have served as a barrier to people's ability to make use of marketization in order to improve their own personal welfare; people rely primarily on the public childcare facilities, choose work in the public sector—and better WLB opportunities for women, rely on the intergenerational family support.

Of the individual factors influencing attitudes towards gender roles, the most significant was education. Women with higher levels of education did not agree that women should leave work to care for the family; by contrast, women with lower levels of education did agree with this assertion, as did men with similar educations. Higher education levels increased the importance of WLB for choice of jobs among men, but lower education levels among women decreased the importance of WLB in the same choice. A possible explanation is that people who are less educated have fewer options for jobs, and finding any job becomes a priority, at the expense of WLB opportunities. Education did not influence time spent on housework among women or men when factors such as family status and having children in the family were controlled. Higher education levels decreased the risk of early childbirth for women, while the risk of early births remained the highest among the following groups: less educated mothers, women belonging to a minority group, mothers living with a partner, inactive women, and those living under a liberal welfare regime.

In the third part of the report, we focused on subjective assessments of young people from seven countries about the institutional support they had received while unemployed. Offering a platform to the voices of young people, we have contributed to the analysis of the transition to adulthood with deeper insight beyond the statistics. One of the most significant observations based on the interviewees' narratives that statistics could not reveal was that young people are in great need of individual support that consists of career guidance, job-seeking advice, and life advice in general during their transition to adulthood. The need for personal support and guidance is evidenced by interview responses in nearly all countries, regardless of welfare regime types. Youth often expressed that they did not want to be treated by the state institution officials as just another part of the unemployment statistics, but as individuals with their own specific history, capacities, and preferences for realisation in life. Support, career guidance, and the offer of stable jobs were assessed by youth in all country groups as positive influences in their transition to adulthood. In this regard, volunteer work also seems to play a very important role in the life of young people going through hard times. Therefore, more attention should be given to this area, and more efforts should be made to propose more opportunities for including youth in volunteer activities.

Our analyses and results have outlined some possible routes worth pursuing in future research. First, there is a need to capture the complexity of early job insecurity by taking into account its objective and subjective aspects, along with the factors at micro, meso and macro levels which influence on it. Second, future research should consider the divergences between post-Socialist countries. Different authors have convincingly argued that they do not comprise a homogenous group, but rather are heterogeneous in numerous ways (Bohle & Greskovits, 2012; Saar et al., 2013).

Much of welfare regime theory has been developed for Western Europe (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011), and therefore fails to sufficiently explain the specificities of Eastern European countries. The complex processes occurring over the course of the transition to adulthood is such that systematic analytical effort must be focused at the individual, family, and country levels, as well as at the levels of culture, institutions, and structures. In seeking the most appropriate theoretical reference point with regard to gender differences in the transition to adulthood, we have identified similarities in the concepts elaborated within two different theoretical frameworks—the capability approach and the life course approach.

We see the application of a mixed-method approach as very important for future comparative research on job insecurity in the transition to adulthood. The importance of mixed-methods research can be found not only in the application of different research methods, quantitative and qualitative, which are mutually linked and raise the same questions, but also in the fact that the data gathered via different methods mutually complement and clarify one another (Bryman, 2012).

Policy recommendations

What could be done in order to help young people in their transition to adulthood, especially in economic hard times?

- Reforms in educational systems should be undertaken with special attention to the different institutional and structural characteristics, as each of them has a specific influence on young people's life trajectories.
- It is important not only to raise the amount of money spent on education, but also to consider where and how it is spent. There is a need for better accountability over the distribution of funds allocated to providing further education and (re)qualification.
- The development of diverse opportunities for lifelong learning (both in formal and non-formal education), including forms of distance learning, is of crucial importance to successful job integration and to better career opportunities for young people.
- What matters most is not just access to education, but access to *quality* education.
- Attention should be paid to the career orientation of young people before they complete their educations.
- Measures that increase productive capabilities and skills, e.g., creating trainings and internships in real working environments, will be an advantage for school leavers without any work experience.
- A variety of options for those returning to school will benefit everyone wanting to improve their opportunities and choose further transitions in their careers.
- Labour market measures should be based on an individual approach and better reflect the changing nature of real life. Solutions proposed to young people experiencing early job insecurity have to be specified for their needs. In some cases, it would be better for training or internships before employment to be offered, and vice versa in others: some kind of job being offered first in order for them to acquire more work experience and earn an income, with further training later on.
- Applying gender mainstreaming in all policies and measures in the directions of further education and transitions to first jobs will improve the likelihood of women with small children avoiding early job insecurity.

- A focus on intersectionality, meaning the accumulation of multiple factors causing insecure labour market positions (e.g., lower levels of education among women from ethnic minority groups with more traditional gender-based family values), requires additional policies and support being extended towards the most vulnerable women in societies and local communities.
- Improving relationships between young people and local employment offices is desirable, but so is strengthening relationships between state institutions and employers. Many employers do not utilise state institution services when searching for new employees, relying mainly on internal networks and referrals. This limits the scope of their candidate pool from which new employees can be found.
- Better access to social services (these are provided by the state, but employers should also be encouraged to offer them) is needed in the areas of childcare, family health benefits, etc.
- Conditions should be created for voluntary activities that can reduce negative health effects on unemployed people through maintaining social interaction, but can also help young people to gain work experience.

The problem with youth unemployment and attempts at more effective inclusion in the labour market as part of a smooth transition to adulthood is multidimensional. Tackling it requires synchronous actions at each level – of the state, employers, and job-seekers. Additional incentives for businesses, particularly the ones that employ and retain young people after subsidized programs end, should also be considered as part of the bigger picture related to the economic and social context of the studied countries.

References

- Abebe, D. Sh., Bussi, M., Buttler, D., Hyggen, Ch., Imdorf, Ch., Michoń, P., O'Reilly, J., & Shi, L. P. (2016). *Explaining consequences of employment insecurity: The dynamics of scarring in the United Kingdom, Poland and Norway*. NEGOTIATE working paper no. 6.2. Available at: <https://negotiate-research.eu/files/2015/04/NEGOTIATE-working-paper-no-D6.2.pdf>
- Allmendinger, J. (1989). Educational systems and labour market outcomes. *Educational Sociological Review*, 5(3): 231–250.
- Allmendinger, J. & Leibfried, S. (2003), 'Education and the welfare state: the four worlds of competence production', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 13(1): 63–81.
- Andersen R. & Van de Werfhorst H.G. (2010). Education and occupational status in 14 countries: The role of educational institutions and labour market coordination. *British Journal of Sociology*, 61(2): 336–355.
- Atzmüller, R. (2012). Dynamics of Educational Regimes and Capability-Oriented Research. *Social Work & Society*, 10(1): 1–15.
- Ayllon, S. & Nollenberger, N. (2016). *Are recessions good for human capital accumulation?* NEGOTIATE working paper no. 5.1. <https://negotiate-research.eu/files/2015/04/NEGOTIATE-working-paper-no-D5.1.pdf>
- Baranowska, A. (2011). Does horizontal differentiation make any difference? Heterogeneity of educational degrees and labor market entry in Poland. In I. Kogan, C. Noelke & M. Gebel (Eds.), *Making the transition: Education and labour market entry in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 216–239). California: Stanford University Press.
- Barbieri, P., Cutuli, G. & Passaretta, G. (2016). Institutions and the school-to-work transition: disentangling the role of the macro-institutional context. *Socio-Economic Review*, 1–23.
- Blossfeld, H.-P., Buchholz, S. Dämmrich, J., Kilpi-Jakonen, E., Kosyakova, Y. & Skopek, J. (2015). Gender differences at labour market entry: the effect of changing educational pathways and institutional structures. In H.-P. Blossfeld, J. Skopek, M. Triventi & S. Buchholz (Eds.) *Gender, Education and Employment*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. (pp. 3–38).
- Blossfeld, H.-P., Skopek, J., Triventi, M., & Buchholz, S. (2015). *Gender, Education and employment. An International Comparison of School to Work Transitions*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

- Blossfeld, H.-P., Buchholz, S., Skopek, J. & Triventi, M. (Eds.) (2016). *Models of Secondary Education and Social Inequality. An International Comparison*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Blustein, D., Kozan, S., & Connors-Kellgren, A. (2013) Unemployment and underemployment: A narrative analysis about loss, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 82: 256–265.
- Bohle, D. & Greskovits, B. (2012). *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Bol, T. & Van de Werfhorst, H. (2013a). The Measurement of Tracking, Vocational Orientation, and Standardization of Educational Systems: A Comparative Approach. *AIAS, GINI Discussion Paper* 81.
- Bol, T. & Van de Werfhorst, H. (2013b). Education systems and the trade-off between labor market allocation and equality of educational opportunity. *Comparative Education Review*, 57(2): 285–308.
- Boyadjieva, P. & Ilieva-Trichkova, P. (forthcoming). 'Lifelong Learning as an Emancipation Process: A Capability Approach', in Marcella Milana, Susan Webb, John Holford, Richard Waller & Peter Jarvis (Eds.), *Handbook of Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Boyadjieva, P. & Ilieva-Trichkova, P. (2016). 'Rethinking Missions and Values of Higher Education: insights from the capability approach and the institutional perspective', In Rosalind Pritchard, Attila Pausits and James Williams (Eds). *Positioning Higher Education Institutions. From Here to There*. (pp. 41-62). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Boyadjieva, P. & Ilieva-Trichkova, P. (2017). Between Inclusion and Fairness Social Justice Perspective to Participation in Adult Education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 67(2): 97–117.
- Breen, R. (2005). Explaining cross-national variation in youth unemployment: Market and industrial factors. *European Sociological Review*, 21(2): 125–134.
- Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research: How is it Done? *Qualitative Research*, 6: 97-113.
- Brown, Ph., Hesketh, A. & Williams, S. (2003). Employability in a Knowledge-driven Economy. *Journal of Education and Work*, 16(2): 107-126.
- Brown, Ph., Hesketh, A. & Williams, S. (2004). *The Mismanagement of Talent. Employability and Jobs in the Knowledge Economy*. Oxford: University Press.

- Buchmann, M., C., & Kriesi, I. (2011). Transition to Adulthood in Europe. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37: 481–503.
- Bukodi, E., Ebralidze, E., Schmelzer, P. & Blossfeld, H-P. (2008). Struggling to become an insider. Does increasing flexibility at labor market entry affect early careers? An introduction, In Blossfeld, H-P., Buchholz, S., Bukiodi, E. & Kurz, K. (Eds). *Young Workers, Globalization and the Labor Market: Comparing Early Working Life in Eleven Countries*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar.
- Casiday, R., Kinsman, E., Fisher, C., & Bamba, C. (2008). *Volunteering and Health: What Impact Does It Really Have?* Final Report to Volunteering England, available at: <https://www.scribd.com/document/352350841/Volunteering-and-Health-What-impact-does-it-really-have>
- Chung, H., & van Oorschot, W. (2010). *Employment insecurity of European individuals during the financial crisis. A multi-level approach*. Dissemination and Dialogue Centre. Edinburgh: RECOWWE Publication.
- De Witte, H., & Näswall, K. (2003). Objective vs. Subjective Job Insecurity: Consequences of Temporary work for Job Satisfaction and Organisational Commitment in Four European Countries. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 24(2): 149-188.
- Dustmann, Ch., Puhani, P. & Schönberg, U. (2014). The Long-Term Effects of Early Track Choice. *IZA Discussion Paper No. 7897*.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Policy Press.
- Gallie, D. & Paugam, S. (2000). The Experience of Unemployment in Europe: The Debate, In Gallie, D. & Paugam, S. (Eds.). *Welfare Regimes and the Experience of Unemployment in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-24.
- Hall, P. A., & Soskice, S. (2001). An introduction to varieties of capitalism. In P. A. Hall & D. Soskice (Eds.), *Varieties of capitalism. The institutional foundations of comparative advantage* (pp. 1–68). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hofäcker, D., Stoilova, R., & Riebling, J-R. (2013). The gendered division of paid and unpaid work in different institutional regimes: Comparing West Germany, East Germany and Bulgaria. *European Sociological Review*, 29(2): 193-209.
- Hofmeister, H. (2009). Life course, In Immerfall, S. & G. Therborn (Eds.) *Handbook of European Societies. Social Transformations in the 21st Century*, Springer, 385-413.

- Hora, O., Horáková, M. & Sirovátka, T. (2016). *Institutional determinants of early job insecurity in nine European countries*. NEGOTIATE working paper no. 3.4. <https://negotiate-research.eu/files/2015/04/NEGOTIATE-working-paper-D3.4.pdf>
- Iannelli, C., & Raffe, D. (2007). Vocational upper-secondary education and the transition from school. *European Sociological Review*, 23(1): 49–63.
- Ilieva-Trichkova P. & Boyadjieva, P. (2016). Expansion of Higher Education and Graduate Employability: Data and Insights from Central and Eastern Europe. In V. Delteil & V. Kirov (Eds.) *Labour and Social Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe: Europeanization and Beyond* (pp. 207–227). New York, London: Routledge.
- Ištoňová, L. & Fedáková, D. (2015). Predictors and Consequences of Job Insecurity: Comparison of Slovakia and Estonia. *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 7(3): 21-37.
- Jaeger, M. M. (2007). Economic and Social Returns to Educational Choices: Extending the Utility Function. *Rationality and Society*, 19(4), 451–483.
- Kerckhoff, A. C. (2001). Education and social stratification processes in comparative perspective. *Sociology of Education*, 74: 3–18.
- Kogan, I., Noelke, C. & Gebel, M. (Eds.) (2011). *Making the transition: Education and labour market entry in Central and Eastern Europe*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Karamessini, M., Symeonaki, M., Stamatopoulou, G., & Papazachariou, A. (2016). *The careers of young people in Europe during the economic crisis: Identifying risk factors* <https://negotiate-research.eu/files/2015/04/NEGOTIATE-working-paper-no-D3.2-The-careers-of-young-people-in-Eurpa-during-the-economic-crisis.pdf>
- Levels, M., Rolf van der Velden, R. & Valentina Di Stasio, V. (2014). From school to fitting work: How education-to-job matching of European school leavers is related to educational system characteristics. *Acta Sociologica*, 57(4): 341–361.
- Maaz, K., Trautwein, U., Lüdtke, O., & Baumert, J. (2008). Educational Transitions and Differential Learning Environments: How Explicit Between-School Tracking Contributes to Social Inequality in Educational Outcomes. *Child Development Perspectives*, 2(2): 99–106.
- Müller W. & Gangl, M. (Eds.) (2003). *Transitions from Education to Work in Europe: The Integration of Youth into EU Labor Markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Müller, W., & Shavit, Y. (1998). The institutional embeddedness of the stratification process. In Y. Shavit & W. Müller (Eds.) *From school to work: A comparative study of*

- educational qualifications and occupational destinations* (pp. 1–48). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nizalova, O. (2017). Motherhood wage penalty may affect pronatalist policies. IZA World of Labor: 359, wol.iza.org.
- Paylor, J. (2011). *Volunteering and health: evidence of impact and implications for policy and practice*. Institute for Volunteering Research, available at: <https://www.scribd.com/document/352350631/Volunteering-and-Health-Literature-Review>
- Pernice, R. (1996). Methodological Issue in Unemployment Research: Quantitative and/or Qualitative Approaches? *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 69(4): 339-349.
- Raffe, D. (2014). Explaining national differences in education-work transitions. *European Societies*, 16(2): 175–193.
- Reimer, D., Noelke, C. & Kucel, A. (2008). Labor market effects of field of study in comparative perspective: An analysis of 22 European countries. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 49(4/5): 233–56.
- Roosmaa, E.-L. & Saar, E. (2017). Adults who do not want to participate in learning: a cross-national European analysis of their perceived barriers. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 36(3): 254–277.
- Saar, E., & Ure, B. O. (2013) ‘Lifelong Learning Systems: Overview and Extension of Different Typologies’, In E. Saar, B. O. Ure & J. Holford (Eds.) *Building European Lifelong Learning Society: The Enduring Role of National Characteristics*, London: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
- Schindler, S. (2017). School tracking, educational mobility and inequality in German secondary education: developments across cohorts. *European Societies*, 19(1): 28–48.
- Schofer, E. & Meyer, J. W. (2005) ‘The worldwide expansion of higher education in the twentieth century’, *American Sociological Review*, 70(6): 898–920.
- Sen, A. (1992). *Inequalities reexamined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shavit, Y., & Müller, W. (Eds.) (1998). *From school to work: A comparative study of educational qualifications and occupational destinations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shavit, Y., & Müller, W. (2000). Vocational education: When diversion and when safety net? *European Societies*, 2(1): 29–50.
- Spence, M. (1973). Job market signaling. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 87(3): 355–374.

- Stoilova, R., Boyadjieva, P., Ilieva-Trichkova, P., Krasteva, V., Yordanova, G., & Nyagolov, L. (2017). *An interview study of early job insecurity and consequences for the transition to adulthood*, NEGOTIATE working paper no. 5.3. Available at: www.negotiate-research.eu
- Stoilova, R., & Dimitrova, E. (2015). Emigration in the Perspective of the Search for a First Job in Bulgaria (in Bulgarian), *Nasselenie*, BAS, Issue 4, p. 91–113.
- Stoilova, R., Ganeva-Simeonova, R., & Kotzeva, T. (2012). Determinants of Gender Disparities in Labor Income: The case of Bulgaria. *International Journal of Sociology*, 42(3): 54–78.
- Straková, J. (2015). Strong vocational education – a safe way to the labour market? A case study of the Czech Republic. *Educational Research*, 57(2): 168–181.
- Symeonaki, M., Stamatopoulou, G. & Karamessini, M. (2017). *On the Measurement of Early Job Insecurity in Europe*. ASMDA, London, 6-9, June, 2017. <https://negotiate-research.eu/files/2017/06/On-the-measurement-of-early-job-insecurity.pdf>
- Tolgensbakk, I., Vedeler J. S., & Hvinden, B. (2017). *Youth unemployment and the consequences for life satisfaction and social trust in seven European countries* NEGOTIATE working paper no. 4.4. Available at: www.negotiate-research.eu
- Van der Velden, R., Welters, R., & Wolbers, M. (2001). *The Integration of Young People into the Labor Market within the European Union: The Role of Institutional Settings*. Research Centre for Education and the Labor Market, Maastricht.
- Van der Velden, R. & Wolbers, M. (2003). The integration of young people into the labor market: The role of training systems and labor market regulation. In: Muller, W. & Gangl, M. (Eds.). *Transition from Education to Work in Europe: The Integration of Youth into EU Labor Markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van der Velden, R. K. W. & Wolbers, M. H. J. (2007). How much does education matter and why? The effects of education on socio-economic outcomes among school-leavers in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, 23: 65–80.
- Verhaest, D., & Omey, E. (2010). The determinants of overeducation: different measures, different outcomes? *International Journal of Manpower*, 31: 608–625.
- Walther, A. (2006). Regimes of Youth Transitions. Choice, flexibility and security in young people's experiences across different European contexts. *Young*, 14(1): 119–141.
- West, A. & Nikolai, R. (2013). Welfare regimes and education regimes: equality of opportunity and expenditure in the EU (and US). *Journal of Social Policy*, 42(3): 469–493.

Wolbers, M. H. J. (2007). Patterns of Labour Market Entry: A Comparative Perspective on School-to-Work Transitions in 11 European countries. *Acta Sociologica*, 50(3): 189–210.

Appendix

Table A. Descriptive statistics: LFS 2009 ad-hoc module

	Description	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>Dependent variables</i>						
Unemployed	ILO work status: Whether a person is unemployed or employed	66542	.152	.359	0	1
Part time job	Part-time vs. full time distinction: Whether a person is employed part-time or full-time	56405	.207	.405	0	1
Temporary contract	Permanency of the job: Whether a person has temporary job/work contract of limited duration or a permanent job or work contract of unlimited duration	51266	.253	.435	0	1
<i>Independent variables</i>						
<i>Individual-level variables</i>						
Highest level of education or training successfully completed (ISCED-97)	Whether it was medium (ISCED 3-4) or low (ISCED 0-2)	95433	.805	.396	0	1
Orientation of the highest level of formal education	Base: General attained	95433	.518	.500	0	1
	Vocational education mainly (or solely) school based	95433	.160	.366	0	1
	Vocational education, which was also work place based	95433	.323	.467	0	1
Participation in education and training	Education or training received during last 4 weeks or not	95433	.368	.482	0	1
<i>Country-level variables</i>						
Stratification	Index of tracking	95433	.187	.909	-1.078	1.789
Vocational orientation	Index of vocational enrolment	95433	.554	.702	-.7	1.744
Standardization of input	Standardization of input	95433	-.103	.745	-1.114	2.067
Standardization of output	Standardization of output	95433	.623	.485	0	1
Expenditure on education	Government expenditure on education (ISCED 0-4) as a percentage of GDP (%) as of 2003	95433	3.87	.698	2.367	5.965
Educational expansion	Population, aged 20-24 with upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education (levels 3 and 4) as of 2008	95433	68.22	12.91	39.1	86.4
Regimes	Base: Liberal	95433	.102	.303	0	1
	Social-democratic	95433	.180	.384	0	1
	Conservative	95433	.159	.366	0	1
	Mediterranean	95433	.294	.455	0	1
	Post socialist	95433	.264	.441	0	1
<i>Control variables</i>						
Gender	Whether the graduate is a female	95433	.466	.499	0	1
Parents' education	Whether the highest level of education successfully completed by father or mother is tertiary or not	95433	.206	.404	0	1

Table B. Descriptive statistics: ESS rotating module (2010/2011)

	Description	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>Dependent variable</i>						
Insecure job	Current job: Job is secure: people have answered That it is not at all true and a little true vs those who answered that this is quite true & very true	1450	.446	.497	0	1
<i>Independent variables</i>						
<i>Individual-level variables</i>						
Highest level of education or training successfully completed (ISCED-97)	Whether it was medium (ISCED 3-4) or low (ISCED 0-2)	1450	.801	.399	0	1
Participation in work-related training	Have you taken any course or attended any lecture or conference to improve your knowledge or skills for work (12 months reference)	1450	.363	.481	0	1
<i>Country-level variables</i>						
Stratification	Index of tracking	1450	.254	1.00	-1.078	1.789
Vocational orientation	Index of vocational enrolment	1450	.590	.693	-.7	1.744
Standardization of input	Standardization of Input	1450	-.079	.746	-1.114	2.067
Standardization of output	Standardization of Output	1450	.534	.499	0	1
Expenditure on education	Government expenditure on education (ISCED 0-4) as a percentage of GDP (%) as of 2003	1450	3.89	.758	2.367	5.673
Educational expansion	Population, aged 20-24 with upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education (levels 3 and 4) as of 2008	1450	69.41	13.45	39.1	86.4
Regimes	Base: Liberal	1450	.090	.286	0	1
	Social-democratic	1450	.202	.402	0	1
	Conservative	1450	.230	.421	0	1
	Mediterranean	1450	.152	.359	0	1
	Post socialist	1450	.326	.469	0	1
<i>Control variables</i>						
Gender	Whether the graduate is a female	1450	.44	.497	0	1
Parents' education	Whether the highest level of education successfully completed by father or mother is tertiary or not	1450	.197	.398	0	1

Table C. Bivariate correlation coefficients between country-level variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1.Stratification	1										
2.Vocational orientation	0.46*	1									
3.Standardization of input	0.01	-0.16	1								
4.Standardization of output	-0.38+	-0.41*	0.01	1							
5.Educational expansion	0.46*	0.48*	0.24	-0.19	1						
6.Expenditure on education	-0.33	-0.10	-0.18	0.40*	-0.21	1					
7.Liberal	-0.31	-0.32	-0.13	0.29	-0.36+	0.11	1				
8.Social-democratic	-0.37+	0.18	-0.20	0.19	-0.01	0.39+	-0.19	1			
9.Conservative	0.40+	0.34	-0.18	-0.45*	-0.002	0.001	-0.19	-0.26	1		
10.Mediterranean	-0.17	-0.34+	0.11	-0.12	-0.39+	-0.37+	-0.17	-0.23	-0.23	1	
11.Post socialist	0.35+	-0.05	0.34+	0.12	0.60*	-0.13	-0.24	-0.33	-0.33	-0.29	1

Note: N (countries) =24.

Significance: +p<0.10, *p<0.05

Table D. Descriptive statistics: ESS rotating module (2010/2011)

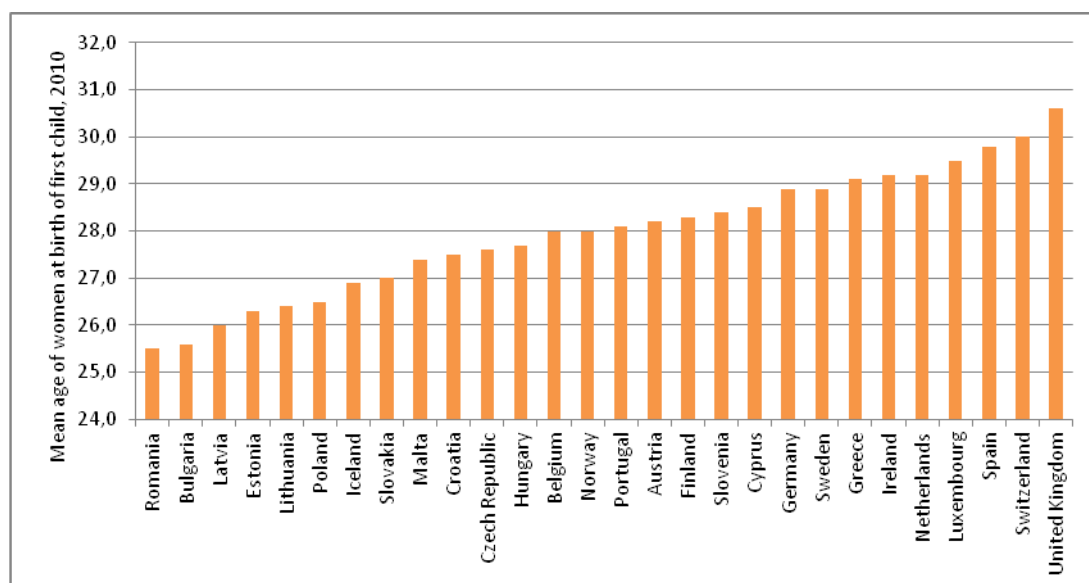
	Description	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Woman	Whether the respondent is a woman or a man	7,998	.516	.500	0	1
<i>Dependent variables</i>						
Cut down on paid work for sake of family	Whether the respondent agrees that a woman should be prepared to cut down on paid work for sake of family	7,989	.360	.480	0	1
Importance of work life balance	Important if choosing job: Job allowed you to combine work/family vs not	7,874	.831	.375	0	1
Time spent on housework	Total hours personally spent on housework more than 20 hours a week vs less	1,961	.280	.449	0	1
Early birth	If the respondent has a son/daughter in the household and the difference between his/her year of birth and the respondent is between 12 and 18 years vs not	8,000	.0215	.145	0	1
<i>Independent variables</i>						
<i>Individual-level variables</i>						
Highest level of education or training successfully completed (ISCED-97)	<i>Base</i> : Medium (ISCED 3-4)	7,998	.336	.472	0	1
	Low (ISCED 0-2)	7,998	.472	.499	0	1
	High (ISCED 5-6)	7,998	.192	.394	0	1
Minority	Whether the respondent belongs to a minority ethnic group in a given country or not	7,998	.065	.247	0	1
Children	Whether the respondent has children living at home or not	7,998	.159	.366	0	1
Living with a partner	Whether the respondent lives with a husband/wife/partner	7,998	.255	.436	0	1
Main activity	<i>Base</i> : Paid work	7,998	.386	.487	0	1
	Education	7,998	.425	.494	0	1
	Unemployment	7,998	.102	.303	0	1
	Inactivity	7,998	.087	.282	0	1
<i>Country-level variables</i>						
Regimes	<i>Base</i> : Liberal	7,998	.064	.245	0	1
	Social-democratic	7,998	.192	.394	0	1
	Conservative	7,998	.197	.398	0	1
	Mediterranean	7,998	.177	.382	0	1
	Post socialist	7,998	.370	.483	0	1
GDP per capita	Whether the GDP per capita at market prices, in euro in a given country is below the EU 28 average for 2010 or not	7,998	.547	.498	0	1

Table E. Bivariate correlation coefficients between country-level variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Mean age of women at childbirth	1										
2. Mean age of women at birth of first child	0.82*	1									
3. Mean age at first marriage - females	0.81*	0.78*	1								
4. Part-time employment females	0.61*	0.64*	0.62*	1							
5. GDP per capita	0.67*	0.61*	0.77*	0.79*	1						
6. Low GDP	-0.52*	-0.56*	-0.76*	-0.84*	-0.84*	1					
7. Liberal	0.18	0.44*	0.28	0.20	0.14	-0.33	1				
8. Social-democratic	0.32	0.16	0.58*	0.45*	0.61*	-0.56*	-0.15	1			
9. Conservative	0.22	0.25	0.20	0.51*	0.35+	-0.49*	-0.13	-0.23	1		
10. Mediterranean	0.26	0.27	0.05	-0.25	-0.15	0.41*	-0.13	-0.23	-0.20	1	
11. Post socialist	-0.73*	-0.77*	-0.80*	-0.66*	-0.75*	0.71*	-0.23	-0.40+	-0.35+	-0.35+	1

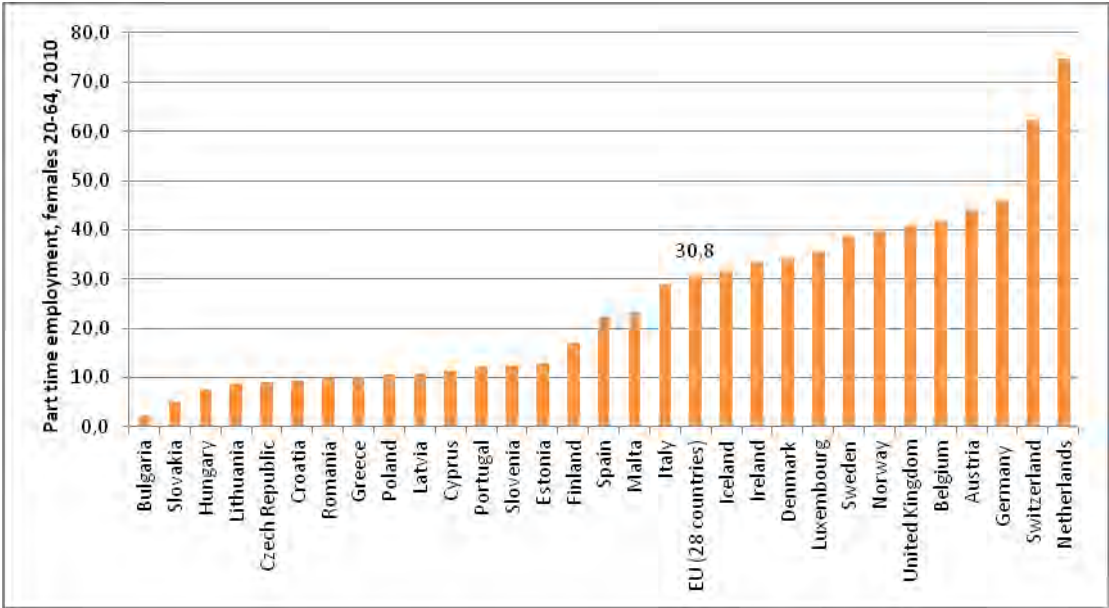
Note: N (countries) = 24. There is information for all indicators only for 19 countries.
Significance: +p<0.10, *p<0.05.

Figure A. Mean age of women at birth of first child, 2010 (%)



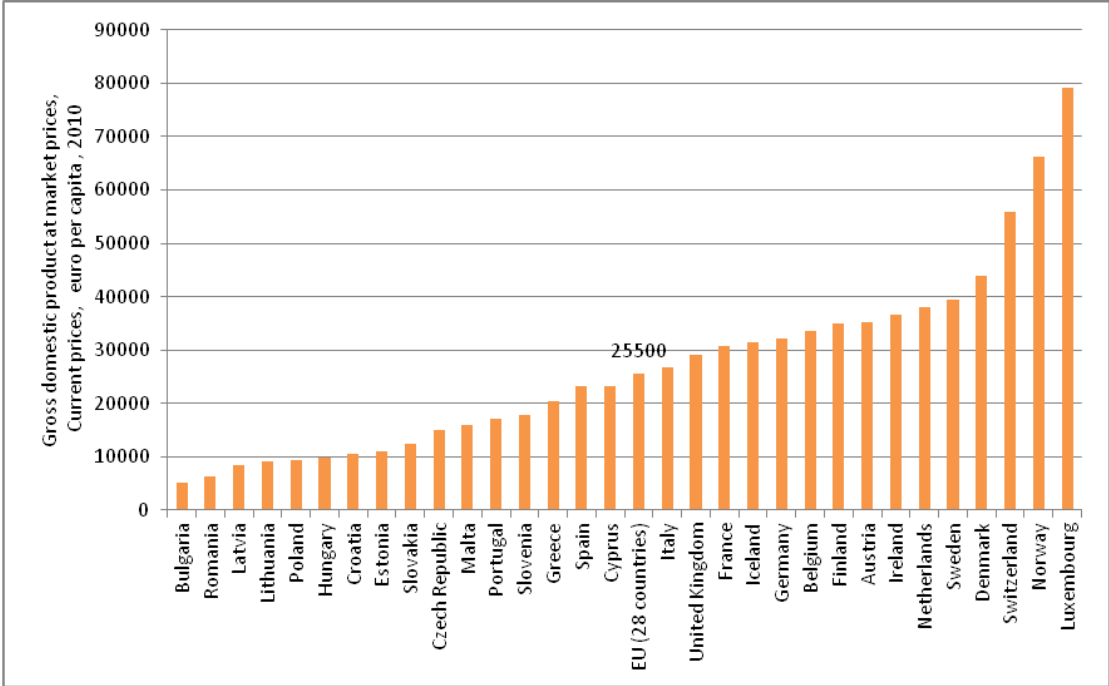
Source: Eurostat, data extracted on 17.07.17. Data code: demo_find

Figure B. Part-time employment by countries, females 20-64, 2010 (%)



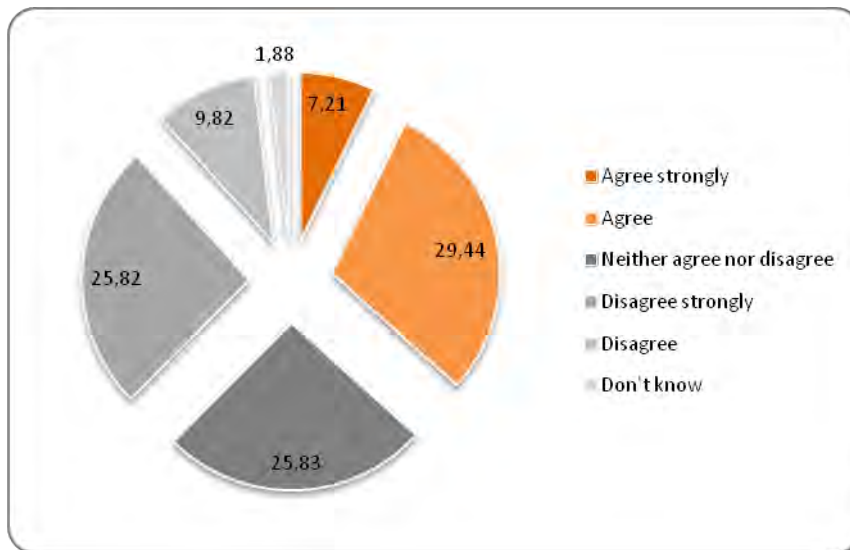
Source: Eurostat, data extracted on 17.07.17. Data code: lfsi_pt_a

Figure C. Gross domestic product at market prices at current prices, euro per capita, 2010



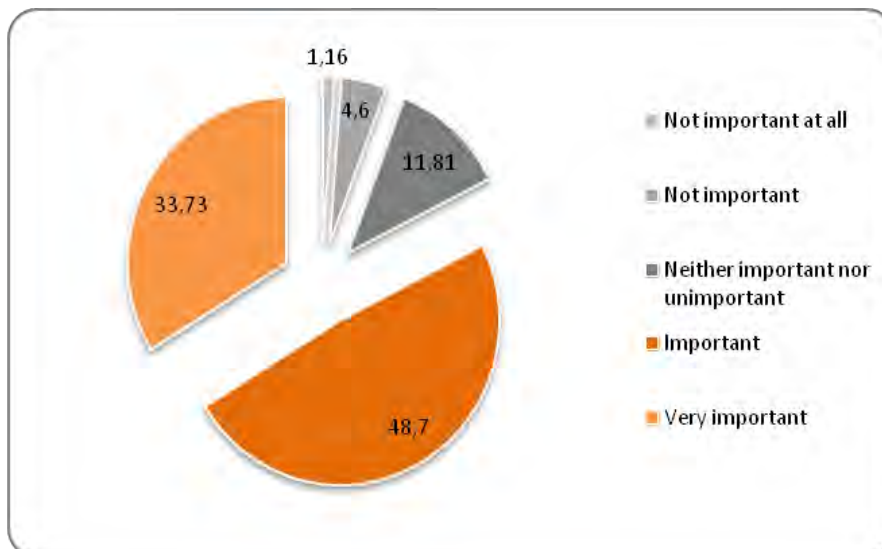
Source: Eurostat, data extracted on 17.07.17. Data code: tec00001

Figure D. Women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of the family—people aged 15-29 years in 24 European countries (%)



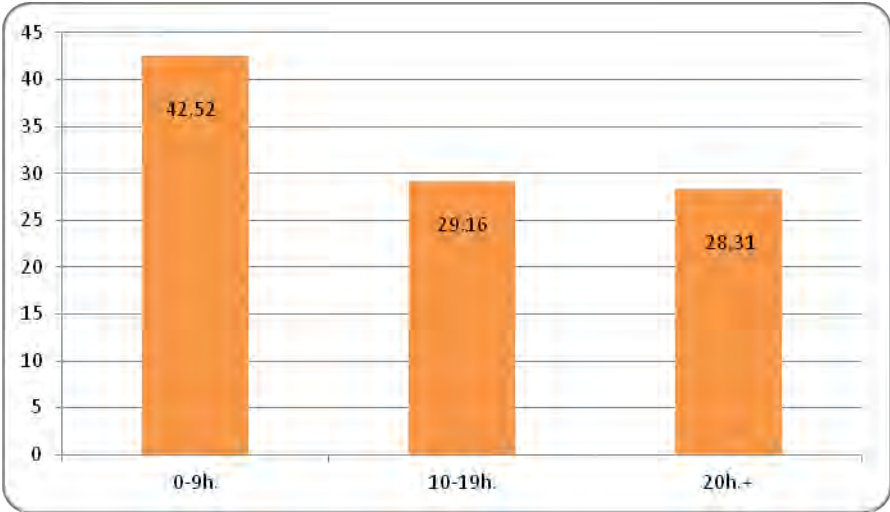
Source: ESS 2010/2011, own calculations, weighted (dweight), n= 7,989

Figure E. How important is it when choosing a job that it allows you to combine work/family—people aged 15-29 years in 24 European countries (%)



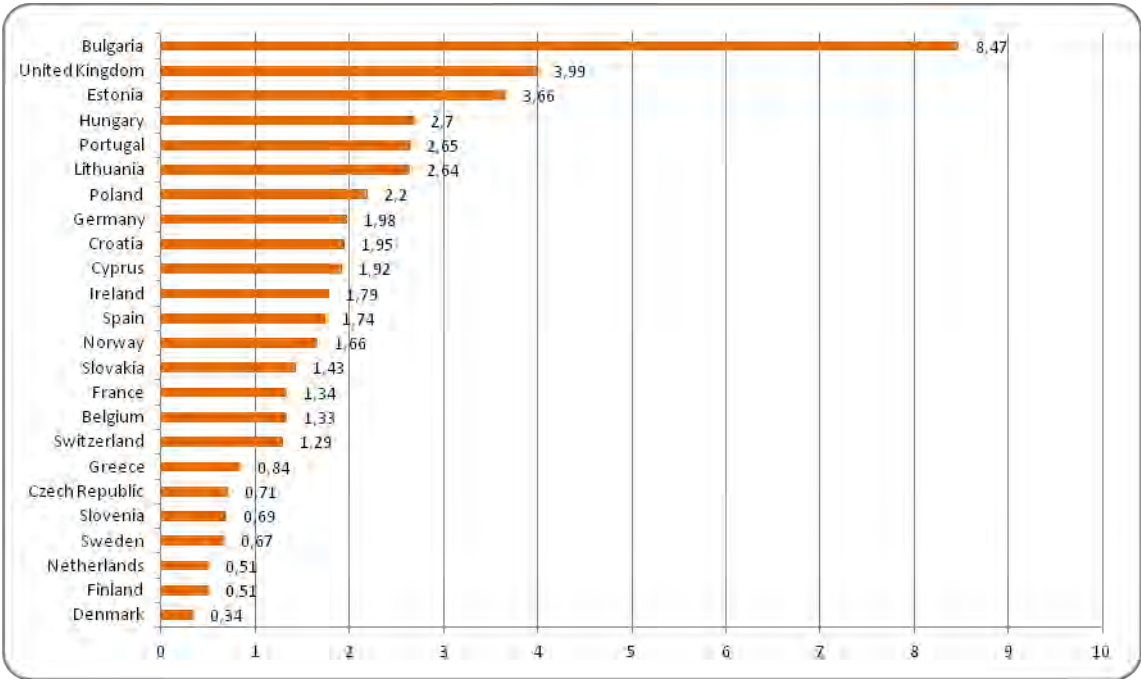
Source: ESS 2010/2011, own calculations, weighted (dweight), n= 8546

Figure F. Hours per week spent on housework—people aged 15-29 years in 24 European countries (%)



Source: ESS 2010/2011, own calculations, weighted (dweight), n= 1999.

Figure G. Early births by country—people aged 15-29 years, (%)



Source: ESS 2010/2011, own calculations, weighted data (dweight), n= 8,689

NEGOTIATE –
Negotiating early job-insecurity and
labour market exclusion in Europe

www.negotiate-research.eu
twitter: @NEGOTIATE_EU
Facebook: negotiateEU

NOVA - Norwegian Social Research, Oslo
and Akershus University College
of Applied Sciences
(HiOA NOVA)

Bjørn Hvinden
E-mail: bjorn.hvinden@nova.hioa.no

CONSORTIUM MEMBERS

