Starting Fragile

Gender Differences in the Youth Labour Market

Justice

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Gender Differences In The Youth Labour Market

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Executive summary

The current financial and economic crisis has an impact on many citizens in the European Union. One group that is particularly hit are young people, who face increasing difficulties in the transition into work. In 2011 the youth unemployment rate (15-24) ranked as high as 46.4% in Spain; on average in EU27 21.4% of young people were unemployed. The discouragement resulting from the lack of job opportunities has raised the inactivity rates, and a significant part of young people is not in employment, education or training (NEET). What makes the socio-economic position of young persons especially fragile is not only the high unemployment and inactivity rate, but also the changing labour market conditions. All over Europe, continuous full-time employment is becoming less frequent. Instead, flexible forms of employment such as part-time work, fixed-term contracts, and self-employment are gaining importance. These trends already show an impact at labour market entry level, resulting in prolonged school-to-work transition and increasing difficulties in becoming established on the labour market, though there are large differences among Member States in this regard. The consequences of 'starting fragile' are likely to be persistent, as problematic transition into work could be associated with a general reduction in long-term life chances (the so-called "*scarring effect*").

In this report the impact of the current fragile start of young people in European labour markets is analysed, focusing on their labour market career as well as on their personal lives. The study pays particular attention to gender aspects. As women traditionally have a more vulnerable position in the labour market, the school-to-work transition may be even more 'fragile' for young women. At the same time, there are indications that young men face difficulties as well, e.g. unemployment rates have risen in particular in the sectors which are male-dominated. In addition, current policy approaches both at the European and national level to support the school-to-work transition are analysed, with attention to their potential and actual gender impact.

The analysis is based on the ELFS and EU-SILC data bases. In addition, a more in – depth analysis and policy examples based on national data sources are provided for a set of ten Member States representative of different socio-economic conditions and policy approaches (CZ, DE, DK, ES, FR, IT, LV, NL, SK and the UK). The youth category considered in the report include the 15-29 years old. Whenever relevant for the analysis and according to the availability of comparative data, the analysis considers 15-24 and 25-29 age sub-groups.

The crisis has worsened the labour market conditions more for young men, but NEET rates remain higher and employment rates lower for young women

Young people have been particularly hit by the current economic crisis as well as by the changing labour market conditions, with flexible forms of employment gaining importance in all Member States. Between 2007 and 2011, the youth (aged 15-29) employment rate dropped by 3.3 percentage points and the unemployment rate increased by 4.7 percentage points. Young people accounted for almost 35% of total unemployment growth and the unemployment rate differential between youth and adults widened. Furthermore, discouragement resulting from the lack of job opportunities has raised the inactivity rate, so that the NEET rate (e.g. the percentage of the 15-29 population who is not employed and not involved in further education or training) has reached 15.4% in 2011 in the EU27. In contrast to past recessions, this time the increase in the NEET rate has also involved young highly educated workers.

The crisis has worsened the labour market conditions more for young men (particularly those aged 15-24) than for young women. The sharp increase in the unemployment rate of young males has reversed gender gaps, so that in 2011 young men unemployment rates are higher than female ones in most of the EU27 countries. In spite of these trends, NEET rates remain higher for females, and employment rates lower, particularly for the 25-29 age group, when many young women have children and leave the labour market: NEET rates reach 24.7% among young women aged 25-29 relative to 15% among young men in the same age bracket. Furthermore, young NEET women show a greater persistence in the status and lower turnover rates than men, also because it is especially the inactive component of NEETs that is higher for females. Among young women the inactivity component accounts for 64% (42% not wanting to work and 22% wanting to work); whereas among young men it accounts for only 36%.

Inactivity appears to be largely due to family responsibilities, even if young women are also more likely to be discouraged workers than young men, particularly in some southern (Italy and Malta) and eastern countries (Latvia, Poland and Romania). When employed, young women more often hold part-time and temporary jobs and tend to earn lower monthly wages than their male counterparts. There are, however, large country differences, with the labour market position of young women being particularly negative in southern and eastern European countries.

The econometric analysis of the individual and household determinants of gender gaps in the youth labour market confirms that, even among the young, gender gaps are heavily influenced by the presence of children and to a lesser extent by the level of education. Family composition, especially the presence of children, plays an important role in influencing gender differences in inactivity, employment and part-time work. For example, the presence of children increases the gender difference in the probability of being NEET-inactive from 10 (in the Netherlands) to 47 (in the Czech Republic) percentage points, with a relative larger adverse effect in eastern countries with respect to western ones. In all countries taken into consideration, the gender gap among the NEET-inactive without children is very small and sometimes negative (as in the case of Germany, France and the Slovak Republic), confirming that gender differences in inactivity are mainly driven by the behaviour of young women with children. Similarly, the presence of children further exacerbates the gender differences in employment, while it increases gender differences in part-time

employment. The results also confirm the positive correlation between high education and female participation: highly educated women are relatively more likely to be either employed (full time) or unemployed and less likely to be out of the labour force.

The effect of other family characteristics (such as living in the same household as the parents) and of nationality is less clear-cut, since it is not the same for all the labour market indicators across countries. However the descriptive analysis shows that young people with a migrant background are more likely to be NEET than the native population, with NEET rates being particularly high for non EU young women (NEET rate of 33.6%).

Early career patterns differ between genders with women falling more often into unsuccessful path than men

Chapter 2 focuses on the school-to-work transitions in Europe, using micro data from the 2009 Ad hoc module of the EU LFS. Analysis shows that the share of temporary jobs among first jobs varies to a very large extent across European countries, ranging from 3 to more than 60 per cent. The difference between men and women is rather small; women do, however, start more often in a double fragile position, that is with a temporary and part-time job. The share of temporary first jobs is also considerably higher among the low educated in all countries. There is some evidence that early careers have become more volatile in the last 10 years. The share of young persons who started working within one year after graduation is higher among recent graduates compared to those who have graduated 10 years ago, despite them graduating during a time of economic crisis (2008). In addition, the share of young persons that have already left their first job again one year after graduation is twice as high for recent graduates than for those who have graduated 10 or 15 years ago. Approximately half of young people spent the period between graduation and the first significant job mainly unemployed and searching for a job; this share is higher among women than men. One fifth of both genders report that they spent this period mainly working in consecutive small, short-term jobs of less than three months. Inactivity in general is more common among young women than men, in particular due to family responsibilities.
The first job represents the first step in the labour market career of a young worker, but the school-to-work transition phase is often not completed at that point. Based on the available EU LFS data, which provides information on labour market status for a maximum of 4 time periods (immediately after graduation, information on the first job, status one year prior to the survey and at the time of the survey), transition profiles have been constructed as an indication of early career mobility of young workers. When sorting the transitions profiles in terms of successful (that is, ending with a permanent contract) and unsuccessful (all other), it appears that about 60% of young workers is successful. Women more often fall into unsuccessful paths than men, illustrating the fact that early career patterns not only differ between the genders but also that women have a more fragile start than men in most EU-countries.
Two opposing views have been formulated regarding the impact of temporary jobs on subsequent labour market success. The “stepping stone hypothesis” considers a temporary job as a useful first step towards a permanent job, providing work experience and thereby decreasing the time between graduation and a stable position in the labour market. The dead end view, on the other hand, expresses concern that

temporary contracts may entrap young workers in a weak labour market position, due to the disadvantages associated with this type of employment (less training, worse pay and working conditions). Both hypotheses are tested jointly by means of two regression analysis. The results indicate that starting with a temporary first job as opposed to a permanent does not have a negative impact on being in a permanent position in 2009, which clearly opposes the dead end view. However, the stepping stone hypothesis is not completely confirmed either as an initial (limited) period of unemployment has a positive impact on the chance to be in a stable position and a negative impact on the likelihood to be unemployed in 2009. This is in contrast to the stepping stone view that prefers temporary jobs to unemployment at all times. Especially investing some initial time in the search for an adequate first job in terms of level of education improves the chances of having a stable position in 2009. With respect to gender, it appears that young men do find a permanent job more often than young women. The number of transitions seems to have a negative impact; more detailed analysis shows that for women the negative impact of the number of transitions seems to be stronger than for men.

A fragile start has a large impact on the opportunity to start an independent life

The difficulties young persons face in entering the labour market have a clear impact on the opportunities to start an independent life. Based on qualitative information from ten EU Member States (CZ, DK, FR, DE, IT, LV, NL, SK, ES and the UK), in chapter 3 three aspects have been analysed: level of social protection, opportunities to live independently, and opportunities of starting a family.

Sufficient means are an essential precondition for an independent life. As unemployment and inactivity rates among young people are high, a large group remains dependent on their parents or have to apply for social security. However, eligibility criteria in social security limit the access of young people to unemployment benefits and social assistance is generally rather limited. The available information suggests that there is no direct discrimination between (young) men and women with respect to access to/coverage of social security. There is, however, an indirect impact of the type of contracts. As women work more often in temporary and/or part-time contracts, they are less likely to become eligible and their entitlements might be lower. Long periods of unemployment generally have a negative impact on pensions. For women, this adds to the negative impact of working part-time and interrupting one's career due to care responsibilities.

Living an independent life implies leaving the parental home. The timing of this transition seems highly country-specific and related to factors such as the educational system and cultural norms. In northern and continental countries, young people leave the parental home rather early, facilitated by the income of the family. In addition, they are covered by relatively generous welfare state benefits. In southern and eastern countries, young people leave the parental home quite late and welfare benefits are less generous. In all countries women move out of the parental home on average at an earlier age than men. There are indications that the number of young people returning to the parental home is increasing. Systematic data are lacking though. The housing market is a crucial factor influencing the opportunities to live independently. In most Member States there is a lack of affordable houses to rent or to buy; moreover criteria to get mortgages have become stricter. In general the financial situation of young people seems to deteriorate as more of them face

increasing student debts. Again, exact figures are lacking.
Starting a family is an important milestone in life. The precarious position in the labour market has a different impact on young men and women in this respect. During unemployment, women - in particular the low skilled - may be more inclined to start a family, whereas men try to find a more stable job first. Access to social services that support parenthood, such as maternity leave and parental leave, is often based on a (solid) employment status. As a result, it is more difficult for young persons to claim such services. In addition, affordable childcare services are often not available. The lack of facilities may increase the likelihood that young women become inactive, which can have a negative long-term career impact.

The need for a greater attention to gender differences in youth policies

The particularly vulnerable labour market position of young women might be due to labour market discrimination, a higher probability to be employed with part-time and/or temporary employment contracts or in the informal economy, gender differences in educational choices and skill mismatches, and, especially, in household roles and care responsibilities.
However individual and family conditions do not completely explain the wide country differences in youth labour market conditions and in gender gaps. National policy regimes and economic conditions are other important factors. Furthermore, the different position of men and women in the labour market and in the household might also imply that there are gender differences in the effects of policies targeted to the youth and, more generally, in those policies affecting labour demand and supply.
Chapter 4 focuses on the policy approaches adopted by European countries to tackle youth difficulties in the labour market in a gender perspective. These policies are becoming a central feature of European Union policy making, both at EU and national levels, however attention to gender differences is still limited, even if increasing in recent years.
Given the wide range of factors impacting upon the labour market position of young women and men, the analysis considers active and passive labour policies, education and training, employment and product market regulation, family-related taxation and work-life balance policies. The analysis is based on: an original dataset of policy indicators for all Member States over the 1998-2010 period, the information gathered by national experts in the 10 selected Member States, and the secondary analysis of existing documents and evaluations available at EU level.
Policies supporting the work-life balance and facilitating the school-to-work transitions appear to be particularly important in reducing youth gender gaps while improving the labour market conditions of young women. Those countries characterized by a policy approach focused on the dual system (like AT and DE) and the Nordic countries, characterized by a well-developed support to the work-life balance, present much lower gender gaps in youth labour conditions relative to other countries, as well as higher employment rates and lower unemployment and NEET inactivity rates for both young women and young men. Measures to reduce gender stereotyping and segregation in education and training appear also important to increase the employability of young women and to improve their future earnings and socio-economic conditions.
Well targeted labour market policies could be effective, but often lack gender – specific measures and young women are much less involved than young men in active labour market policies and are less supported by passive ones. In 2010 the average coverage

rate in ALMP is 32.3% for young women and 42.3% for young males. The gender gap in coverage rates is particularly high in training measures (17.1% for young women relative to 26.8% for young men). The coverage rate in unemployment income support measures is only 18% for young women, relative to 28.4% for young, probably due to the higher incidence of inactivity rather than unemployment among young women. A greater access of women to ALMPs could be ensured for example through complementary measures supporting care responsibilities.

A more in-depth analysis of measures recently adopted in Member States to support youth employment shows that attention to gender differences is very recent and still limited. Apprenticeships schemes, support to youth entrepreneurship, job guarantee schemes, occupational orientation programmes and employment incentives might have very different effects for young men and women due to gender segregation in education and employment and gender differences in care responsibilities. It is thus crucial to develop a gender perspective, to enrich the policy debate on youth and support the implementation of more effective policies. For example, preventive measures are mainly addressing early school leaving, a predominantly male phenomenon, while attention to gender stereotyping and segregation in education and training is still scarce. Reform of curricula, particularly regarding gender stereotypes, setting targets for gender balance in courses, career guidance measures and media campaigns to tackle gender stereotyping at a young age and encourage girls and boys into a wider choice of educational paths and occupations are important to improve employment opportunities and reduce educational mismatch. In recent years attention to these issues in educational policies is increasing, however the crisis and budget constraints are rapidly reducing public funding for these programmes.

As for reintegration measures, the validation of informal and non-formal learning acquired outside the classroom may be relevant, as girls may have several opportunities to be involved in outside experiences. Regarding measures to facilitate school-to-work transitions and to foster employability, greater attention should be given to reducing gender stereotyping in career choices and to increase the involvement of young women in high quality apprenticeship programmes. Furthermore, gender differences should be considered in the design of and implementation of these measures, such as the provision of care services during training and opening hours that facilitate work-life conciliation.

Measures to support entrepreneurship should specifically address the greater constraints (for example in access to financial credit) young women face in starting their own business relative to young men. Policies addressing recruitment and retention policies in companies, targeted employment subsidies and policies supporting caring responsibilities, especially when they encourage the sharing of family responsibilities between women and men, could also be effective in reducing gender stereotypes and gender gaps in employment.

Summarising the main results, it seems that the transition from youth to adulthood is becoming more complex, with different stages of activity and type of jobs alternating. As such this may increase the social risks of young people. The current economic situation makes the transition even more complex, increasing the fragility of the school-to-work transition. It is unclear what the long-term impact will be, particularly for the low-skilled. In some scenarios, low skilled may find new jobs in the growing services sector. In other scenarios however, the long-term perspective of low skilled people remains problematic.

Youth employment has high priority in Europe and within the context of the Youth

Opportunities Initiative, numerous initiatives have been developed to support young people (European Commission 2012e, 2012f; OJEC 2012). While these initiatives are undoubtedly of significant importance, a more integrated approach to youth transitions into the labour market and youth life course transitions seems to be missing (Knijn and Plantenga 2012: 206). An important problem is that the current institutional support system is not geared towards the current reality of many young people, as this system is mainly based on stable, permanent employment. As such, it seems important that the current division between secure permanent jobs and unsecure flexible jobs becomes redefined. In some countries this may imply a change in the employment protection legislation; in others the working time regime might change in order to create more diverse working time patterns, while in almost all countries the challenge is to bring the system of social security in line with the new reality of flexible and unsecure jobs.

Given the emphasis on costs containment and fiscal consolidation, the current social policies seem to reduce the support system of young persons, implying that they remain (longer) dependent upon their families. From a gender perspective, the main risk seems to be that young women – particularly the lower skilled – opt to be full-time carers. As a result, their distance from the labour market will increase, which will seriously hamper their long-term perspective in terms of career and income.

Résumé

La crise économique et financière actuelle a des répercussions sur bon nombre de citoyens de l'Union européenne. L'un des groupes les plus durement touchés est celui des jeunes, qui éprouvent de plus en plus de difficultés à entrer dans le monde du travail. En 2011, le taux de chômage des jeunes (15-24 ans) a atteint 46,4% en Espagne, tandis qu'en moyenne, dans l'UE-27, 21,4% des jeunes étaient sans emploi. Le découragement découlant du manque de perspectives d'emploi a entraîné une augmentation des taux d'inactivité et un nombre significatif de jeunes se trouvent sans emploi et ne suivent ni études, ni formation (désignés par l'acronyme anglais «NEET»). La précarité spécifique de la position socioéconomique des jeunes ne s'explique pas seulement par les taux élevés de chômage et d'inactivité, mais aussi par l'évolution des conditions du marché du travail. Partout en Europe, l'emploi à temps plein, sur une période continue, devient de plus en plus rare, il est remplacé par des formes flexibles de travail comme le travail à temps partiel, les contrats à durée déterminée et le travail indépendant, qui gagnent en importance. Ces tendances témoignent d'ores et déjà d'un impact au niveau de l'entrée sur le marché du travail, entraînant une augmentation de la durée de la transition entre l'école et le travail, ainsi que des difficultés accrues pour s'intégrer au marché du travail, bien qu'on observe à cet égard de grandes différences d'un État membre à l'autre. Les conséquences d'un «départ précaire» risquent de persister longtemps: en effet, une transition difficile vers le monde du travail peut s'accompagner d'une réduction générale des chances de réussite à long terme dans la vie («les stigmates» du chômage).

Le présent rapport analyse l'incidence de l'entrée précaire actuelle des jeunes sur les marchés du travail européens, en s'intéressant particulièrement à leur carrière sur le marché du travail ainsi qu'à leur vie personnelle. L'étude accorde une attention particulière aux aspects liés au genre. Les femmes occupant traditionnellement une position plus vulnérable sur le marché du travail, la transition entre l'école et le travail peut s'avérer encore plus difficile pour elles. Parallèlement, certains éléments font également état de difficultés rencontrées par les jeunes hommes: ainsi, les taux de chômage ont particulièrement augmenté dans les secteurs à dominance masculine. Les stratégies politiques actuellement adoptées au niveau européen et national afin de faciliter la transition entre l'école et le travail seront également analysées en prêtant une attention particulière à leur incidence réelle et potentielle sur la dimension de genre.

L'analyse est fondée sur les bases de données de l'ELFS et de l'EU-SILC. Par ail-

leurs, une analyse plus approfondie, ainsi que des exemples de politiques basés sur des sources de données nationales, sont proposés pour une série de dix États membres représentatifs des différentes conditions socioéconomiques et approches stratégiques (CZ, DE, DK, ES, FR, IT, LV, NL, SK et UK). La catégorie des «jeunes» à laquelle s'intéresse le rapport comprend les personnes âgées de 15 à 29 ans. Lorsque l'analyse s'y prête et que la disponibilité des données comparatives le permet, l'analyse distinguera deux sous-groupes: les 15-24 ans et les 25-29 ans.

Si la crise a détérioré les conditions du marché du travail pour les jeunes hommes, les taux de NEET demeurent plus élevés et les taux de chômage des jeunes femmes plus faibles

Les jeunes ont été particulièrement touchés par la crise économique actuelle ainsi que par l'évolution des conditions du marché du travail, caractérisée par une importance accrue des formes flexibles de travail dans tous les États membres. Entre 2007 et 2011, le taux d'emploi des jeunes (âgés de 15 à 29 ans) a reculé de 3,3 points de pourcentage, tandis que le taux de chômage a gagné 4,7 points de pourcentage. Les jeunes ont représenté près de 35% de la montée totale du chômage et l'écart entre les taux de chômage des jeunes et des adultes s'est creusé. Par ailleurs, le découragement lié au manque de perspectives d'emploi a eu pour effet d'augmenter le taux d'inactivité et le taux de NEET (le pourcentage de la population âgée de 15 à 29 ans se trouvant sans emploi et ne suivant ni études, ni formation) a atteint 15,4% en 2011 dans l'UE-27. Contrairement aux précédentes récessions, l'augmentation du taux de NEET touche cette fois-ci également les jeunes travailleurs hautement qualifiés.

La crise a davantage détérioré les conditions du marché du travail des jeunes hommes (en particulier ceux âgés de 15 à 24 ans) que celles des jeunes femmes. La forte augmentation du taux de chômage des jeunes hommes a inversé les disparités hommes-femmes. Ainsi, en 2011, dans la plupart des pays de l'UE-27, les taux de chômage des jeunes hommes sont supérieurs à ceux des jeunes femmes. Malgré ces tendances, les taux de NEET restent plus élevés pour les femmes, et les taux d'emploi plus faibles, en particulier pour la tranche d'âge des 25-29 ans, dans laquelle bon nombre de jeunes femmes ont des enfants et quittent le marché du travail: les taux de NEET atteignent 24,7% chez les jeunes femmes âgées de 25 à 29 ans, contre 15% pour les hommes de la même tranche d'âge. En outre, les jeunes femmes NEET affichent une plus grande persistance en termes de statut et de rotation plus faibles que les hommes, notamment compte tenu du fait qu'il s'agit de la partie inactive des NEET qui est la plus élevée pour les femmes. Chez les jeunes femmes, la tranche inactive représente 64% de la catégorie (dont 42% de personnes qui ne souhaitent pas travailler et 22% qui souhaitent travailler); chez les jeunes hommes, en revanche, elle ne représente que 36%.

L'inactivité semble s'expliquer en grande partie par les responsabilités familiales, même si les jeunes femmes sont plus enclines à devenir des travailleuses découragées que les jeunes hommes, en particulier dans certains pays d'Europe méridionale (Italie et Malte) et orientale (Lettonie, Pologne et Roumanie). Lorsqu'elles travaillent, les jeunes femmes occupent plus souvent des postes à temps partiel ou temporaires et perçoivent fréquemment un salaire mensuel plus faible que leurs homologues masculins. On observe néanmoins d'importantes différences entre les pays, la position des jeunes femmes sur le marché du travail étant particulièrement mauvaise dans les pays d'Europe méridionale et orientale.

L'analyse économétrique des facteurs individuels et familiaux favorisant les disparités hommes-femmes sur le marché du travail des jeunes confirme que même dans cette catégorie, les écarts entre les genres sont fortement influencés par la présence d'enfants et, dans une moindre mesure, par le niveau d'éducation. La composition de la famille, et notamment la présence d'enfants, joue un rôle important dans l'influence des différences entre les genres en termes d'inactivité, d'emploi et de travail à temps partiel. Par exemple, la présence d'enfants creuse l'écart entre les genres en ce qui concerne la probabilité de devenir un NEET inactif, qui varie de 10 points de pourcentage (aux Pays-Bas) à 47 points de pourcentage (en République tchèque), avec un impact négatif relatif plus important dans les pays d'Europe orientale que dans les pays d'Europe occidentale. Dans tous les pays étudiés, les disparités hommes-femmes chez les NEET inactifs sans enfants sont très faibles, voire parfois négatives (comme c'est le cas en Allemagne, en France et en République slovaque), ce qui confirme que les différences d'inactivité entre les genres sont principalement dues au comportement des jeunes femmes ayant des enfants. De même, la présence d'enfants aggrave également les différences entre les genres en matière d'emploi, ainsi que les différences entre les genres en matière d'emploi à temps partiel. Les résultats confirment en outre la corrélation positive entre l'enseignement supérieur et la participation des femmes au marché du travail: les femmes au niveau d'études élevé ont en effet plus de chances d'être employées (à temps plein) ou au chômage et moins de chances de sortir du marché du travail.
Les incidences des autres caractéristiques familiales (comme la vie au sein du même foyer que les parents) et de la nationalité sont moins faciles à déterminer, étant donné qu'elles ne sont pas les mêmes pour tous les indicateurs du marché du travail dans les différents pays. Toutefois, l'analyse descriptive montre que les jeunes issus de l'immigration sont davantage susceptibles de devenir NEET que la population autochtone, les taux de NEET étant particulièrement élevés pour les jeunes femmes non issues de l'UE (taux de NEET de 33,6%).

Différences entre les genres au niveau du début de carrière avec prédominance des profils menant à l'échec chez les femmes

Le chapitre 2 se concentre sur la transition de l'école au travail des jeunes Européens, sur la base de microdonnées tirées du module ad hoc 2009 de l'EFT UE. D'après l'analyse effectuée, la proportion d'emplois temporaires parmi les premiers emplois varie considérablement d'un pays européen à l'autre, de 3 à plus de 60 pour cent. La différence entre hommes et femmes est plutôt faible. Toutefois, les femmes débutent souvent leur carrière dans une position doublement fragile, c'est-à-dire avec un emploi temporaire et à temps partiel. La part de premiers emplois temporaires est également beaucoup plus élevée chez les personnes faiblement éduquées, et ce, quel que soit le pays étudié. Selon certaines données, les débuts de carrière sont devenus plus dynamiques au cours des 10 années écoulées. La proportion de jeunes ayant commencé à travailler dans l'année suivant l'obtention de leur diplôme est plus élevée chez les diplômés récents que chez ceux qui ont terminé leurs études il y a 10 ans, malgré le contexte de crise économique (2008). En outre, la part de jeunes ayant déjà quitté leur premier emploi un an après l'obtention de leur diplôme est deux fois plus élevée pour les diplômés récents que pour ceux qui ont terminé leurs études il y a 10 ou 15 ans. Durant la période séparant la fin de leurs études et leur premier véritable emploi, la moitié des jeunes étaient au chômage et à la recherche d'un emploi, une proportion plus élevée pour les femmes que pour les hommes. Un

cinquième des jeunes, hommes et femmes, indiquent avoir passé cette période à enchaîner les petits emplois de courte durée, moins de trois mois. L'inactivité est généralement plus répandue chez les jeunes femmes que chez les hommes, particulièrement en raison des responsabilités familiales.
Si le premier emploi représente la première étape de la carrière d'un jeune travailleur sur le marché du travail, il coïncide rarement avec la fin de la phase de transition entre l'école et le monde du travail. Sur la base des données disponibles de l'EFT UE, qui fournit des informations sur la situation du marché de travail pour un maximum de 4 périodes de temps (immédiatement après l'obtention du diplôme, informations sur le premier emploi, situation un an avant l'enquête et situation au moment de l'enquête), des profils de transition ont été établis afin de fournir des renseignements sur la mobilité professionnelle des jeunes travailleurs qui débutent leur carrière. Lorsque ces profils de transition sont triés en fonction de leur réussite (c.-à-d. s'ils débouchent ou non sur un contrat permanent) ou de leur échec (tous les autres cas de figure), il ressort que la réussite est au rendez-vous pour 60% des jeunes travailleurs. On retrouve davantage de femmes que d'hommes dans les profils menant à l'échec, ce qui démontre non seulement que les profils de carrière varient selon les genres, mais aussi que les femmes ont un départ professionnel plus difficile que les hommes dans la plupart des pays de l'UE.
Deux conceptions s'opposent en ce qui concerne l'incidence des emplois temporaires sur la réussite ultérieure des travailleurs sur le marché du travail. L'hypothèse du «tremplin» considère l'emploi temporaire comme une première étape utile vers un emploi permanent, qui permet d'emmagasiner de l'expérience et de raccourcir ainsi la période séparant la fin des études de l'obtention d'une position stable sur le marché du travail. L'hypothèse du «cul-de-sac», par contre, manifeste la crainte que les contrats temporaires n'enferment les jeunes travailleurs dans une situation précaire sur le marché du travail, à cause des inconvénients associés à ce type de travail (moins de formation, rémunération plus faible et conditions de travail précaires). Les deux hypothèses sont expérimentées conjointement au moyen de deux analyses de régression. D'après les résultats, débuter par un premier emploi temporaire au lieu de décrocher tout de suite un emploi permanent ne compromettait pas les chances du travailleur d'occuper un poste permanent en 2009, ce qui va clairement à l'encontre de l'hypothèse du «cul-de-sac». Toutefois, l'hypothèse de tremplin n'est pas non plus complètement confirmée. En effet, une période initiale (limitée) de chômage influençait positivement les chances du travailleur d'occuper un poste stable et négativement les probabilités qu'il ait été au chômage en 2009. Cela contredit l'hypothèse du tremplin, selon laquelle l'emploi temporaire est toujours préférable au chômage. Plus particulièrement, un travailleur décidant de consacrer davantage de temps à la recherche d'un premier emploi correspondant à son niveau d'éducation avait plus de chances d'occuper un poste stable en 2009. Au niveau du genre, il semble que les jeunes hommes trouvent plus fréquemment un emploi permanent que les jeunes femmes. Le nombre de transitions semble avoir une incidence négative; d'après une analyse plus approfondie, l'impact négatif du nombre de transitions semble être plus prononcé pour les femmes que pour les hommes.

Un départ précaire a une incidence considérable sur les possibilités de démarrer une vie indépendante

Les difficultés rencontrées par les jeunes lorsqu'ils entrent sur le marché du travail ont une incidence manifeste sur les possibilités de prendre leur indépendance. Sur

la base des informations qualitatives fournies par dix États membres de l'Union européenne (CZ, DK, FR, DE, IT, LV, NL, SK, ES et UK), trois aspects ont été analysés au chapitre 3: le niveau de protection sociale, les possibilités de vivre en toute indépendance et les possibilités de fonder une famille.

Disposer des moyens suffisants est une condition préalable essentielle à une vie indépendante. Les taux de chômage et d'inactivité des jeunes étant élevés, un grand nombre de jeunes restent dépendants de leurs parents ou doivent faire appel aux prestations sociales. Toutefois, les critères d'éligibilité aux prestations sociales limitent l'accès des jeunes aux allocations-chômage et, de manière générale, l'aide sociale est plutôt réduite. D'après les informations disponibles, il n'y aurait aucune discrimination directe entre les (jeunes) hommes et femmes en ce qui concerne la couverture sociale et l'accès aux prestations sociales. On observe néanmoins une incidence indirecte des différents types de contrats. Étant donné que les femmes occupent plus souvent des postes temporaires et/ou à temps partiel, elles ont moins de chances d'être éligibles et leurs prestations peuvent être plus faibles. Une longue période de chômage a généralement une incidence négative sur la pension. Pour les femmes, cet inconvénient s'ajoute à ceux du travail à temps partiel et de l'interruption de carrière en raison de responsabilités familiales.

L'indépendance implique de quitter le domicile parental. Le moment choisi pour effectuer cette transition semble varier considérablement selon les pays et dépendre de facteurs tels que le système éducatif et les normes culturelles. Dans les pays d'Europe continentale et septentrionale, les jeunes quittent relativement tôt leurs parents, un départ facilité par les revenus de la famille. En outre, ils peuvent bénéficier de prestations sociales relativement généreuses. Dans les pays d'Europe méridionale et orientale, les jeunes quittent très tard le domicile parental et les prestations sociales y sont plus réduites. Dans tous les pays étudiés, les femmes quittent en moyenne leurs parents plus tôt que les hommes. Certains éléments indiquent que le nombre de jeunes réintégrant le domicile parental est en hausse. Des données plus systématiques seraient néanmoins nécessaires à ce sujet. Le marché du logement est un facteur crucial qui influe sur les possibilités de vivre en toute indépendance. Dans la plupart des États membres, les logements abordables à louer ou à acheter ne sont pas légion. En outre, les critères d'obtention d'un prêt immobilier sont devenus plus stricts. De manière générale, la situation financière des jeunes semble se détériorer: ils sont en effet toujours plus nombreux à accuser une dette d'études de plus en plus importante, même si, ici encore, nous ne disposons pas de chiffres exacts.

Fonder une famille constitue une étape importante de la vie d'une personne. À cet égard, une position précaire sur le marché du travail a une incidence différente selon que le travailleur est un homme ou une femme. Lors d'une période de chômage, les femmes sont plus enclines – en particulier lorsqu'elles sont peu qualifiées – à fonder une famille, tandis que les hommes privilégieront la recherche d'un emploi plus stable. L'accès aux services sociaux facilitant la tâche des parents, tels que le congé de maternité ou le congé parental, est souvent conditionné à un statut professionnel (stable). Par conséquent, il est plus difficile pour une jeune personne d'accéder à ces services. En outre, les jeunes parents ont rarement accès à des services de garde d'enfants abordables. Le manque d'infrastructures d'accueil est susceptible de favoriser l'inactivité des jeunes femmes, ce qui peut avoir une incidence négative à long terme sur leur carrière.

Nécessité d'une plus grande attention accordée aux différences entre les genres dans les politiques de la jeunesse

La position particulièrement vulnérable des jeunes femmes sur le marché du travail peut s'expliquer par des discriminations sur le marché du travail, par une plus forte probabilité de n'obtenir qu'un contrat à temps partiel et/ou temporaire ou de travailler dans l'économie informelle, par des différences entre les genres dans les choix en matière d'éducation et un déséquilibre des compétences sur le marché, et, surtout, par les rôles au sein du foyer et les responsabilités familiales.
Cela étant dit, les circonstances personnelles et familiales n'expliquent pas à elles seules les grandes différences constatées entre les pays en ce qui concerne la situation du marché du travail des jeunes et les disparités hommes-femmes. Les régimes politiques nationaux et les conditions économiques propres à chaque pays constituent également des facteurs importants. En outre, les différences de position sur le marché du travail entre hommes et femmes entraînent également des différences entre les genres en ce qui concerne les effets des politiques ciblant les jeunes et, de manière plus générale, des politiques agissant sur la demande et l'offre de main-d'œuvre.
Le chapitre 4 s'intéresse plus particulièrement aux approches stratégiques adoptées par les pays européens pour lutter contre les difficultés rencontrées par les jeunes sur le marché de l'emploi en intégrant la dimension de genre. Ces politiques deviennent un élément central de la politique de l'Union européenne, tant au niveau de l'Union qu'au niveau des États membres. Toutefois, l'attention accordée aux différences entre les genres reste limitée, malgré une amélioration constatée ces dernières années.
Compte tenu de la multitude de facteurs influant la position des jeunes femmes et des jeunes hommes sur le marché du travail, l'analyse prend en considération les politiques de l'emploi actives et passives, l'éducation et la formation, la réglementation du marché de l'emploi et de celui des produits, l'imposition des familles et les politiques visant à mieux concilier vie privée et vie professionnelle. Cette analyse se base sur un stock de données original relatif aux indicateurs politiques pour l'ensemble des États membres au cours de la période 1998-2010, sur les informations collectées par les experts nationaux dans les 10 États membres étudiés ainsi que sur l'analyse secondaire des documents existants et des évaluations disponibles au niveau de l'UE.
Les politiques visant à améliorer l'équilibre entre la vie privée et la vie professionnelle et à faciliter la transition de l'école au travail semblent être particulièrement importantes pour réduire les disparités hommes-femmes chez les jeunes, tout en améliorant les conditions du marché du travail pour les jeunes femmes. Les pays caractérisés par une approche stratégique axée sur un système dual (comme l'Autriche et l'Allemagne) et les pays nordiques, caractérisés par un soutien prononcé à l'équilibre vie privée-vie professionnelle, affichent bien moins de disparités hommes-femmes au niveau des conditions de travail des jeunes que les autres pays, ainsi que des taux d'emploi plus élevés et des taux de chômage et taux d'inactivité des NEET réduits, tant pour les jeunes hommes que pour les jeunes femmes. Les mesures visant à réduire les stéréotypes selon les genres et la ségrégation dans l'éducation et la formation semblent également avoir leur importance pour renforcer l'employabilité des jeunes femmes et améliorer leurs futurs revenus et leurs futures conditions socioéconomiques.
Des politiques d'emploi bien ciblées pourraient se révéler efficaces, mais elles man-

quent souvent de mesures ciblant spécifiquement la dimension de genre. En outre, les jeunes femmes sont beaucoup moins impliquées que les jeunes hommes dans les politiques actives du marché du travail (PAMT) et moins soutenues par les politiques passives. En 2010, le taux de couverture moyen dans les PAMT était de 32,3% pour les jeunes femmes et de 42,3% pour les jeunes hommes. L'écart entre les genres constaté au niveau des taux de couverture est particulièrement prononcé pour les mesures de formation (17,1% pour les jeunes femmes contre 26,8% pour les jeunes hommes). Le taux de couverture dans les mesures d'aide au revenu en cas de chômage n'est que de 18% pour les jeunes femmes alors qu'il s'élèveà 28,4% pour l'ensemble des jeunes, ce qui s'explique probablement par le fait qu'il y a plus d'inactivité que de chômage chez les jeunes femmes. Un meilleur accès des femmes aux PAMT pourrait être assuré, en adoptant, par exemple, des mesures complémentaires de soutien aux responsabilités familiales.

D'après une analyse plus approfondie des mesures récemment adoptées dans les États membres en vue de soutenir l'emploi des jeunes, l'attention accordée aux différences entre les genres est très récente et encore limitée. Les programmes d'apprentissage, le soutien à l'entrepreneuriat des jeunes, les régimes de sécurité d'emploi, les programmes d'orientation professionnelle et les mesures d'incitation à l'emploi peuvent avoir des incidences très différentes sur les jeunes hommes et les jeunes femmes, en raison de la ségrégation de genre présente dans le domaine de l'éducation et de l'emploi et des différences entre les genres en matière de responsabilités familiales. Il est donc essentiel d'élaborer une perspective de genre, afin d'enrichir le débat politique sur la jeunesse et de faciliter la mise en œuvre de politiques plus efficaces. Par exemple, les mesures préventives ciblent en priorité le décrochage scolaire, un phénomène principalement masculin, alors qu'encore peu d'attention est accordée aux stéréotypes fondés sur le genre et à la ségrégation dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation. La réforme des programmes d'enseignement, particulièrement en vue d'éliminer les stéréotypes de genre, la fixation d'objectifs pour l'équilibre hommes-femmes dans les formations, l'élaboration de mesures d'orientation professionnelle et de campagnes médiatiques afin de lutter contre les stéréotypes de genre dès le plus jeune âge et d'encourager filles et garçons à envisager un choix plus vaste d'études et de professions, sont autant d'actions importantes pour améliorer les perspectives d'emploi et réduire le décalage entre l'éducation offerte et les compétences demandées. Si on observe depuis quelques années une attention accrue accordée aux politiques en matière d'éducation, la crise et les contraintes budgétaires ont pour effet de faire rapidement fondre le financement public alloué à ces programmes.

En ce qui concerne les mesures de réintégration, la validation de l'enseignement informel et non formel dispensé en dehors des salles de cours peut être utile, étant donné que les filles peuvent bénéficier d'opportunités de participer à des expériences hors cadre scolaire. Au niveau des mesures visant à faciliter la transition de l'école au travail et à favoriser l'employabilité, il conviendrait d'accorder davantage d'attention à la réduction des stéréotypes de genre dans les choix de carrière ainsi que d'améliorer la participation des jeunes femmes aux programmes d'apprentissage de haute qualité. Par ailleurs, les différences entre les genres devraient être prises en considération lors de la conception et de la mise en œuvre de ces mesures, notamment en proposant des services de garde pendant les formations et en prévoyant des heures d'ouverture facilitant la conciliation entre vie privée et vie professionnelle.

Les mesures de soutien à l'entrepreneuriat devraient cibler spécifiquement les con-

traintes plus lourdes (p.ex. au niveau de l'accès au crédit) avec lesquelles doivent composer les jeunes femmes pour lancer leur propre entreprise. Les politiques relatives au recrutement et aux politiques de maintien dans les entreprises, les subventions à l'emploi ciblées et les politiques de soutien des responsabilités familiales, surtout celles qui encouragent le partage des responsabilités entre les hommes et les femmes, pourraient également s'avérer utiles pour réduire les stéréotypes de genre et les disparités hommes-femmes en matière d'emploi.

Pour résumer les principaux résultats de l'analyse, il semblerait que la transition de l'adolescence à l'âge adulte soit de plus en plus complexe et qu'elle se caractérise par une alternance entre différents stades d'activité et différents types d'emploi. Cela peut augmenter les risques sociaux auxquels sont confrontés les jeunes. La transition est d'autant plus difficile que la situation économique actuelle augmente la précarité des jeunes passant du monde de l'école à celui du travail. Il n'est pas simple de dire quelles en seront les incidences à long terme, en particulier pour les personnes faiblement qualifiées. Certaines hypothèses prédisent que les travailleurs faiblement qualifiés pourraient trouver de nouveaux emplois dans le secteur des services, en pleine croissance. Selon d'autres hypothèses, en revanche, les perspectives à long terme des personnes faiblement qualifiées demeurent problématiques. L'emploi des jeunes est l'une des grandes priorités en Europe et, dans le cadre de l'initiative sur les perspectives d'emploi des jeunes, un grand nombre d'initiatives ont été mises au point afin de venir en aide aux jeunes (Commission européenne 2012e, 2012f; OJUE 2012). Si ces initiatives revêtent sans aucun doute une importance de taille, une approche plus intégrée de la transition des jeunes vers le marché du travail et du passage à la vie adulte semble faire défaut (Knijn et Plantenga 2012: 206). Un problème important réside dans le fait que le système d'appui institutionnel existant ne reflète pas la réalité actuelle vécue par bon nombre de jeunes, puisqu'il est principalement basé sur des emplois stables et permanents. Il apparaît donc important de redéfinir la division actuelle existant entre les emplois permanents durables et les emplois flexibles et précaires. Dans certains pays, cela peut nécessiter une modification de la législation en matière de protection de l'emploi, et dans d'autres, le régime du temps de travail peut être revu et corrigé afin de créer des modèles de temps de travail plus diversifiés. Toutefois, dans la quasi-totalité des pays, le véritable défi consiste à rapprocher le système de sécurité sociale de la nouvelle réalité des emplois flexibles et précaires.

Considérant l'accent qui est mis sur la compression des coûts et l'assainissement budgétaire, les politiques sociales actuelles paraissent réduire le système de soutien des jeunes, contraignant ainsi ceux-ci à rester (plus longtemps) dépendants de leur famille. Du point de vue de la dimension de genre, le risque principal semble être que les jeunes femmes-en particulier les moins qualifiées – choisissent de s'occuper à plein-temps de leur famille, ce qui les éloignera davantage du marché du travail et compromettra sérieusement leurs perspectives de carrière et de revenus à long terme.

Kurzfassung

Die aktuelle Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise wirkt sich auf viele Bürger der Europäischen Union aus. Eine Gruppe, die besonders stark davon betroffen ist, sind junge Menschen, die immer größere Schwierigkeiten haben, Arbeit zu finden. 2011 erreichte die Arbeitslosenquote bei Jugendlichen (15–24 Jahre) Werte bis zu 46,4% in Spanien und lag in den EU-27-Ländern im Durchschnitt bei 21,4%. Die aus dem Mangel an Arbeitschancen resultierende Entmutigung hat zu höheren Inaktivitätsraten geführt, und ein signifikanter Anteil junger Menschen geht keiner Arbeit nach, besucht keine Schule und befindet sich nicht in beruflicher Fortbildung (Not in Education, Employment or Training, NEET). Was die sozio-ökonomische Position junger Menschen besonders prekär macht, ist nicht nur die hohe Arbeitslosigkeits- oder Inaktivitätsquote, sondern auch die Veränderung der Bedingungen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt. Überall in Europa wird kontinuierliche Vollzeitbeschäftigung immer seltener. Hingegen nehmen flexible Beschäftigungsformen wie Teilzeitarbeit, befristete Arbeitsverträge und Selbstständigkeit ständig zu. Diese Trends wirken sich jetzt schon auf die Arbeitsmarkteinsteiger aus und führen zu längeren Übergangsphasen zwischen Schule und Beruf sowie zu größeren Schwierigkeiten, auf dem Arbeitsmarkt Fuß zu fassen, wobei es in dieser Hinsicht große Unterschiede zwischen den Mitgliedstaten gibt. Die Folgen eines “prekären Starts” werden wahrscheinlich längere Zeit spürbar sein, da ein problematischer Einstig in das Berufsleben mit längerfristig allgemein schlechteren Lebenschancen verbunden sein kann (sogenannte “Vernarbungseffekte“).

In diesem Bericht werden die Folgen des aktuellen prekären Starts junger Menschen auf den europäischen Arbeitsmärkten analysiert, mit Schwerpunkt auf ihre Arbeitsmarktlaufbahnen wie auch das persönliche Leben. Diese Studie widmet zudem Genderaspekten eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Da Frauen traditionell eine stärker gefährdete Position auf dem Arbeitsmarkt haben, ist es möglich, dass der Übergang zwischen Schule und Beruf für junge Frauen noch “prekärer“ sein könnte. Gleichzeitig gibt es Anzeichen dafür, dass auch junge Männer auf Schwierigkeiten stoßen, so sind z.B. die Arbeitslosenquoten in männerdominierten Bereichen besonders stark gestiegen. Darüber hinaus werden die aktuellen politischen Ansätze auf europäischer und nationaler Ebene für die Unterstützung des Übergangs von der Schule in den Beruf analysiert, auch im Hinblick auf deren potenzielle und tatsächliche Folgen für Genderfragen.

Die Analyse basiert auf den ELFS- und EU-SILC-Datenbanken. Zusätzlich werden für zehn Mitgliedsstaaten, die repräsentativ für verschiedene sozio-ökonomische Bedin-

gungen und Politikansätze stehen, eine eingehendere Analyse und Maßnahmenbeispiele vorgelegt (CZ, DE, DK, ES, FR, IT, LV, NL, SK und UK). Die in diesem Bericht berücksichtigte Altersklasse ist die der 15–29-Jährigen, wobei in Fällen, in denen es für die Analyse relevant war und entsprechende Daten zur Verfügung standen, die Altersklassen 15–24 und 25–29 getrennt betrachtet wurden.

Durch die Krise haben sich die Arbeitsmarktbedingungen für junge Männer stärker verschlechtert, aber junge Frauen weisen weiterhin höhere NEET-Quoten und niedrigere Beschäftigungsquoten auf.

Junge Menschen sind von der aktuellen Wirtschaftskrise wie auch von den Arbeitsmarktveränderungen besonders stark betroffen, und flexible Beschäftigungsformen spielen in allen Mitgliedsstaaten eine immer größere Rolle. Zwischen 2007 und 2011 ist die Beschäftigungsquote von jungen Menschen (im Alter von 15–29) um 3,3 Prozentpunkte gefallen und die Arbeitslosenquote um 4,7 Prozentpunkte gestiegen. Junge Menschen machten fast 35% des gesamten Arbeitslosigkeitsanstiegs aus, und der Unterschied zwischen der Arbeitslosenquote von Jugendlichen und Erwachsenen ist größer geworden. Darüber hinaus hat Entmutigung infolge eines Mangels an Arbeitschancen zu einer Erhöhung der Inaktivitätsquote geführt, sodass die NEET-Quote (d.h. der Anteil der Bevölkerung im Alter zwischen 15 und 29 Jahren, der keiner Arbeit nachgeht, keine Schule besucht und sich nicht in beruflicher Fortbildung befindet) 2001 in den EU-27-Staaten auf 15,4% gestiegen ist. Im Gegensatz zu vergangenen Rezessionen waren diesmal auch junge Arbeitnehmer mit hohem Ausbildungsniveau vom Anstieg der NEET-Quote betroffen.
Durch die Krise haben sich die Arbeitsmarktbedingungen für junge Männer (vor allem in der Altersgruppe 15–24) stärker verschlechtert als für junge Frauen. Der steile Anstieg der Arbeitslosenquote bei jungen Männern hat zu einer Umkehrung des Gender Gaps geführt, sodass 2011 in den meisten der EU-27-Staaten die Arbeitslosenquote junger Männer höher war als die von Frauen. Trotz dieser Trends sind die NEET-Quoten von Frauen weiterhin höher und die Beschäftigungsquoten niedriger, besonders für die Altersgruppe 25–29, in der viele junge Frauen Kinder bekommen und den Arbeitsmarkt verlassen: Die NEET-Quoten steigen bei Frauen im Alter zwischen 25 und 29 Jahren auf bis zu 24,7% im Vergleich zu 15% bei jungen Männern der gleichen Altersklasse. Darüber hinaus weisen junge Frauen eine längere Verweildauer im NEET-Status und niedrigere Fluktuationen auf, auch weil der inaktive Anteil von NEET bei Frauen höher ist. Bei jungen Frauen macht der Inaktivitätsanteil 64% aus (42%, die nicht arbeiten wollen, und 22%, die arbeiten wollen), bei jungen Männern hingegen nur 36%.
Die Inaktivität scheint weitgehend durch Familienverantwortung bedingt zu sein, wenngleich junge Frauen häufiger als junge Männer von der entmutigenden Erfahrung, vergeblich eine Arbeit zu suchen, betroffen sind, besonders in manchen südeuropäischen (Italien und Malta) und osteuropäischen (Lettland, Polen und Rumänien) Ländern. Wenn sie eine Arbeit haben, ist es bei jungen Frauen öfter eine Teilzeit- oder befristete Beschäftigung, und sie haben tendenziell ein niedrigeres Einkommen als Männer in entsprechenden Jobs. Es gibt aber große Unterschiede zischen den einzelnen Staaten: Die Arbeitsmarktstellung junger Frauen ist in südeuropäischen und osteuropäischen Ländern besonders schlecht.
Die ökonometrische Analyse der individuellen und haushaltsbedingten Ursachen von Gender Gaps bei Jugendlichen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt bestätigt, dass auch bei jungen Menschen die Unterschiede zwischen den Geschlechtern stark von der Tatsa-

che beeinflusst sind, ob Kinder vorhanden sind, und in einem geringeren Maße vom Bildungsniveau. Die Familienzusammensetzung, vor allem die Anwesenheit von Kindern, spielt eine wichtige Rolle bei den Ursachen von Geschlechterunterschieden bei Inaktivität, Beschäftigung und Teilzeitarbeit. Zum Beispiel erhöht das Vorhandensein von Kindern den Unterschied zwischen den Geschlechtern bei der Wahrscheinlichkeit, NEET-inaktiv zu sein, um 10 Prozentpunkte (in den Niederlanden) auf bis zu 47 Prozentpunkte (in der Tschechischen Republik), mit einem vergleichsweise stärker ausgeprägten negativen Einfluss in osteuropäischen als in westeuropäischen Ländern. In allen untersuchten Ländern ist der Gender Gap bei den NEET-Inaktiven ohne Kinder relativ gering und manchmal sogar negativ (wie z.B. in Deutschland, Frankreich und in der Slowakischen Republik), was bestätigt, dass die Genderunterschiede bei der Inaktivitätsquote hauptsächlich durch das Verhalten junger Frauen mit Kindern verursacht werden. Auf ähnliche Weise verschärft das Vorhandensein von Kindern die Genderunterschiede bei bei der Beschäftigungsquote und erhöht die Unterschiede, was Teilzeit-Beschäftigung betrifft. Die Ergebnisse bestätigen auch die positive Korrelation zwischen hohem Bildungsniveau und Arbeitsmarktbeteiligung von Frauen: Frauen mit hohem Bildungsabschluss haben eine größere Wahrscheinlichkeit, entweder (vollzeit-)beschäftigt oder arbeitslos zu sein, und daher eine geringere Wahrscheinlichkeit, nicht der Erwerbsbevölkerung anzugehören.
Die Folgen weiterer Familienmerkmale (z.B. mit den Eltern im gleichen Haushalt leben) sowie der Nationalität sind weniger eindeutig, da sie sich nicht auf alle Arbeitsmarktindikatoren aller Länder gleich auswirken. Dennoch zeigt die deskriptive Analyse, dass junge Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund eine höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit aufweisen, NEET zu sein, als die einheimische Bevölkerung, wobei die NEET-Quote bei jungen Frauen mit Nicht-EU-Herkunft besonders hoch ist (NEET-Quote von 33,6%).

Die frühe berufliche Laufbahn weist bei Frauen und Männern unterschiedliche Muster auf, wobei Frauen häufiger als Männer in erfolglose Laufbahnen geraten.

Kapitel 2 befasst sich mit dem Übergang von der Schule in den Beruf in europäischen Ländern. Die dafür verwendeten Mikrodaten stammen aus den Ad-hoc-Modulen der AKE der EU von 2009. Die Analyse zeigt, dass der Anteil befristeter Arbeitsverhältnisse bei der ersten Beschäftigung innerhalb der europäischen Länder sehr unterschiedlich ist und zwischen 3 und mehr als 60 Prozent schwankt. Der Unterschied zwischen Frauen und Männern ist eher gering; dennoch starten Frauen in einer doppelt prekären Position, d.h. einer Teilzeit-Arbeit, die auch noch zeitlich befristet ist. Der Anteil befristeter Arbeitsverhältnisse bei der Erstanstellung ist in allen Ländern bei Arbeitnehmern mit niedrigem Bildungsabschluss deutlich höher. Es gibt Anzeichen dafür, dass die Anfänge der beruflichen Karriere in den letzten 10 Jahren dynamischer geworden sind. Der Anteil junger Menschen, die nach ihrem Bildungsabschluss innerhalb eines Jahres Arbeit gefunden haben, ist für Absolventen der letzten Jahre – trotz Wirtschaftskrise (2008) – höher als bei jenen, deren Abschluss 10 Jahre zurück liegt. Hinzu kommt, dass der Anteil junger Menschen, die im ersten Jahr nach ihrem Bildungsabschluss die erste Beschäftigung bereits wieder verlassen, für jüngere Absolventen doppelt so hoch ist wie für Absolventen vor 10 oder 15 Jahren. Ungefähr die Hälfte der jungen Menschen ist zwischen Bildungsabschluss und der ersten bedeutenden Arbeit hauptsächlich arbeitslos bzw. auf Arbeitssuche; dieser Anteil ist bei Frauen höher als bei Männern. Ein Fünftel bei-

der Geschlechter geben an, dass sie in dieser Zeit hauptsächlich in verschiedenen aufeinanderfolgenden Kurzzeit-Jobs mit einer Dauer von jeweils weniger als drei Monaten gearbeitet haben. Inaktivität ist unter Frauen weiter verbreitet als unter Männern, hauptsächlich aufgrund unterschiedlicher familiärer Verantwortung.
Die erste Arbeitsstelle stellt zwar den ersten Schritt in der Arbeitsmarktkarriere eines jungen Arbeitnehmers dar, damit ist die Übergangsphase von der Schule in den Beruf jedoch noch nicht beendet. Auf Grundlage der verfügbaren AKE-Daten der EU, die Informationen über den Arbeitsmarktstatus für maximal 4 Zeiträume liefert (unmittelbar nach dem Abschluss, Informationen über die erste Arbeit, Status ein Jahr vor der Umfrage und zum Zeitpunkt der Umfrage), wurden Transition-Profile erstellt, um einen Anhaltspunkt über die Mobilität zu Beginn der beruflichen Laufbahn von jungen Arbeitnehmern zu haben. Wenn man die Transition-Profile zwischen Erfolgreichen (d.h. sie erhielten einen unbefristeten Vertrag) und nicht Erfolgreichen (alle anderen) aufteilt, stellt sich heraus, dass 60% der jungen Arbeitnehmer erfolgreich waren. Frauen fallen öfters in erfolglose Laufbahnen als Männer, was zeigt, dass nicht nur die Berufsanfänge von Frauen und Männern unterschiedlichen Mustern folgen, sondern auch, dass Frauen in den meisten EU-Ländern einen prekäreren Karrierestart haben als Männer.
Bezüglich der Folgen von befristeten Arbeitsverhältnissen auf den nachfolgenden Erfolg am Arbeitsmarkt sind zwei gegensätzliche Ansichten formuliert worden. Die “Stepping-Stone-Hypothese“ betrachtet eine befristete Arbeit als einen nützlichen ersten Schritt in Richtung dauerhafter Beschäftigung, der Arbeitserfahrung ermöglicht und somit die Zeit zwischen Bildungsabschluss und einer stabilen Position auf dem Arbeitsmarkt verringert. Die Sackgassentheorie äußert hingegen Bedenken, dass junge Arbeitnehmer aufgrund der Nachteile, die mit zeitlich befristeten Arbeitsverträgen verbunden sind (weniger Fortbildung, schlechtere Bezahlung und Arbeitsbedingungen), in einer schwachen Arbeitsmarktposition gefangen bleiben können. Beide Hypothesen wurden gemeinsam mit zwei Regressionsanalysen getestet. Die Ergebnisse weisen darauf hin, dass es keine negativen Auswirkungen auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit, 2009 in einem unbefristeten Arbeitsverhältnis zu sein, hatte, wenn das Berufsleben mit einer befristeten statt einer unbefristeten Beschäftigung begonnen wurde. Dies spricht deutlich gegen die Sackgassenhypothese. Dennoch wird die Stepping-Stone-Hypothese auch nicht gänzlich bestätigt, denn eine anfängliche (begrenzte) Zeit der Arbeitslosigkeit hat einen positiven Einfluss auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit, 2009 in einem stabilen Arbeitsverhältnis zu sein, und einen negativen Einfluss auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit, 2009 arbeitslos zu sein. Dies widerspricht der Stepping-Stone-Ansicht, nach der befristete Jobs immer besser sind als Arbeitslosigkeit. Vor allem am Anfang eine gewisse Zeit zu investieren, um eine dem Bildungsniveau entsprechende Beschäftigung zu finden, verbessert die Chancen, 2009 in einer stabilen Beschäftigung zu sein. In Hinblick auf Genderaspekte schient es, dass Männer häufiger als Frauen eine dauerhafte Arbeit finden. Die Anzahl der Arbeitswechsel scheint einen negativen Einfluss zu haben; eine detailliertere Analyse weist auf, dass dieser negative Effekt bei Frauen stärker ist als bei Männern.

Ein prekärer Start hat einen großen Einfluss auf die Chancen, ein unabhängiges Leben zu beginnen.

Die Schwierigkeiten, denen junge Menschen auf dem Weg in den Arbeitsmarkt begegnen, haben einen deutlichen Einfluss auf ihre Chancen auf ein unabhängiges

Leben. Auf der Basis von qualitativen Informationen von zehn EU-Mitgliedstaaten (CZ, DK, FR, DE, IT, LV, NL, SK, ES und UK) werden in Kapitel 3 drei Aspekte analysiert: Niveau der sozialen Absicherung, Chancen, ein unabhängiges Leben zu führen, und Chancen, eine Familie zu gründen.

Ausreichende finanzielle Mittel sind eine notwendige Vorbedingung für ein unabhängiges Leben. Da Arbeitslosigkeit und Inaktivitätsraten unter jungen Menschen hoch sind, ist eine große Gruppe unter ihnen immer noch von ihren Eltern abhängig bzw. muss Sozialhilfe beantragen. Auf der anderen Seite schränken die Anspruchsvoraussetzungen für Sozialhilfe den Zugang junger Menschen zu Arbeitslosenunterstützung ein, und Sozialhilfe ist im Allgemeinen relativ beschränkt. Die verfügbaren Informationen weisen darauf hin, dass es keine unmittelbare Geschlechterdiskriminierung zwischen (jungen) Männern und Frauen bezüglich des Zugangs zu oder der Absicherung durch Sozialhilfe gibt. Dennoch besteht ein indirekter Einfluss auf die Art der Arbeitsverträge. Da Frauen öfter in Teilzeit- und/oder befristeten Arbeitsverträge arbeiten, haben sie eine geringere Aussicht auf Sozialhilfe und möglicherweise Anspruch auf niedrigere Leistungen. Lange Zeiträume von Arbeitslosigkeit haben allgemein einen negativen Einfluss auf die Rente. Für Frauen ist das ein weiterer negativer Aspekt von Teilzeitarbeit und Karriereunterbrechung aufgrund von Mutterschaft.

Ein unabhängiges Leben zu führen bedeutet auch, das Elternhaus zu verlassen. Der Zeitpunkt dieses Übergangs scheint sehr länderspezifisch und mit Faktoren wie dem Bildungssystem und kulturellen Normen verbunden zu sein. In den Ländern Nord- und Kontinentaleuropas verlassen junge Menschen das Elternhaus relativ früh, auch mithilfe des Familieneinkommens. Hinzu kommt, dass in diesen Ländern die Unterstützung durch die Sozialsysteme relativ großzügig ist. In den Ländern Süd- und Osteuropas verlassen junge Menschen das Elternhaus verhältnismäßig spät, und die Sozialsysteme sind weniger großzügig. In allen Ländern ziehen Frauen im Durchschnitt in einem jüngeren Alter aus dem Elternhaus aus als Männer. Es gibt Anzeichen dafür, das die Anzahl junger Menschen, die zu ihren Eltern zurückzieht, zunimmt. Es gibt aber keine entsprechenden systematischen Daten. Der Wohnungsmarkt ist ein entscheidender Einflussfaktor auf die Möglichkeit, ein unabhängiges Leben zu führen. In den meisten Mitgliedsstaaten gibt es einen Mangel an bezahlbaren Mietwohnungen oder Eigenheimen; auch sind die Bedingungen, um eine Finanzierung zu erhalten, strenger geworden. Allgemein scheint sich die finanzielle Lage junger Menschen zu verschlechtern, da auch immer häufiger Schulden aus der Studienzeit zurückgezahlt werden müssen. Auch hierzu gibt es keine genauen Zahlen.

Eine Familie zu gründen, ist ein wichtiger Meilenstein im Leben. Die prekäre Situation auf dem Arbeitsmarkt beeinflusst junge Männer und Frauen diesbezüglich auf unterschiedliche Weise. Während der Arbeitslosigkeit sind Frauen – vor allem gering qualifizierte – tendenziell geneigter, einer Familie zu gründen, wohingegen Männer erst versuchen, eine sichere Arbeitsstelle zu finden. Der Zugang zu Sozialleistungen, die eine Elternschaft unterstützen, wie Mutterschutz und Elternzeit, hängt oft von einem (stabilen) Beschäftigungsstatus ab. Daraus ergibt sich, dass es für junge Menschen schwieriger ist, solche Sozialleistungen zu beantragen. Hinzu kommt, dass es oft keine bezahlbare Kinderbetreuung gibt. Der Mangel an Einrichtungen kann zu einer höheren Wahrscheinlichkeit führen, dass junge Frauen inaktiv werden, was negative Folgen auf ihre langfristige Karriereentwicklung haben kann.

Notwendigkeit einer größeren Aufmerksamkeit auf Unterschiede zwischen Männern und Frauen in der Jugendpolitik

Für die besonders gefährdete Arbeitsmarktstellung junger Frauen kommen folgende Ursachen in Betracht: Arbeitsmarktdiskriminierung, eine größere Wahrscheinlichkeit, in Teilzeit und/oder befristet bzw. im informellen Sektor beschäftigt zu sein, Genderunterschiede bei Bildungsentscheidungen und fehlende Übereinstimmung zwischen Fähigkeiten und den Anforderungen des Arbeitsmarktes, vor allem jedoch Rollenverteilung im Haushalt und Pflegeverantwortung.
Dennoch erklären individuelle und familiäre Rahmenbedingungen nicht vollständig die beträchtlichen Unterschiede bei den Arbeitsmarktbedingungen für junge Menschen und beim Gender Gap zwischen verschiedenen Ländern. Die nationale Politik und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen sind weitere wichtige Faktoren. Darüber hinaus könnte die unterschiedliche Stellung von Frauen und Männern auf dem Arbeitsmarkt und im Haushalt auch bedeuten, dass es genderbedingte Unterschiede bei den Auswirkungen von an junge Menschen gerichteten Maßnahmen und generell von politischen Eingriffen gibt, die die Nachfrage und das Angebot auf dem Arbeitsmarkt beeinflussen.
In Kapitel 4 werden die politischen Ansätze europäischer Länder bei der Bekämpfung von Schwierigkeiten junger Menschen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt aus einer Genderperspektive behandelt. Diese politischen Maßnahmen sind dabei ein zentrales Merkmal der Politik der Europäischen Union, sowohl auf nationaler wie auch auf EU-Ebene. Dennoch ist die Aufmerksamkeit, die Genderaspekten gewidmet wird, gering, auch wenn sie in den letzten Jahren zugenommen hat.
Angesichts des breiten Spektrums an Faktoren, die die Arbeitsmarktstellung von jungen Frauen und Männern beeinflussen, beschäftigt sich die Analyse mit aktiver und passiver Arbeitspolitik, Bildung und Fortbildung, Beschäftigung und Produktmarktregulierung, familienverbundener Besteuerung und Work-Life-Balance-Maßnahmen. Die Analyse basiert auf: einem ursprünglichen Datensatz politischer Indikatoren für alle Mitgliedstaaten im Zeitraum 1998–2010; den von nationalen Experten in 10 ausgewählten Mitgliedstaaten gesammelten Informationen sowie der sekundären Analyse von auf EU-Ebene vorhandenen Dokumenten und Evaluationen.
Politische Maßnahmen für die Unterstützung der Work-Life-Balance und für einen leichteren Übergang vom Bildungssystem in den Arbeitsmarkt scheinen eine besonders wichtige Rolle bei der Reduzierung des Gender Gaps bei jungen Menschen zu haben und gleichzeitig die Arbeitsmarktbedingungen für junge Frauen zu verbessern. Die Länder, deren politischer Ansatz schwerpunktmäßig auf dualer Ausbildung basiert (wie AT und DE) sowie die Nordischen Länder, die eine gut entwickelte Unterstützung der Work-Life-Balance anbieten, weisen einen viel geringeren Gender Gap bei den Arbeitsmarktbedingungen von jungen Menschen auf als andere Länder; ebenso höhere Beschäftigungsquoten und niedrigere Arbeitslosigkeit und NEET-Inaktivitätsquoten sowohl für junge Frauen wie für junge Männer. Maßnahmen, um die zu Stereotypisierung und Trennung von Frauen und Männern in der Schule und in der Ausbildung zu verringern, scheinen auch wichtig zu sein, um die Arbeitsmarktfähigkeit junger Frauen zu erhöhen und deren zukünftiges Einkommen und ihre sozio-ökonomischen Bedingungen zu verbessern.
Gezielte arbeitsmarktpolitische Maßnahmen könnten wirksam sein, aber diese haben oft keine genderspezifischen Merkmale, und junge Frauen sind viel weniger als junge Männer an Arbeitsfördermaßnahmen beteiligt und werden weniger stark durch passive Arbeitsmarktpolitik unterstützt. 2010 lag die durchschnittliche Deckungsrate

von Arbeitsfördermaßnahmen bei 32,3% bei jungen Frauen und bei 42,3% bei jungen Männern. Der Gender Gap bei der Deckungsrate ist bei Ausbildungsmaßnahmen besonders hoch (17,1% bei jungen Frauen im Vergleich zu 26,8% bei jungen Männern). Die Deckungsrate bei Maßnahmen für die Einkommensunterstützung bei Arbeitslosigkeit beträgt nur 18% bei jungen Frauen gegenüber 28,4% bei jungen Männern, was eher durch die höhere Häufigkeit von Inaktivität als durch höhere Arbeitslosenquoten bei jungen Frauen bedingt ist. Ein größerer Zugang von Frauen zu Arbeitsfördermaßnahmen könnte zum Beispiel durch flankierende Maßnahmen für die Unterstützung bei der Kinderbetreuung erreicht werden.

Eine eingehendere Analysis der in den Mitgliedsstaaten jüngst eingeführten Maßnahmen zur Unterstützung der Beschäftigung von jungen Menschen zeigt, dass die Aufmerksamkeit auf Genderunterschiede ein sehr junges Phänomen ist und noch ziemlich beschränkt. Ausbildungsprogramme, Unterstützung von Existenzgründungen junger Menschen, Arbeitsgarantie, Programme zur beruflichen Orientierung und Beschäftigungsanreize haben möglicherweise sehr unterschiedliche Folge für junge Männer und Frauen aufgrund von Gendertrennung in Schule und Arbeit und Genderunterschiede bei der Pflegeverantwortung. Es ist unbedingt nötig, eine Genderperspektive zu entwickeln, um die politische Debatte über junge Menschen anzuregen und um die Einführung effektiverer Maßnahmen zu unterstützen. Zum Beispiel sind präventive Maßnahmen hauptsächlich gegen Schulabbruch gerichtet, ein Phänomen, dass vorwiegend Männer betrifft, wohingegen die Aufmerksamkeit auf Geschlechterstereotypisierung und -Trennung in Schule und Ausbildung immer noch wenig verbreitet ist. Eine Reform der Lehrpläne, besonders hinsichtlich Genderstereotypen, die Festlegung von Zielen für die ausgewogene Teilnahme von Frauen und Männern an Kursen, Berufsorientierung und Medienkampagnen, um die Geschlechterstereotypisierung schon in jungen Jahren zu bekämpfen und Mädchen und Jungen zu ermutigen, eine größere Auswahl an Bildungs- und Berufspfaden in Betracht zu ziehen, sind wichtige Maßnahmen, um die Beschäftigungschancen zu erhöhen und die Kluft zwischen Bildung und Anforderungen des Arbeitsmarktes zu reduzieren. In den letzten Jahren nimmt die Aufmerksamkeit auf diese Themen bei bildungspolitischen Maßnahmen zu, aber die Krise und Haushaltsbeschränkungen verringern zunehmend die öffentlichen Mittel für diese Programme.

Was die Reintegration in den Arbeitsmarkt betrifft, könnte die Anerkennung von informellen, nicht im formalen Bildungssystem erworbenen Kenntnissen eine Rolle spielen, da Mädchen verschiedene Möglichkeiten haben, an externen Erfahrungen teilzunehmen. Hinsichtlich der Maßnahmen für einen leichteren Übergang von der Schule in den Beruf und für die Steigerung der Arbeitsmarktfähigkeit sollte der Verringerung von Geschlechterstereotypisierung bei der Berufswahl und der Steigerung der Teilnahme von Frauen an hochqualifizierten Ausbildungsprogrammen eine größere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden. Darüber hinaus sollten Unterschiede zwischen Frauen und Männern bei der Konzeption und Durchführung dieser Maßnahmen berücksichtigt werden, wie z.B. die Bereitstellung von Kinderbetreuung während der Ausbildung und Öffnungszeiten, die es ermöglichen, Berufs- und Privatleben besser zu vereinbaren.

Die Maßnahmen für die Unterstützung von Existenzgründungen sollten ausdrücklich die größeren Einschränkungen angehen, mit denen Frauen bei der Gründung von Unternehmen im Vergleich zu Männern konfrontiert werden (z.B. Zugang zu Finanzierungsmöglichkeiten). Auch Maßnahmen, die die Politik der Personalanwerbung und -Bindung von Unternehmen betreffen, die gezielte Beschäftigungsförderung und die Unterstützung bei der Kinderbetreuung könnten wirksame Mittel zur Ver-

ringerung von Geschlechterstereotypisierung und Gender Gaps im Beruf darstellen, vor allem wenn sie eine ausgewogene Aufteilung von Familienaufgaben zwischen Männern und Frauen fördern.

Bei der Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Ergebnisse scheint der Übergang vom Jugend- ins Erwachsenenalter komplexer zu werden, mit unterschiedlichen Aktivitätsphasen und abwechselnden Beschäftigungsformen und Berufen. Dies könnte zu einer Erhöhung des sozialen Risikos für junge Menschen führen. Dieser Übergang wird durch die aktuelle wirtschaftliche Lage noch weiter erschwert, die den Wechsel von der Schule in den Beruf noch prekärer macht. Es ist unklar, welche langfristigen Folgen, vor allem für Geringqualifizierte, das haben wird. In manchen Szenarien können Geringqualifizierte neue Jobs in der wachsenden Dienstleistungsbranche finden. In anderen Szenarien hingegen bleiben die langfristigen Perspektiven von Geringqualifizierten weiterhin problematisch.

Die Beschäftigung von jungen Menschen hat in Europa hohe Priorität, und im Kontext der EU-Initiative "Chancen für junge Menschen" wurde eine Vielzahl an Initiativen entwickelt, um junge Menschen zu unterstützen (Europäische Kommission 2012e, 2012f; OJEC 2012). Wenngleich diese Initiativen zweifellos von signifikanter Wichtigkeit sind, scheint ein besser integrierter Ansatz zum Übergang von jungen Menschen in den Arbeitsmarkt und anderen Übergängen im Leben junger Menschen zu fehlen (Knijn und Plantenga 2012: 206). Ein wichtiges Problem ist, dass das jetzige institutionelle System nicht der aktuellen Wirklichkeit vieler junger Menschen angepasst ist, da dieses System hauptsächlich an stabiler, dauerhafter Beschäftigung orientiert ist. Daher scheint es wichtig, die jetzige Unterscheidung zwischen sicherer, dauerhafter Beschäftigung und unsicherer, kurzfristiger Beschäftigung neu zu definieren. In manchen Ländern könnte das eine Änderung des gesetzlichen Arbeitnehmerschutzes bedeuten, in anderen könnten sich die Arbeitszeitregelungen ändern bzw. diesbezüglich mehrere Optionen zugelassen werden, wobei in fast allen Ländern die Anpassung des Sozialsystems an die neue Wirklichkeit flexibler und unsicherer Jobs die größte Herausforderung darstellt.

Angesichts der Schwerpunktsetzung auf Kostenbekämpfung und Haushaltskonsolidierung scheint die aktuelle Sozialpolitik das Förderungssystem für junge Menschen zu reduzieren, was bedeutet, dass sie (länger) von ihren Familien abhängig bleiben. Aus Genderperspektive stellt die Gefahr, dass Frauen und besonders gering qualifizierte Frauen sich Vollzeit ihren Familien widmen, das größte Risiko dar. Infolge dessen wird sich ihre Entfernung vom Arbeitsmarkt erhöhen, was ihre langfristigen Berufs- und Einkommensaussichten bedeutend einschränkt.

Introduction

The current financial and economic crisis has particularly hit young people, showing the structural difficulties they face in the transition to the labour market: their lack of work experience, of job search abilities and of financial and social resources to find employment. In 2011, the youth unemployment rate (15-24) ranked as high as 46.4% in Spain; on average in EU27 21.4% of young people were unemployed. Even more alarming is the fact that discouragement resulting from the lack of job opportunities has raised the inactivity rate. The NEET (not in employment, education or training) rate among the age group 15-24 reached 12.9% in 2011 compared to 10.9% in 2007. In contrast to past recessions, this time the increase in the NEET rate has also involved young highly educated workers.

What makes the socio-economic position of young people especially fragile is not only the high unemployment and inactivity rate, but also the changing labour market conditions. All over Europe, continuous full-time work is becoming less frequent. Instead, flexible forms of employment such as part-time work, fixed-term contracts, and self-employment are gaining importance (European Commission 2010a). These trends already have their impact at labour market entry level, resulting in prolonged school-to-work transitions and increasing difficulties in becoming established in the labour market. Although these trends are visible in most of European Member States, there are large differences across Member States concerning labour market flexibility and the insecurity and uncertainty young people are facing.

The consequences of 'starting fragile' might be rather negative, as a problematic transition into work is likely to be associated with a general reduction in long-term life chances. When the only available jobs are temporary ones, young persons have a high risk of becoming unemployed. Furthermore prolonged and frequent periods in temporary jobs and/or non-employment can have a long lasting "scarring effect", reducing future career, training and income opportunities (e.g. OECD 2002). As a result, a fragile start may have long-term consequences and high individual costs, hampering the opportunities to start an independent life and increasing the risk of poverty. It seems likely that a fragile start has consequences which go beyond the direct labour market effects: the fragile economic status may also have an impact on the opportunity to leave the family home (for example because it is impossible to get a mortgage) and / or to start a family. On a more general level, it may also impact outcomes such as happiness, job satisfaction and health.

Besides individual costs, the increase in precarious jobs and of non-employment among young people results in high social costs, related to the waste of young

human capital. Growth perspectives are thereby reduced, also because of the risks of brain drain; the risk of poverty increases, as well as income inequalities within and across generations; budget costs related to low fiscal revenues and high social expenditures increase. Recent Eurofound estimates (2012a) calculate that the costs of youth unemployment and inactivity in 2011 were €153bn (or 1.21% of EU26's GDP[1]), with the largest annual bill to be found in Italy with €32.6 (equivalent to 2.06% of Italy's GDP). France comes second with €22bn (1.11% of GDP). Greece and Bulgaria pay the most expensive bill in terms of their ratio to GDP (more than 3%).

Until now, the focus on deterioration of youth labour market conditions has stimulated new research that, however, hardly considers gender differences (e.g European Commission 2010a; OECD 2010; Mills et al. forthcoming). Gender differences are also ignored in most of the recent policy debates and in the measures taken to fight youth unemployment. This gender-blindness might endanger the efficiency and effectiveness of the new policies. Apprenticeships schemes, support to youth entrepreneurship, job guarantee schemes, occupational orientation programmes and employment incentives might have very different effects for young men and women due to gender segregation in education and employment and gender differences in access to social protection. Thus it is crucial to develop a gender perspective, not only to add to the existing academic literature, but also to enrich the policy debate on the socio-economic conditions of youth.

The aim of the report is to assess the impact of the current fragile start of young people in European labour markets, focusing on the impact on their labour market career as well as on their personal lives. In order to fill the gap of current research, this study pays particular attention to gender aspects. As women traditionally have a more vulnerable position in the labour market, the school-to-work transition may be even more 'fragile' for young women. At the same time there are indications that young men also face difficulties, e.g. unemployment rates have risen in particular in the sectors that are male-dominated. Current policy approaches both at the European and national levels to support the school-to-work transition will also be considered, with attention to their potential and actual gender impact according to the available data and evaluation literature.

Given the current fragile position of young people, investing in youth must be a key policy objective in order to achieve better long-term economic and social outcomes for all parties involved. As such, the results of the study are extremely relevant within the context of the EU policy Youth on the Move, which is one of the flagship initiatives of the Europe 2020 strategy. Youth on the Move aims to improve young people's education and employability, to reduce high youth unemployment and to increase the youth employment rate – in line with the wider EU target of achieving a 75% employment rate for the working-age population (20-64 years).

The report includes results of a quantitative analysis of relevant micro data, notably European Labour Force Survey (EU LFS), the EU LFS ad hoc module on school-to-work transitions (2009), and European Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU SILC). In addition, a qualitative analysis is included, using in-depth information gathered by national experts in 10 selected EU Member States. The main focus is on the youth category of 15-29 years old, in order to consider also those with a doctorate degree. Whenever relevant for the analysis and depending on the availability of comparative data, the analysis considers different age categories in the youth population: indicati-

1 No data available for Malta.

vely the 15-24 and 25-29 age groups.

The Member States that have been selected for the qualitative analysis reflect the variety of the European Union in terms of labour market characteristics, extent of gender differences and policy approaches, and include the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Latvia, Netherlands, the Slovak Republic, Spain and the United Kingdom. Spain and Italy are considered because of their high rate of temporary contracts among young persons and high NEET rates. In Germany NEET rates are relatively low, but gender gaps relatively high; the apprenticeships system facilitates the school-to-work transition especially for young men. In addition, the share of temporary contracts among young workers is high. The Netherlands has the lowest NEET rates, and almost null gender gap and high incidence of part-time jobs. Denmark also has a low share of NEET, with the female NEET rate lower than the male one. In addition, Denmark has low shares of temporary work and high share of part-time work; the gender gap in employment rate after leaving initial education is relatively small. The United Kingdom combines a relatively low share of temporary contracts among young persons with an average gender gap in employment rate after leaving initial education; moreover it presents relatively high NEET rates. France has average NEET rates with low gender gaps. The gender gaps in employment are relatively high as is the share of temporary contracts among young people. The Czech Republic combines a relatively low share of NEET rates and temporary contracts among young persons and relatively high gender gaps in youth employment rates. Finally, Latvia and the Slovak Republic are included. In Latvia the NEET in 2011 was above 15% and increasing more than the EU average. In the Slovak Republic too, the NEET rate is relatively high and youth employment rates is among the lowest in the EU27, especially for young women.

The report consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 presents the current labour market position of young men and women in the European Member States and discusses the effects of the crisis and the role of individual and households characteristics in explaining gender and country differences on the basis of the socio-economic literature and of an econometric analysis. In chapter 2, the focus is on how early career paths of young people are affected by a fragile start. Issues addressed include the number of transitions young people make in their early career and whether temporary jobs should be seen as a stepping stone to permanent jobs or mainly as a flexibility instrument. The aim of chapter 3 is to analyse the impact of a fragile start on personal family life. Topics include social protection, living independently and starting a family. This section is mainly qualitative in focus. Chapter 4 presents a comparative analysis of national policy responses to the high youth unemployment with the aim to feed into the current policy discussion addressing the potential effectiveness of adopted measures from a gender perspective. Finally, chapter 5 provides a summary of the main findings.

1. Starting fragile: gender differences in youth labour market conditions in the EU Member States

Introduction

The overall labour market situation in most European Member States is dramatic when it comes to young people. Young people have been particularly hit by the current economic crisis, as shown by the high and increasing unemployment and inactivity rate. In addition, the changing labour market conditions, with flexible forms of employment gaining importance in all Member States, makes the position of young persons especially fragile. Although these trends are visible in most of the European countries, there are large country differences concerning labour market flexibility and the insecurity and uncertainty young people are facing.
Gender differences in youth labour conditions are considerable, but are often not addressed in the research on recent labour trends and ignored in the policy debate on measures to be taken to support youth employment. In section 1.1, this chapter presents an overview of the main differences in the current labour market position of young women and men in the EU Member States and the effects of the crisis. The analysis is based on the EU LFS and the EU SILC micro data[2]. In section 1.2, a multivariate analysis is carried out to assess to what extent gender differences in youth labour market conditions across EU Member States are explained by individual characteristics and family conditions.

1.1 Gender effects of the crisis and youth labour market conditions in 2011: an overview

The current financial and economic crisis has particularly hit young people, because they lack work experience and the financial and social resources to find employment. As a result, they are far more likely than other groups to be employed in non-standard and insecure jobs, independently from their education and skills. The youth labour market is therefore significantly more volatile and sensitive to the business cycle than that of adult workers. Between 2007 and 2011, the youth (aged

2 Statistics have been calculated on the most recent data available on the bases of the EU LFS and EU SILC micro data. In order to overcome data limitations due to the small sample size, in some case calculations are based on weighted averages of different waves. For each table/figure, weakly and/or not reliable/available data are indicated in footnotes. However and in particular in the case of EU SILC data, the analysis must be considered with caution, given the very small sample size.

15-29) employment rate in the EU27 dropped by 3.3 percentage points and the unemployment rate increased by 4.7 percentage points[3]. Young people accounted for almost 35% of total unemployment growth and the unemployment rate differential between youth and adults widened (see table 1.1). In effect, in 2011 the youth unemployment rate in Europe is twice that of prime age workers. There is, however, wide variation across countries: while in Germany (where apprenticeship is widespread) youth unemployment is low and close to that of prime age workers, in Italy it is three times that of prime age workers. Furthermore, discouragement resulting from the lack of job opportunities has raised the inactivity rate, so that the NEET (not in employment, education or training) rate has reached 15.4% in 2011 in the EU27.[4] In contrast to past recessions, this time the increase in the NEET rate has also involved young highly educated workers.

As shown in Table 1.1, the crisis has worsened the labour market conditions more for young men (particularly those aged 15-24) than for young women, thus reducing the existing gender gaps. This is due to the characteristics of the recession strongly hitting the manufacturing and construction sectors, which traditionally employ mainly men. The sharp increase in the unemployment rate of young males aged 15-24 has reversed gender gaps, so that in 2011 young men's unemployment rates are higher than female ones. In spite of these trends, youth NEET rates remain higher for females, and employment rates lower, particularly for the 25-29 age group.

Table 1.1 - Main labour market indicators by age group, 2007/2011, EU27 average

	2007			2011		
	Men	Women	Gap (W - M)	Men	Women	Gap (W - M)
Employment rate (ER) by age						
15-24	40.4	34.2	-6.2	35.7	31.4	-4.3
25-29	81.8	68.7	-13.1	77.1	67	-10.1
15-29	55	46.5	-8.5	50.6	44.3	-6.3
30-54	87.8	71.7	-16	85.1	72.1	-13
Unemployment rate (UR) by age						
15-24	15.1	15.9	0.8	21.8	20.7	-1.1
25-29	8.1	9.4	1.3	12.5	12.7	0.2
15-29	11.6	12.6	1	17	16.5	-0.4
30-54	5.1	6.7	1.6	7.7	8.3	0.6
NEET rate by age						
15-24	9.7	12.2	2.5	12.5	13.4	0.9
25-29	11	23.7	12.7	15	24.7	9.7
15-29	10.2	16.3	6.1	13.4	17.4	4.1

Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS, annual average-

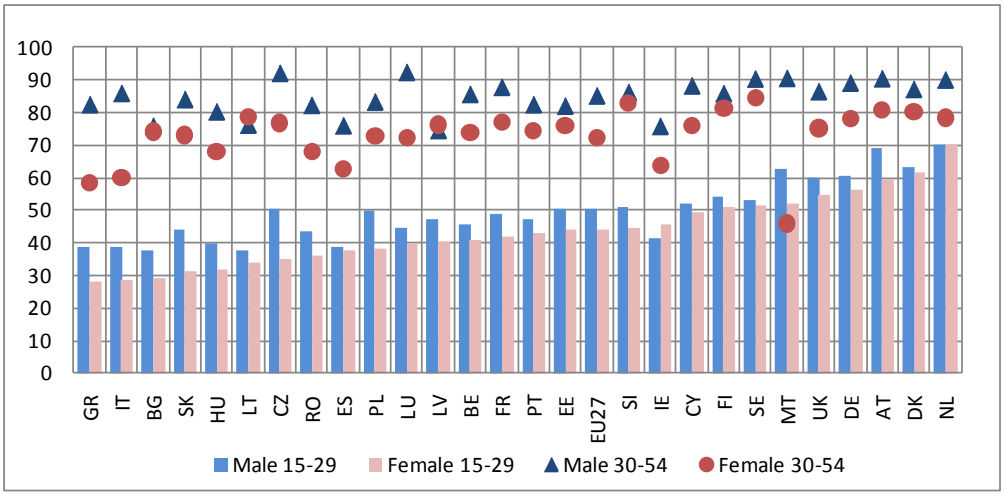
3 Only two EU countries registered an increase in the youth employment rate: Germany (for males and females) and Estonia (only for females).

4 NEET rate is defined as the percentage of the population of a given age group who is not employed and not involved in further education or training. The concept of NEET is related to youth unemployment and inactivity not due to education and training; furthermore, while youth unemployment refers to the economically active population, the NEET rate is based on the population as a whole. As a result, NEET rates may be lower than unemployment rates (see also Eurofound 2012a).

For almost all European countries, the increase in NEET rates is mainly due to a rise in unemployment for both males and females (see Annex 1.1. Figure A1). Only few countries register a reduction in the unemployment rates for young aged 15-29: Belgium and Sweden for women, Austria and Germany both for women and men. Male unemployment has increased much more sharply than female unemployment, reversing the gender gap in many countries. Female unemployment rates remain however higher than males' in southern Europe. Also the inactivity rate has increased for males in the majority of European Member States, while for females it has raised only in some countries (IT, IE, BG, RO, DK, BE).

Figure 1.1 compares gender differences in the 2011 employment rates across EU countries for the 15-29 and the 30-54 age groups. In most Member States (24 out of 27), the employment rates of young women aged 15-29 are lower than the male ones, and gender differentials are particularly high in eastern and southern EU countries: CZ, GR, SK, IT, PL and MT present gender gaps in youth employment rates above 10 percentage points. Adults/young differentials in employment rates (measured by the ratio between the youth and adult employment rates) range between 1.5 and 2, both for males and females, in the majority of the Member States (14 out of 27). Southern and eastern countries (GR, IT, HU, CZ, BG, SK, LT) present the largest adults/young differentials in employment rates both for women and men, while age differentials are smaller in Denmark and the Netherlands. Only in Malta the employment rate of young women is higher than that of prime age women, probably due to high exit rates for care reasons among prime age women and a low retirement age[5].

Figure 1.1 - Employment rate by gender and age, 2011 (%)

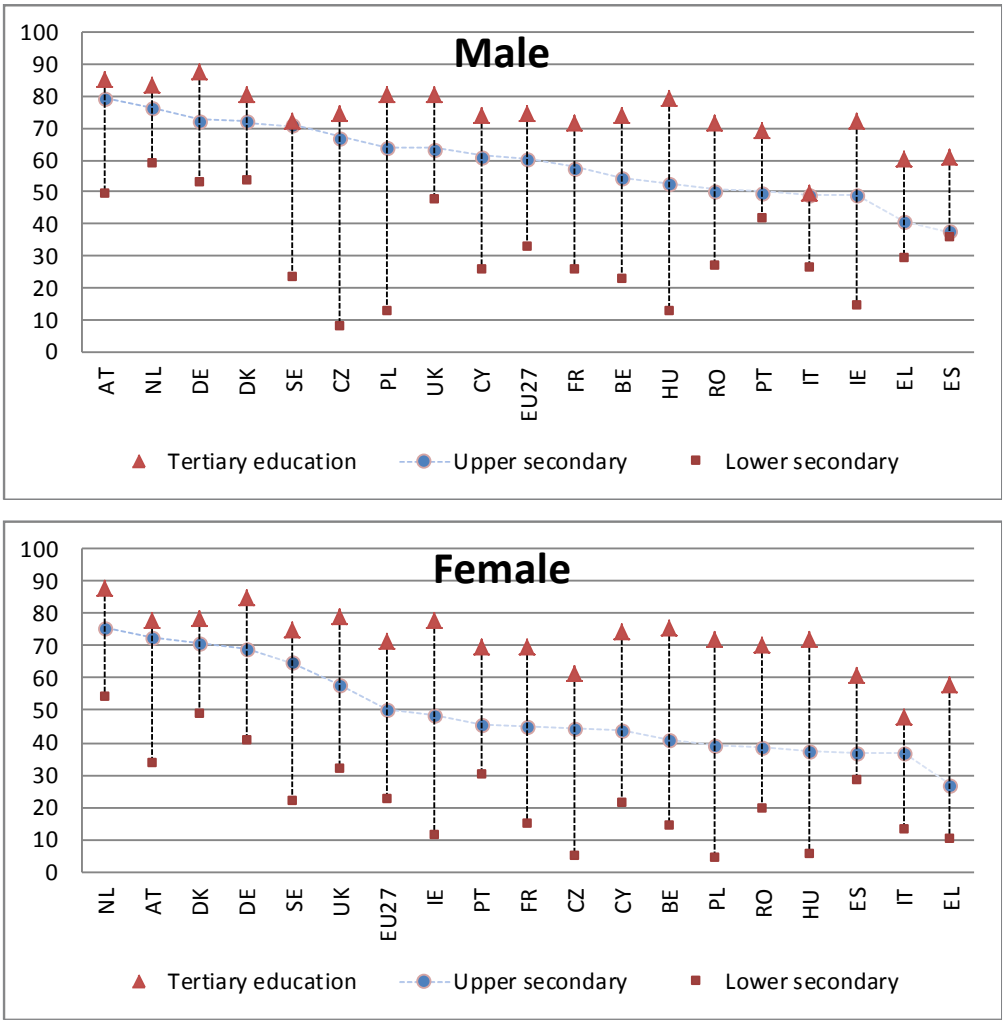


Source: Eurostat, EU LFS, annual average

Education seems to play a key role in employment opportunities, especially for young women: gender gaps in the employment rates for young people with tertiary education tend to be lower in all countries and in 5 countries (BE, IE, NL, PT, SE) the employment rate of highly educated young women is even higher than the male one (Figure 1.2).

5 According to Eurostat estimations Malta is the MS which presents the lowest working life duration for females: 22.3 years in 2011.

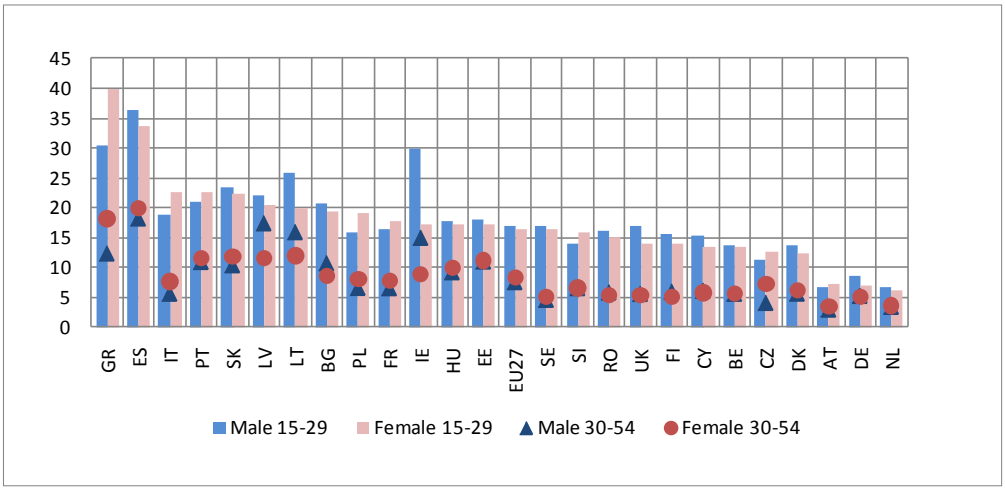
Figure 1.2 - Employment rate by gender and education for youth aged 15-29, 2011 (%)



Note: no data available for BG, EE, LT, LV, LU, SI, SK, FI, MT.
Source: Eurostat, EU LFS, annual average

Gender differences in youth unemployment rates are mixed: the female unemployment rate is higher than the male one in southern Europe (IT, GR, PT, SI, FR) and in PL, CZ, AT; while it is lower for young women in 16 out of 27 countries (Figure 1.3), probably due to the fact that women tend to exit the labour force (and become inactive) when they cannot find a job. Youth unemployment rates are very high compared to prime age workers and young/prime age differentials tend to be higher for males in most MSs, since female participation to the labour market decreases with age .

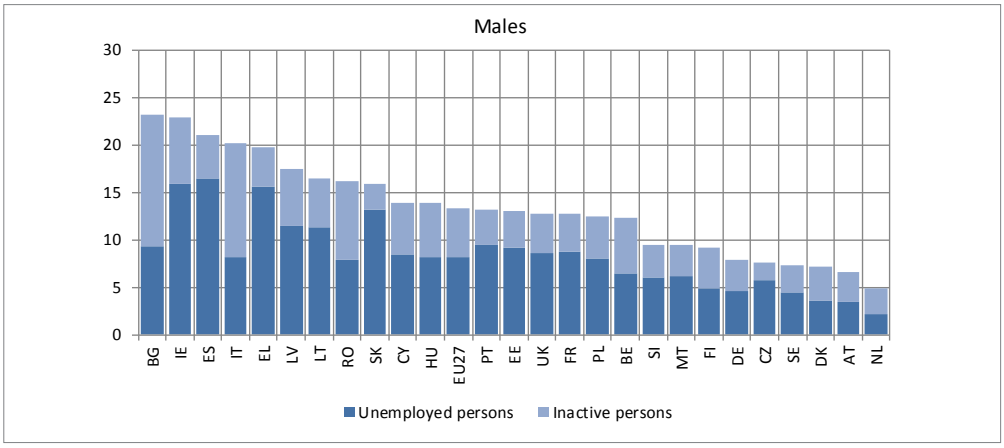
Figure 1.3 – Unemployment rate by gender and age, 2011 (%)



Note: data for LU and MT not available
Source: Eurostat, EU LFS, annual average

As shown in Figure 1.4, in 2011 NEET rates are higher for females in almost all European countries. It is especially the inactive component of NEETs that is higher for females in all countries. Gender gaps are particularly high in eastern (CZ, RO) and southern Europe (GR, MT), while they are smaller in northern Europe (FI, SE, DK). Only in Lithuania and Ireland NEET rates for males are higher than for females due to the very high increase in young men unemployment with the recession.

Figure 1.4 - NEET rates by type and by gender for youth aged 15-29, 2011 (%)



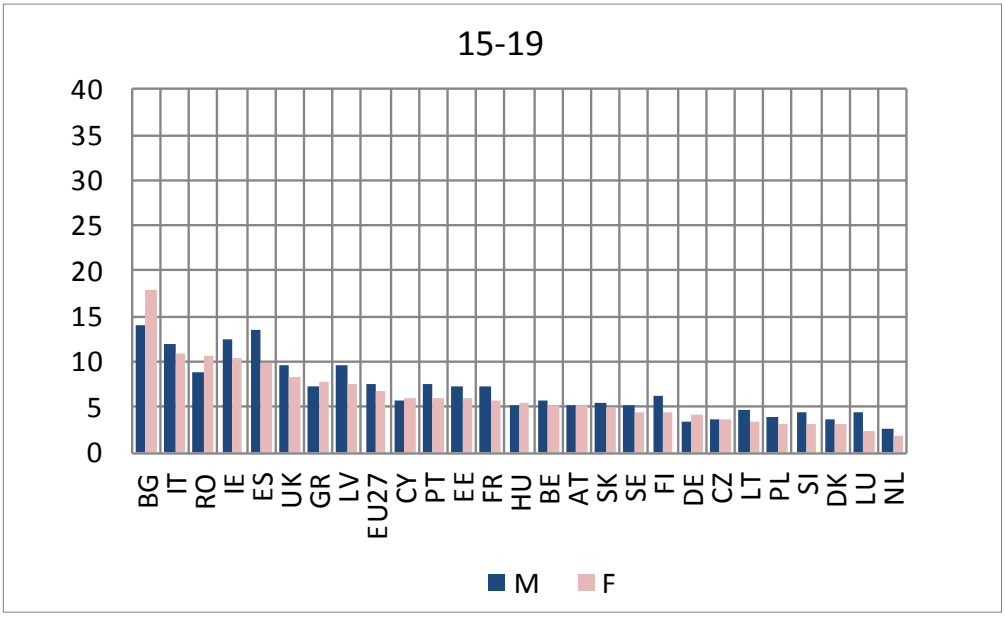
Note: no data available for LU (males); Malta: Total NEET rate (female).
Source: Eurostat, EU LFS, annual average

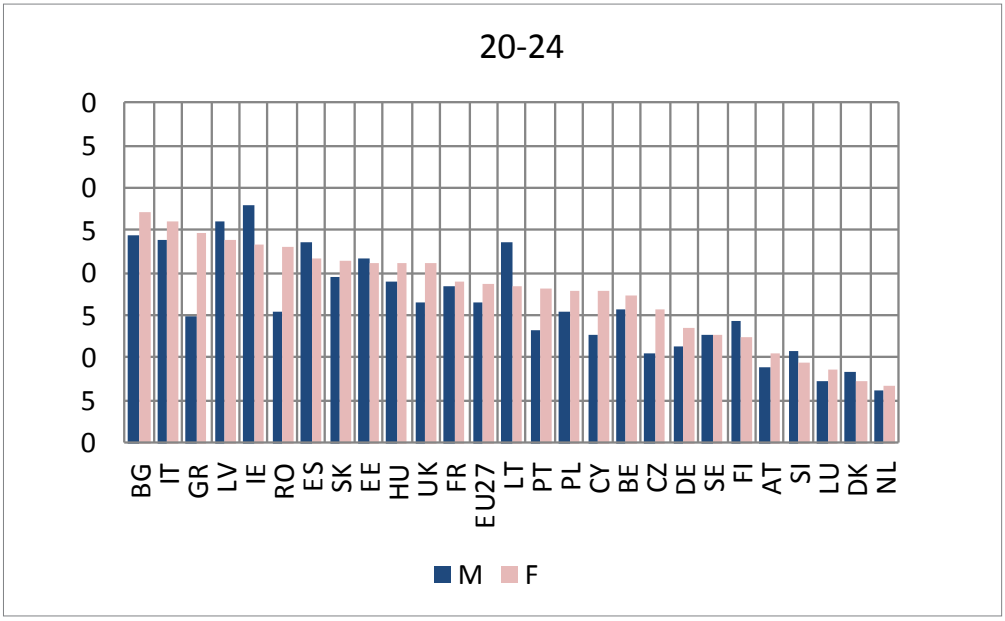
1.1.1 Gender differences in NEET status and personal characteristics

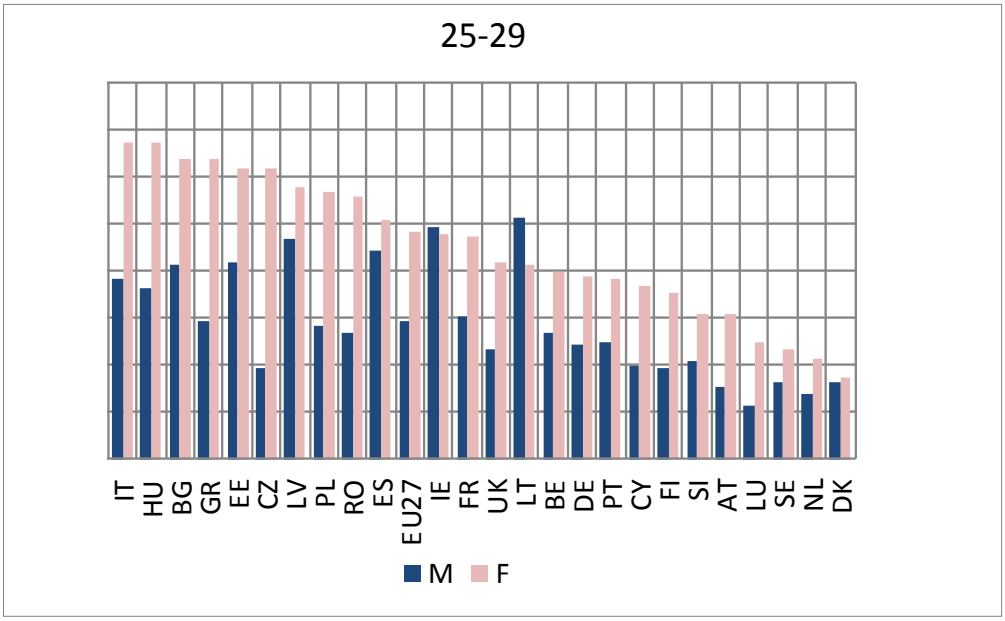
Gender differences in NEET rates vary significantly according to personal characteristics.

In the majority of Member States NEET rates and gender gaps tend to increase with age (see Figure 1.5). NEET rates for the age cohort 15-19 tend to be lower than for the 20-24 and 25-29 age cohorts in all countries, since a large share of this age cohort is still in education. Since women tend to stay in education longer than men, in this age bracket females NEET rates are lower than males' in most countries (19 out 27 Member States). In the age bracket 20-24 NEET rates tend to increase both for males and females due to the frictions in finding the first job. The largest gender differences emerge in the age bracket 25-29. As more young women have children and leave the labour market, the female NEET rates increase (reaching 24.2% on average for the EU27) and largely exceed the males' ones in almost all of the Member States (25 out of 27). In some countries (SK, IT, HU, BG) the incidence of NEETs among women aged 25-29 reaches one third of the population. In contrast, males NEET rates tend to decrease for the 25-29 age group, after reaching a peak (16.6% on average for the EU27) in the age cohort 20-24 in almost all European countries.

Figure 1.5 – NEET rates by gender and age, 2009-2010 (%)



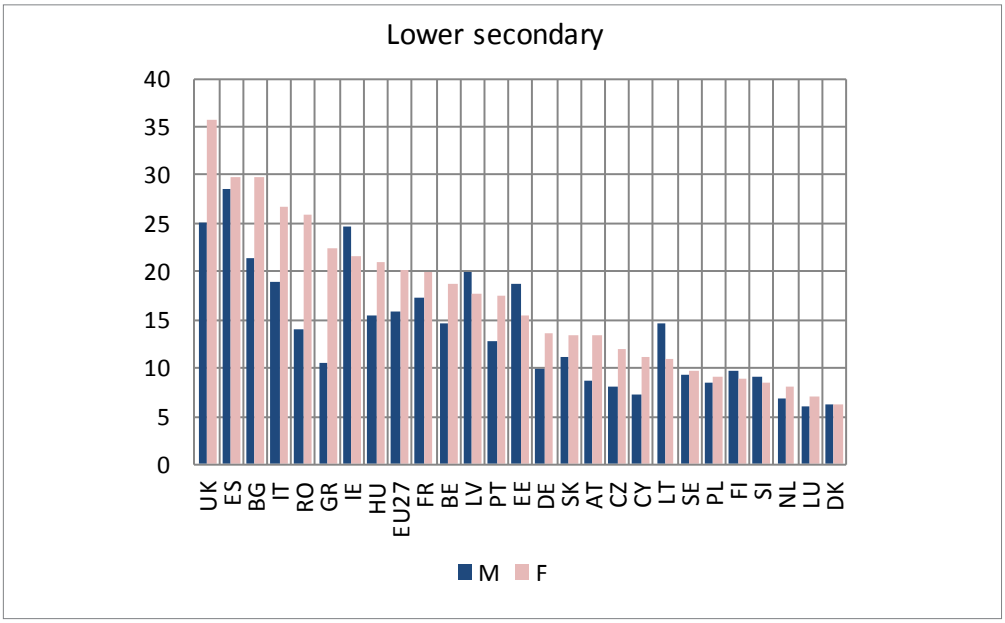




Note: no data available for MT; data weakly reliable for LU (males 15-19)
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

The level of educational attainment plays a crucial role in being NEET, especially for women. As shown in Figure 1.6 NEET rates tend to be lower for young people with tertiary educational levels and gender gaps are lower as well: 2.6 p.p on average for the EU27 relative to 4.3 p.p for young people with low secondary education and 5.1 for those upper secondary education. Yet, there are significant cross-country differences. NEET rates are particularly high for young women with low education in Mediterranean countries (ES, IT, GR), in Bulgaria and Romania (around 25-30%), and especially in the UK (35%). Moreover, in the Baltic and eastern countries (BG, HU, PL, CZ), as well as in Italy, Ireland and Greece, the economic crisis has increased the probability of moving into the NEET status even for women with secondary and tertiary education, so that more than one-fifth of young women with these educational levels are NEET.

Figure 1.6 - NEET rates by gender and education for youth aged 15-29, 2009-2010 (%)

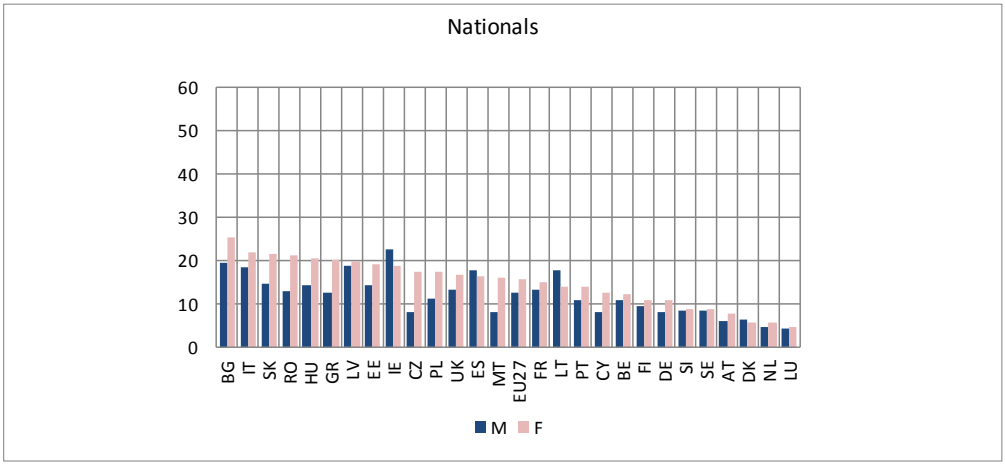


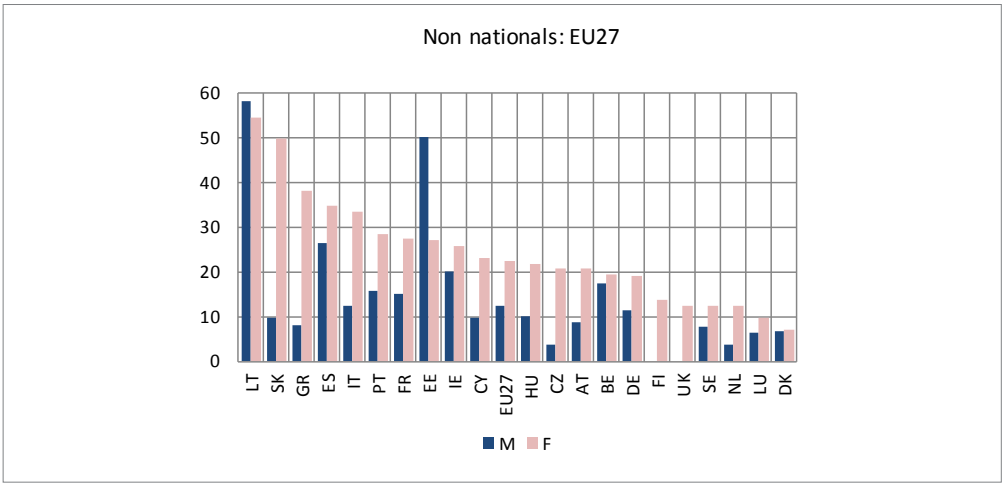
Notes: data not available for MT; data weakly reliable for males tertiary education for: AT; EE; LU; SI
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

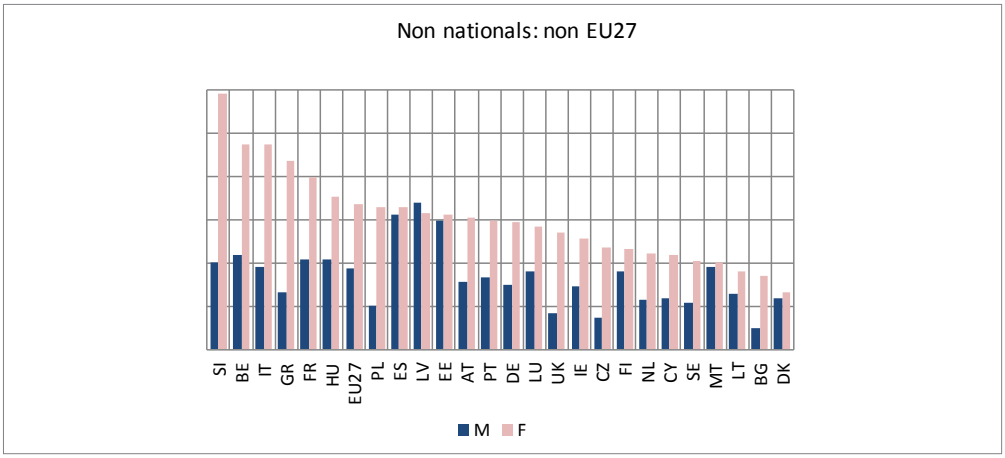
Young people with a migrant background are particularly vulnerable in the labour market: non-nationals (i.e citizen of another country) are much more likely to become NEET compared to nationals, with NEET rates reaching 24% relative to 14% for young nationals for the EU27 average. As shown in Figure 1.7, NEET rates tend to be particularly high for young non EU nationals (26.4%) and particularly for women (33.6%).

Furthermore, differentials in NEET rates between nationals and non-nationals are much larger among young women than among men. In all the countries considered, NEET rates for young women of foreign origin are higher than those for national women, while for young men this occurs in 15 countries out of the 19 for which data are available. There are large differences across Member States in the NEET rates of young people with a migrant background which seem strongly related to the country of origin (cultural background and migration motivations).

Figure 1.7 - NEET rate by gender and nationality for youth aged 15-29, 2009-2010 (%)





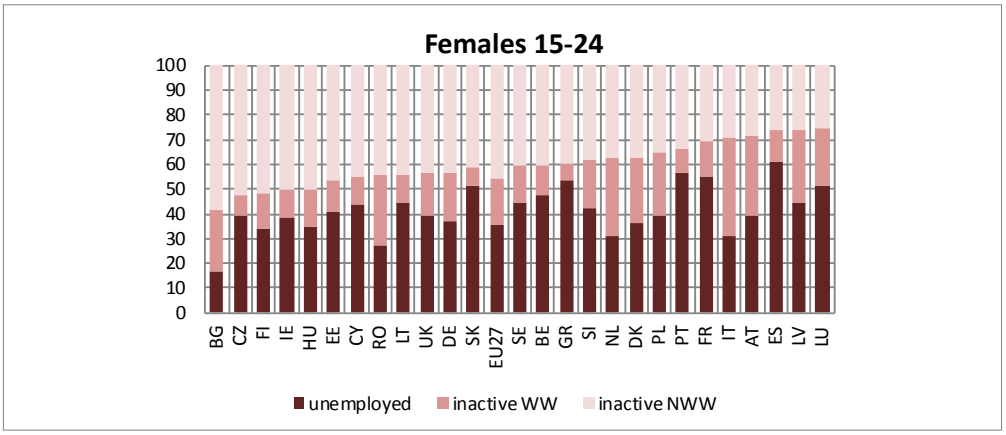


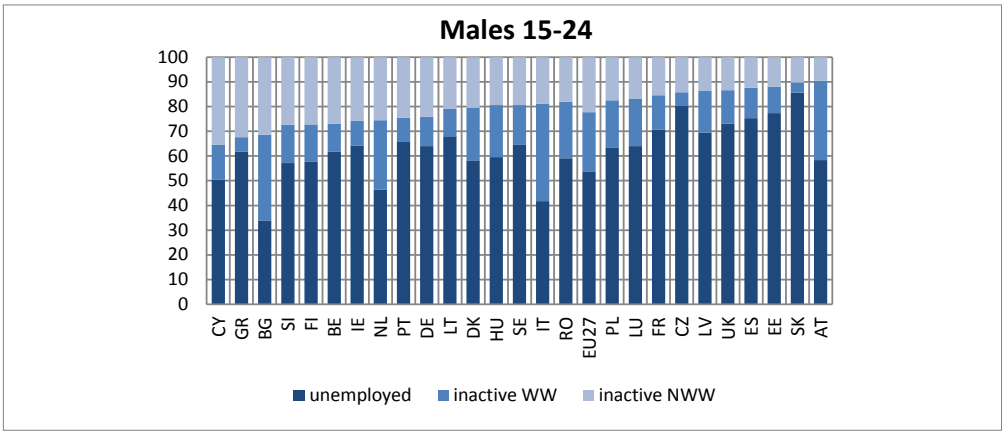
Note: Data not available for non-national (EU27) males and females in BG; LV; MT; PL; SI; RO, SK; data not available for non-national (EU27) males in FI; UK; data not available for non-national (non EU27) males and females: RO, SK.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

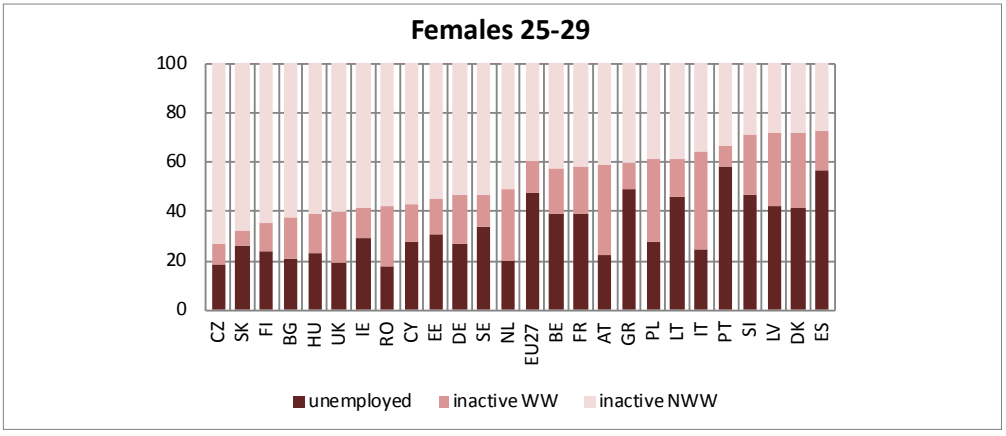
Gender differences among youth are also relevant when distinguishing between unemployed and inactive NEETs[6] (see Figure 1.8). As anticipated, for females predominates the inactivity component, while for males the unemployment component. Gender differences tend to increase with age: the inactivity component increases from 65% for young women aged 15-24 to 69% for those aged 25-29; whereas the unemployment component for males in the same age groups increases from 63% to 65%. It is interesting to notice that these changes in the composition of NEETs across age groups are mainly driven by the share of inactive youth not wanting to work: +5p.p. for females and -2 p.p. for males. Moreover, Figure 1.8 evidences that there are large country differences in the composition of NEETs among young women: the share of inactivity for NEET women aged 25-29 reaches 80% in Bulgaria, Romania, the Czech Republic and in the United Kingdom; while it is lower in Spain and Portugal, 42% and 44%, respectively.

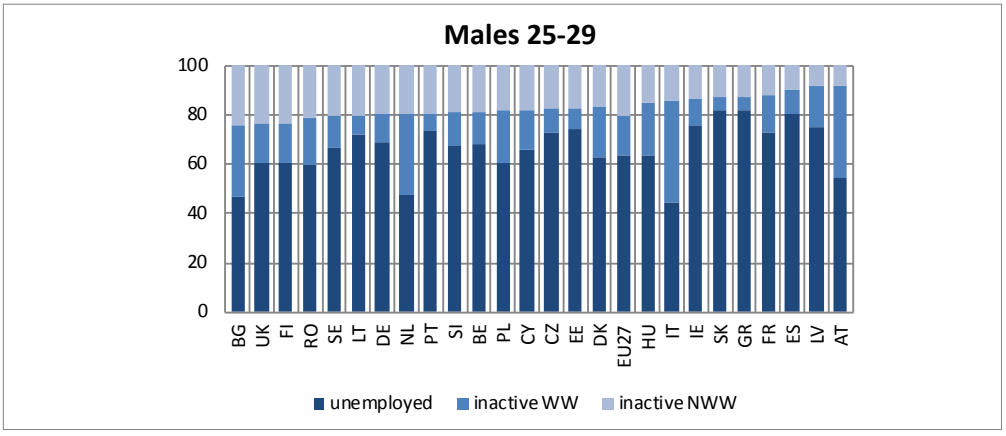
6 Inactive NEETs include those who do not want to work and those who would like to work but do not search actively a job.

Figure 1.8 – NEET aged 15-29: composition by gender and age group, 2009-2010 (%)





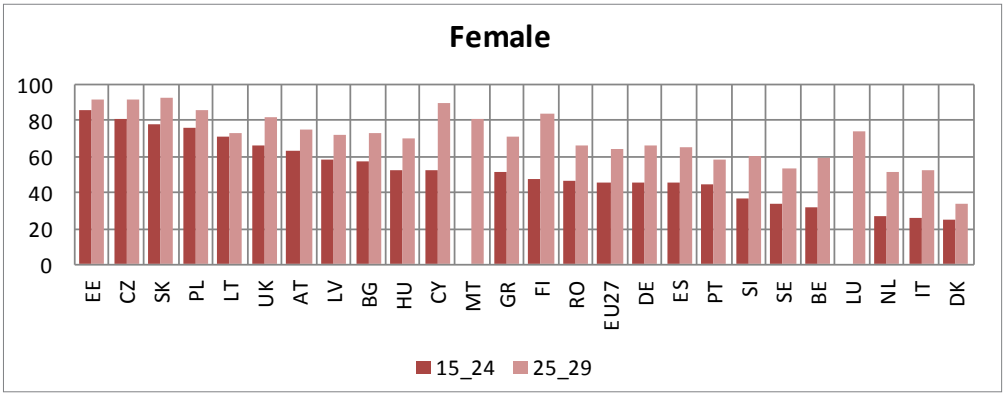




Note: WW: wanting work; NWW: not wanting work.
No data available for MT and for 25-29 years old for LU; data weakly reliable for females 15-24 WW (CY, LU,LV, SI) and NWW (LU); for males 15-24 WW (CY, LU, SI); for females 25-29 WW (LT) ; for males 25-29 WW (CY, EE, LV, SI) and NWW (AT, CY, SI)
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

Among young inactive NEETs there is also a strong gender difference in the reasons for not seeking employment. Family responsibilities represent a key issue for women, especially in the age group 25-29 (see figure 1.9): in 24 countries, looking after children or having other personal or family responsibilities are mentioned by more than 50% of young inactive NEET women aged 25-29 and by only 9% of young men.
In contrast, the proportion of young inactive NEETs aged 15-29 who thought that seeking employment was not worthwhile because of the lack of opportunities (discouraged workers) was more than twice as high among young men (17%) than among young women (7%). Italy, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary are the countries with the highest incidence of discouraged workers among young NEETs (between 17 and 30 per cent).

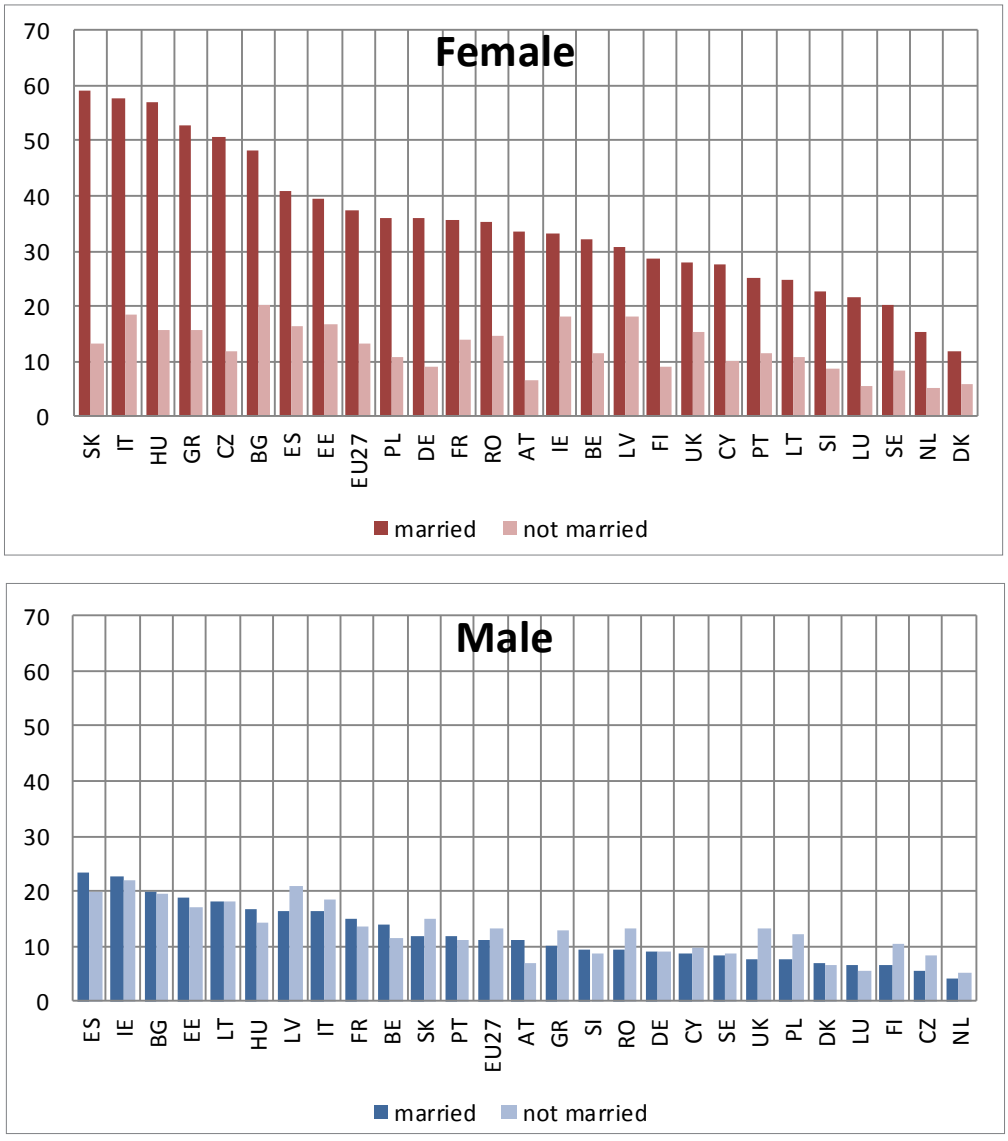
Figure 1.9 - Inactive NEET women not seeking work because of family care by age, 2009-2010 (share of NEET not seeking work)



Note: data not available for 15-24 for LU and MT; data weakly reliable for 15-24 (SI); data not reliable for IE and FR because of a large number of no answers.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

Indeed, NEET rates by gender and marital status (figure 1.10) show that while for young women being married implies a much higher NEET rate (for the inactive component) in all countries, for males it is usually the opposite: in only 10 countries out of 27, married men present higher NEET rates than non-married ones. The figure also shows that country differences in female NEET rates mainly concern married young women.

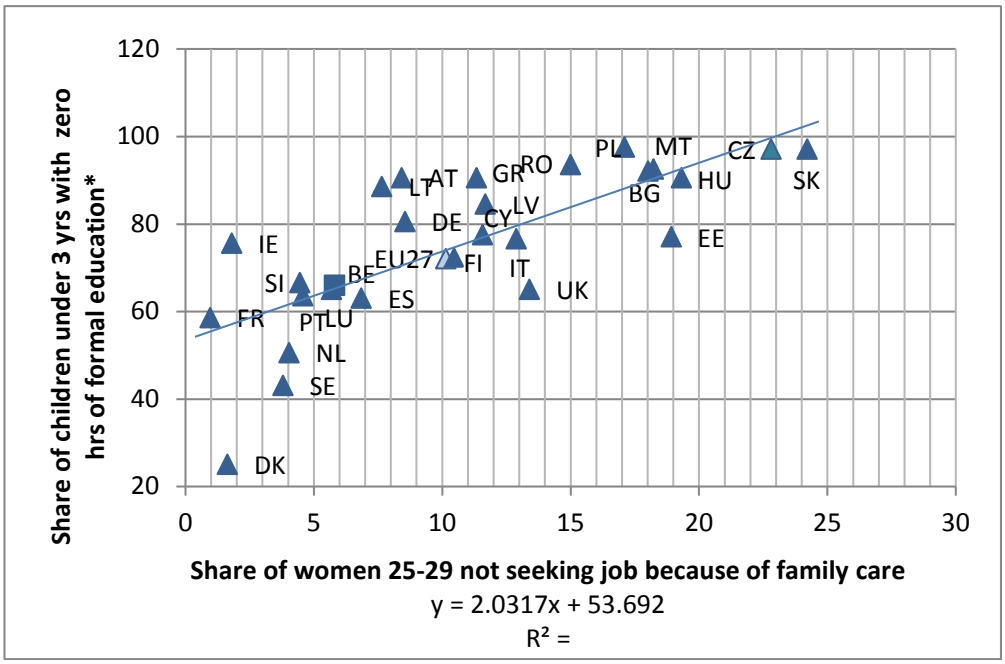
Figure 1.10 - NEET rate by gender and marital status, youth aged 15-29, 2009-2010 (%)



Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

This is probably related to the prevalent socio-cultural framework in each country and the availability of care services. Figure 1.11 evidences a strong positive relationship between the scarcity of childcare services (approximated by the share of children under 3 years with zero hours of formal education) and the share of young women aged 25-29 not seeking work (see for more details chapters 3 and 4).

Figure 1.11 - Young women inactivity due to family care responsibilities and share of children under 3 years of age with zero hours of formal education (%).



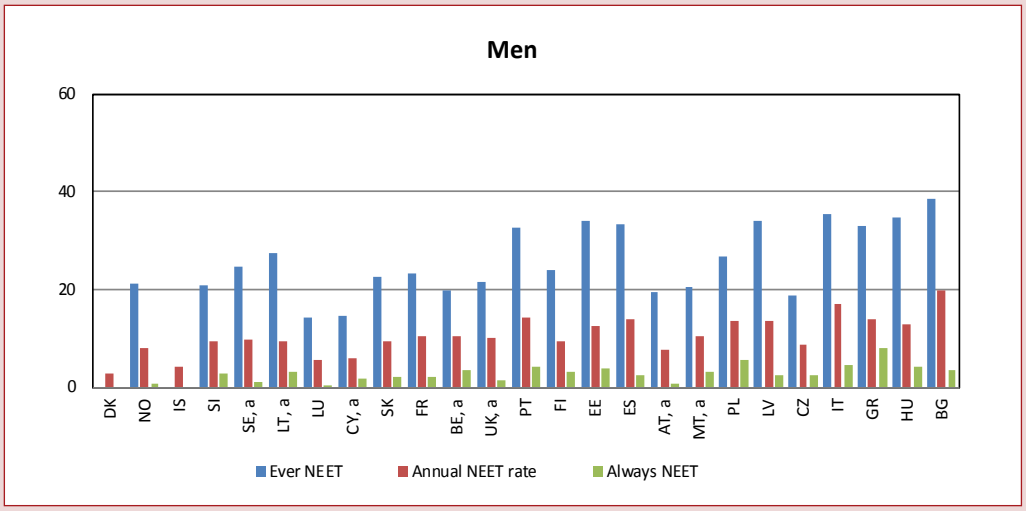
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data and SILC metadata, average 2009/2010

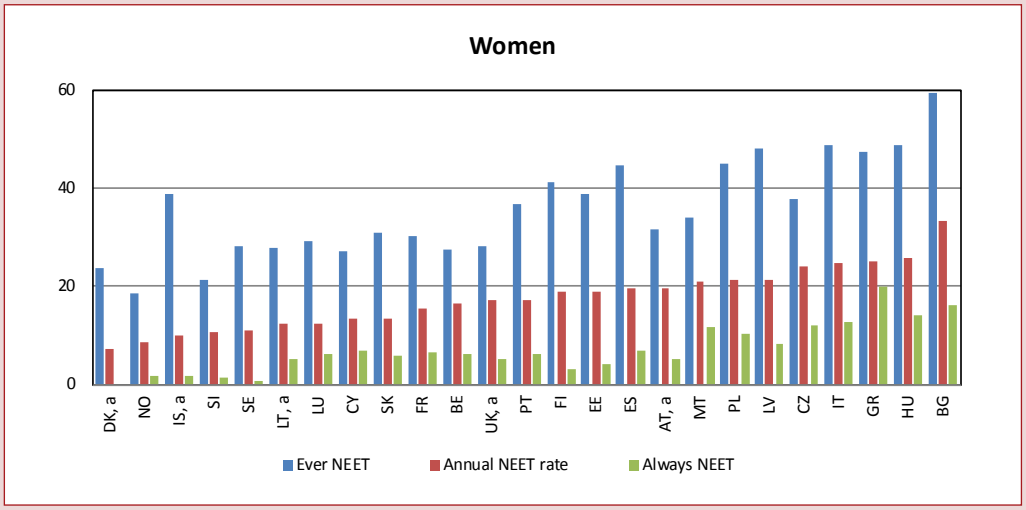
Gender differences in NEET conditions are relevant in explaining gender gaps in NEET persistence, as shown in Box 1.1. Young NEET women show a greater persistence in the status and a lower turnover than young men, especially in southern and eastern Europe (Italy, Greece, Malta, Poland, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Hungary), due to their greater probability to be inactive rather than unemployed.

Box 1.1 - Gender differences in the persistence of the NEET status

In countries where the school-to-work transition takes a long time, NEET rates and durations are high (Figure B1.1.1 and Figure B1.1.2), even if the share of young observed in NEET for four consecutive years is rather small. Gender and cross-country differences are however sizable, ranging from close to zero in Denmark for both young men and women to 8% and 20% in Greece for men and women respectively.
Turnover in NEET status, measured as the ratio of "ever NEET" (i.e. the share of young individuals who experienced at least one NEET spell over the period 2006-2009) to "always NEET" (i.e. share of young people who have been NEET from 2006 to 2009) is higher in Nordic countries. The exit rate is, on average, above 30%, but the recurrence rate is also high, especially for females in Spain, where 59.2% of those leaving the NEET status enter again in the following three or four years, and Finland (70%).
Young women have higher annual NEET rates and always NEET in the 2006-2009 period and lower exit rates than men.

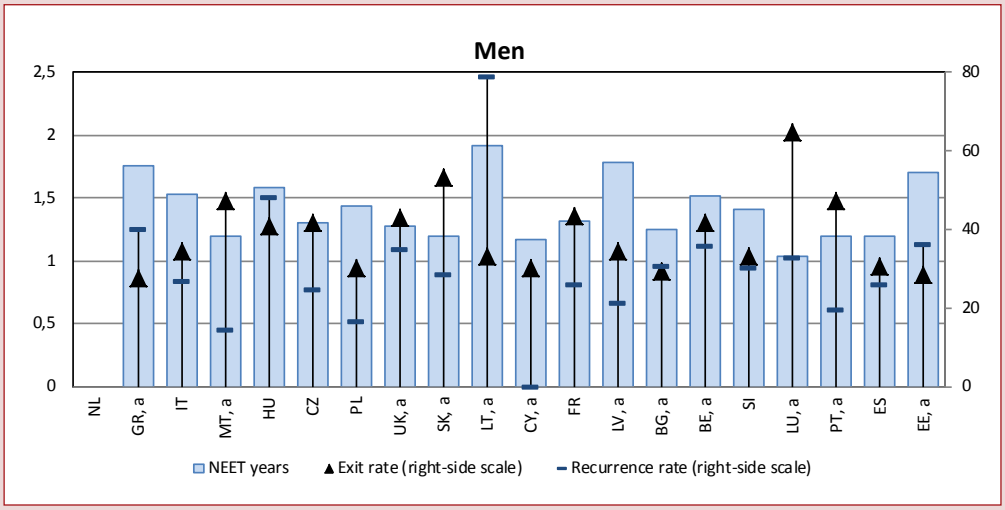
Figure B 1.1.1 - Incidence of NEET over 2006-2009
Percentage of youth (15-29) neither in education nor employed in 2006-2009.

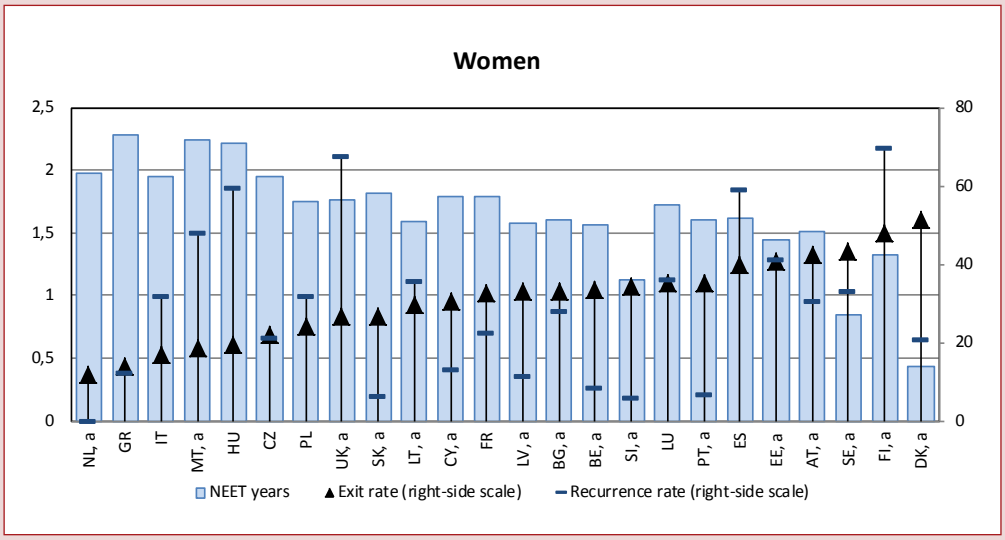




Legend: Ever NEET = share of young individual who experienced at least one NEET spell over the period 2006-2009
Annual NEET rate: share of NEET yearly average on 2006-2009
Always NEET: share of young who have been NEET from 2006 to 2009
Note: only countries with at least weakly reliable data are displayed; a) displayed statistics are weakly reliable due to small sample size. Countries are ranked in ascending order by the annual NEET rate for women.
Source: calculation based on Eurostat, EU SILC 2006-2009.

Figure B 1.1.2 – Four-year experience of NEET in 2006-2009
Percentage of youth (15-29) neither in education nor employed in 2006-2009.





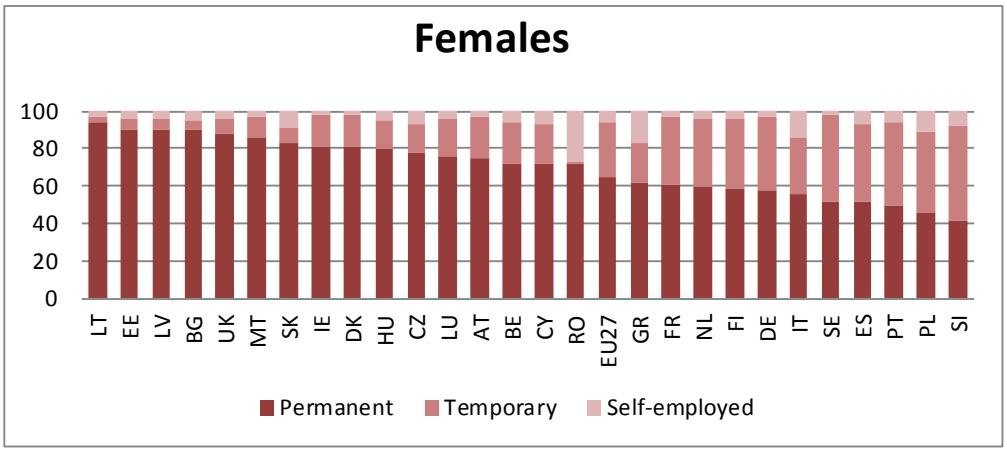
Legend: NEET years: average number of years in NEET after 2006; Exit rate: share of young who were NEET in 2006 and employed in 2007
Recurrence rate: share of young who were NEET in 2006, employed in 2007 and experience NEET again in the following period
Note: only countries with at least weakly reliable data are displayed; a) displayed statistics are weakly reliable due to small sample size. Countries are ranked in ascending order by the exit rate from NEET for women.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU SILC 2006-2009.

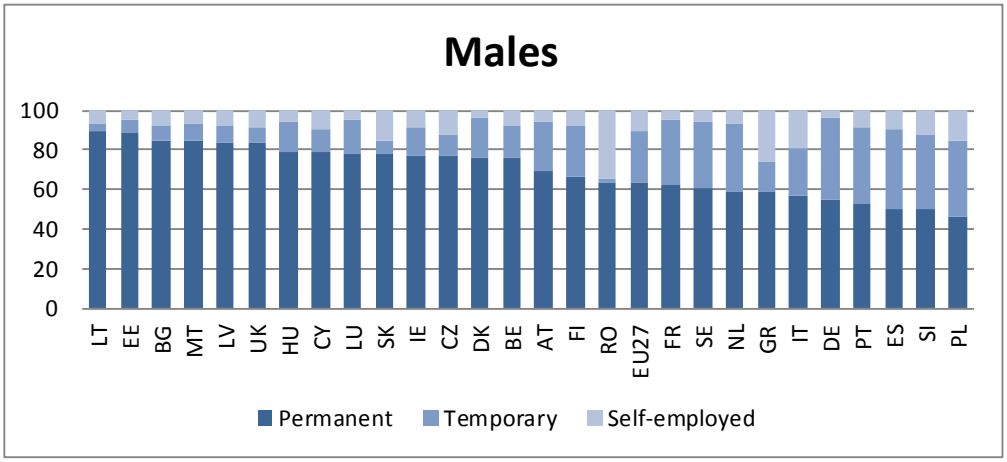
1.1.2 The fragility of employment conditions

In almost all European Member States, the most common form of employment among youth aged 15-29 is open-ended dependent work. Nonetheless, young people are disproportionally likely to be employed in temporary jobs: almost 1 out of 3 European young workers is employed on a temporary basis. On average, young women present a higher incidence of temporary employment than young men, and a lower incidence of self- employment.

There are, however, wide differences across European Member States. For example, Romania, Greece and Italy have a relative high share (between 20-30 per cent) of self-employment among young workers (both men and women). Low regulated and low protected temporary contracts are widely spread among young workers in Mediterranean countries (PT, SP, IT), in Slovenia, Poland and Sweden. In these countries, temporary work has a particularly high incidence (above 40%) for women. In contrast, in Austria, Germany, Denmark, temporary employment is more spread among males, who are largely employed with apprenticeship contracts (see figure 1.12). Indeed gender differences are particularly high in apprenticeships: in almost all countries young women present a lower incidence than males in temporary jobs due to apprenticeship or training.

Figure 1.12 - Employment composition by gender, youth aged 15-29, 2009-2010 (%)

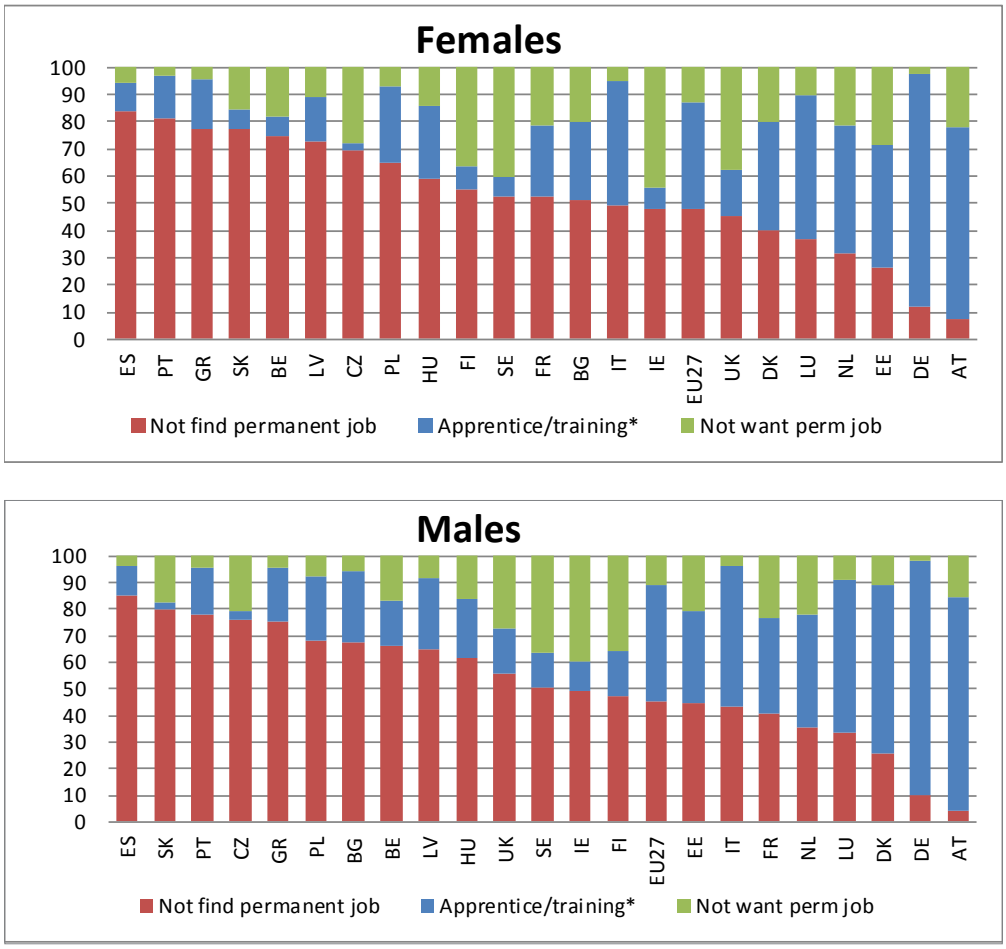




Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

As shown in Figure 1.13 in half of the Member States, 50% of young women and men are employed in a temporary job because they cannot find a permanent one. In some EU countries there is however a high share of temporary workers that do not want a permanent job. Unfortunately, data limitation do not permit to investigate further the characteristics of these workers at country level. Aggregate data for the EU27 show that there are no gender differences: temporary workers not looking for a permanent contract are mainly young (national citizens), aged 20-24 with secondary level education. These characteristics suggest that these are temporary job experiences in between secondary school and university.

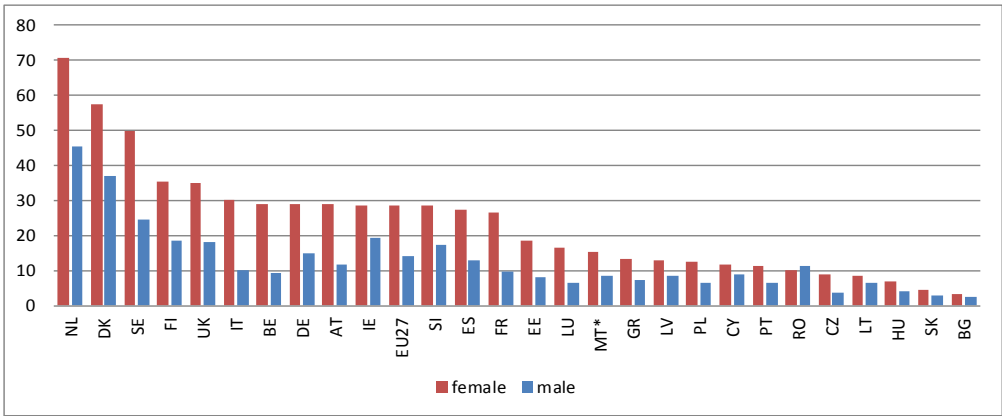
Figure 1.13 - Reasons for temporary employment by gender, young 15-29, 2009-2010 (%)



Note: statistics do not include no response. No data available for CY, LT, MT, RO, SI; data weakly reliable for EE, BG, LV, SK, IE
* Includes also probation period
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

Another characteristic of youth employment is the high incidence of part-time jobs, especially among young women: on average for the EU27, 29% of young women relative to 14% of young men are employed part-time. The incidence of part-time among young women differs widely across countries due to socio-cultural aspects and labour market legislation. Part-time work is widespread in northern Europe, with 70% of young employed women in the Netherlands being on a part-time job in 2009-2010. On the other side, short working time arrangements are rare in eastern countries for both genders and not common in southern Europe (Figure 1.14).

Figure 1.14 - Incidence of part-time employment by gender for youth 15-29, 2009-2010 (%)

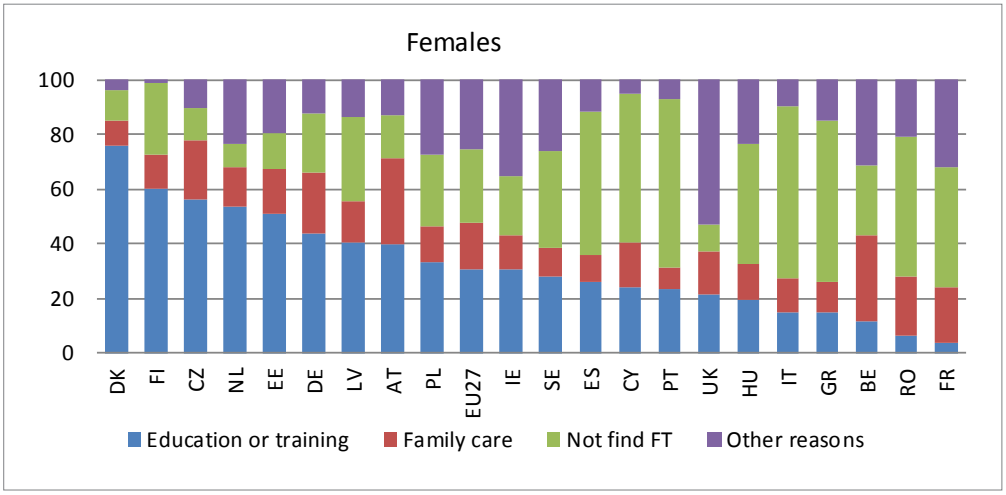


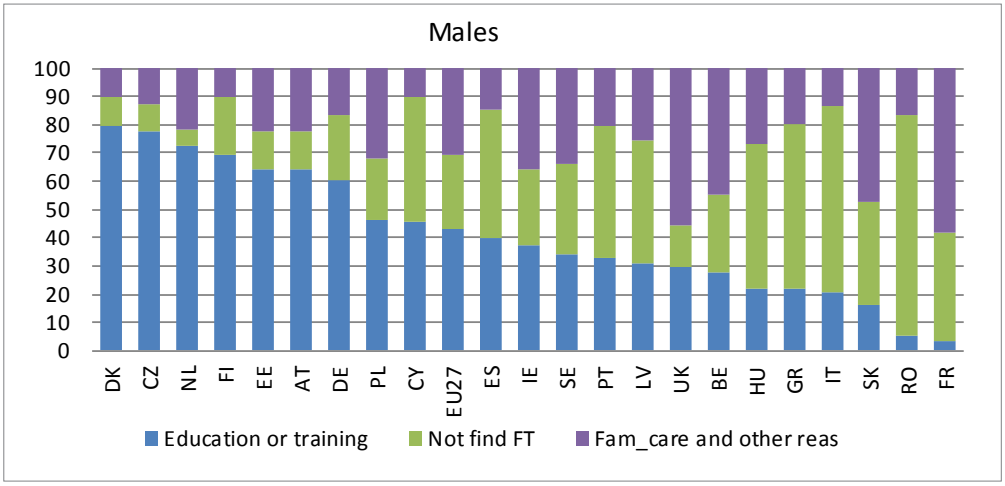
Note: *Weakly reliable for males.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

In many northern countries youth working part-time (especially among males) are mostly students: for example in NL and DK the main reason for part-time work is education and training. On the contrary, in the other Member States with high rates of part-time employment, such as IT, ES and FR, involuntary part-time is more widespread, the main reason being, for both males and females, not having found a full time job.

For young women (15-29), taking care of family and children is also an important motivation, indicated by 17% of female part-time workers relative to only 2% males (Figure 1.15). As can be expected, part-time work to conciliate family responsibilities is age related. Figure 1.16 shows that 31.5% of women aged 25-29 work part-time because of care reasons relative to only 6.5% for young women aged 15-24. Differences across Member States in the incidence of this motivation are explained by labour market regulations on part-time jobs and cultural factors, as well as by the economic condition of the country (e.g. in countries with a weak labour market the incidence of involuntary part-time could be higher).

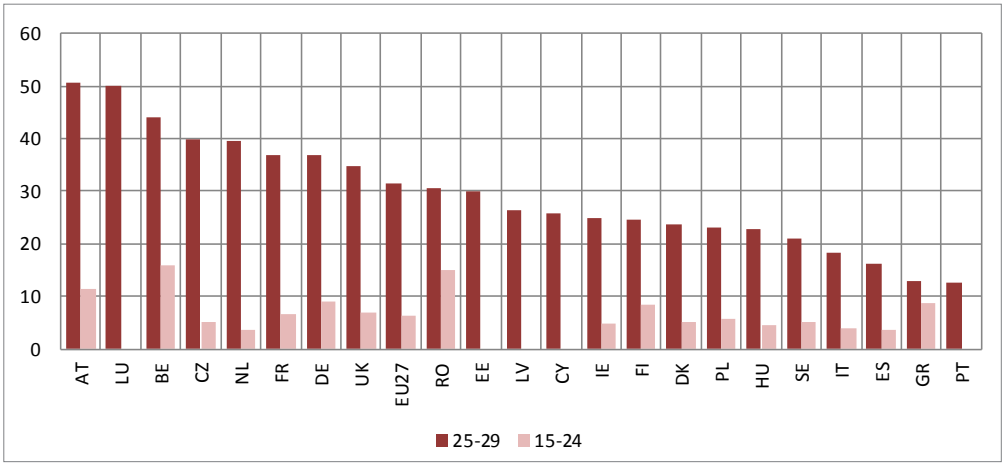
Figure 1.15 - Reasons for part-time employment by gender for youth 15-29, 2009-2010 (%)





Note: no data available for BG, SI, MT, LT, LU, SK (for females)
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

Figure 1.16 - Incidence of family care among female part-timers by age (%)



Note: data not available for BG, LT, MT, SI, SK; for 15-24 years old for CY, EE, LU, LV, PT. Data weakly reliable for 15-24 years old (IE, PL, GR) and for 25-29 years old (CY, ES).
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

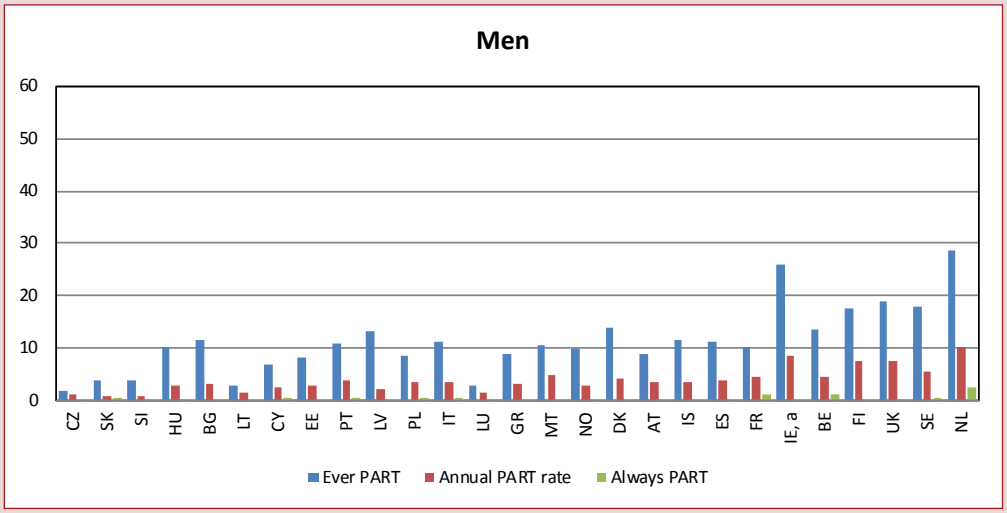
Young women are also more likely than young men to stay in part-time jobs for an extended period, even if turnover rates vary widely across countries, as shown in Box 1.2.

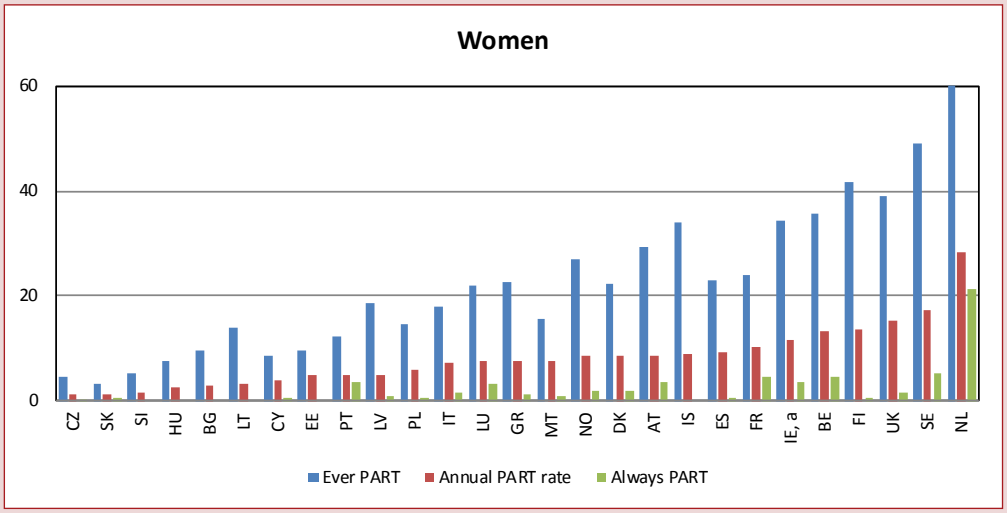
Box 1.2 - Permanence in part-time jobs

Women are more likely to stay part-time for an extended period of time, while, on average, 40% of young men move to a full time job after one year having worked part-time and almost none of them keep a part-time job for four consecutive years (Figures B.1.2.1).

Figure B.1.2.1 - Turnover in part-time employment (PART) in the 2006-2009 period

Percentage of youth (15-29) employed part-time in 2006-2009.





Legend. Ever PART: share of young individuals who experienced at least one part-time spell over the period 2006-2009; Annual PART Rate: share of part-time workers yearly average on 2006-2009; Always PART: share of young who have been part-time workers from 2006 to 2009.
Note: a) displayed statistics are weakly reliable due to small sample size. Countries are ranked in ascending order by the annual rate of part-time employment for women.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU SILC 2006-2009.

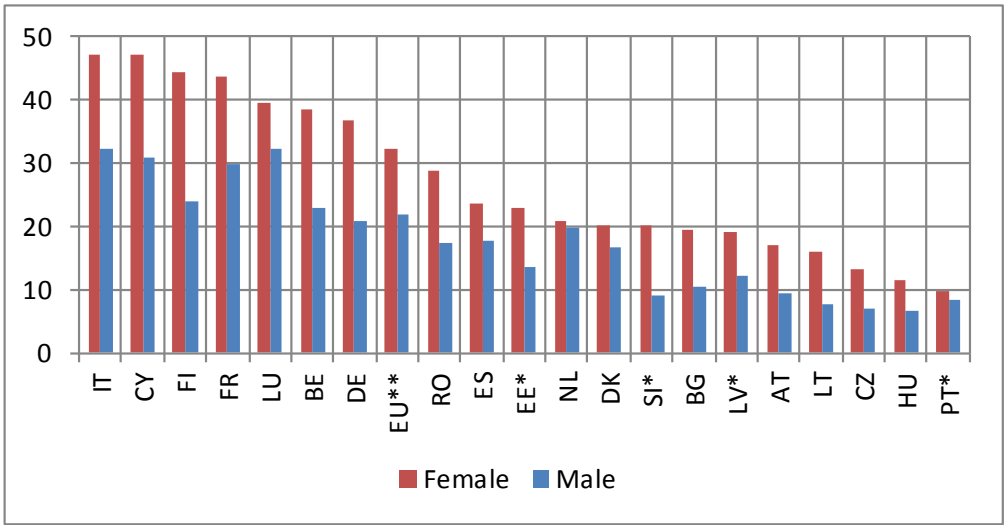
Young workers, and especially young women, tend to earn a lower wage than adults, due to the wage penalty associated to their lower work experience and being employed in temporary and /or part time jobs [7]. According to EU LSF data, the share of young employees aged 15-29 earning a monthly wage below the median wage of the total employees is particularly high in Italy, Cyprus, France and Luxembourg: around 30% for males and more than 40% for females.

Figure 1.17 shows that in all EU countries analysed, the share of low-wage earners, that is employees earning a monthly wage below the median of total employees, is larger among females than among males (34.4% versus 21.8%). This is largely due to a higher incidence of part-time and temporary jobs among women. However, recent findings of the European Commission (2012a) show that, despite the weaker labour market position of women, the poverty risk for employed women (the so-called "in work at risk of poverty") is lower than for men at the EU level and in most countries. This is especially the case among married women that can rely on their husband's earnings as the main source of income, whereas this is not always the case for married men[8]. On the other hand single women and lone mothers present a very high in work poverty risk and even married women are at high poverty risk in case of divorce. The Commission report also evidences that in-work poverty tends to decrease with age (being higher for the age group 18-24 -around 10% at EU27 level), since young workers are more likely to earn lower wages and be underemployed. However, according to the study, age differences tend to be quite small and the rate of decline is modest. For young people household conditions are particularly important, as they may still be living with their parents and enjoy a relatively high living standard. The country comparison shows indeed that in-work poverty risks for young people are higher in northern countries, e.g. DK and SE, than in Mediterranean countries (such as IT and SP), because it is more common for young people to live on their own and only hold student jobs or 'mini-jobs'.

7 According to data reported in the Report on Employment and Social developments in Europe 2011 (European Commission 2012a), at the average EU level, a person being temporarily employed working full-time receives 17 % less in hourly wage compared to the equivalent person who is permanent and full-time employed. Moreover, part-time employed persons, whether permanent or temporarily employed, receives lower hourly wage (4.7 % and 16.9 % respectively).

8 European Commission (2012a: 148). The at-risk-of-poverty measure counts the number of people whose disposable income is below 60 % of the median equivalised income, where the equivalised income is a measure of household income that takes account of the differences in a household's size and composition (for more details see note 3 page 100 in the ESDE Report). The In-work poverty risk regards only employed people: this measure counts the number of employed people whose disposable income is below 60 % of the median equivalised income of their country. "In defining in-work (monetary) poverty, the income for people who are employed is calculated for households, but the poverty status is assigned to the individual. This means that in-work poverty, when measured, is influenced by both the total disposable income (including non-wage income) and the household composition. The assumption of equal sharing of resources within households (giving the so-called equivalised income) that underlies the definition of monetary income poverty means that the economic well-being of individuals depends on the total resources contributed by all members of the households" (Box 3.1 page 143 in the ESDE 2011 Report).

Figure 1.17 - Share of low-wage earners aged 15-29 by gender, 2009-2010 (%)



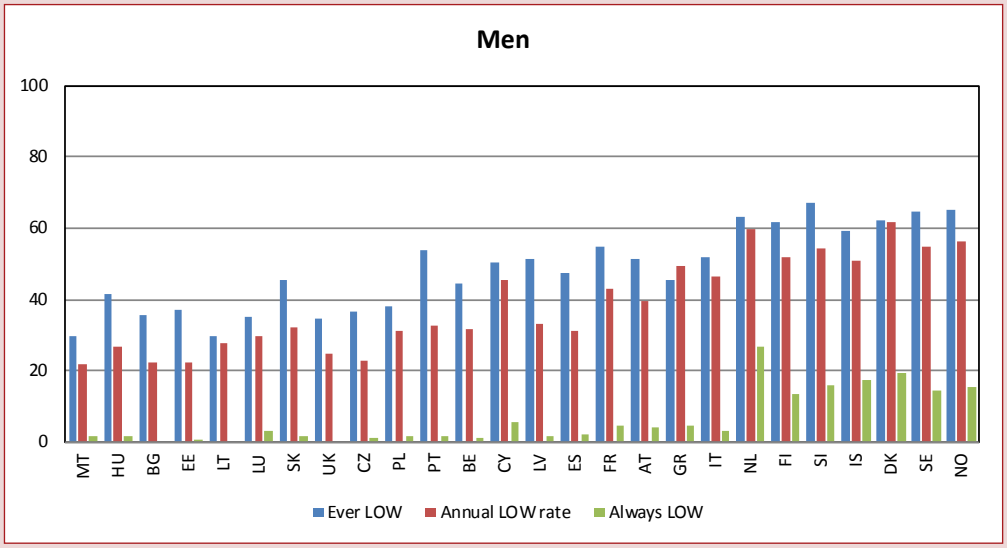
Notes: Share of young employees whose monthly (take home) pay from main job is lower than the median value of all employees;*Data are weakly reliable for males; ** GR, IE, MT, PL, SE,SK, UK not included due to lack of data reliability.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

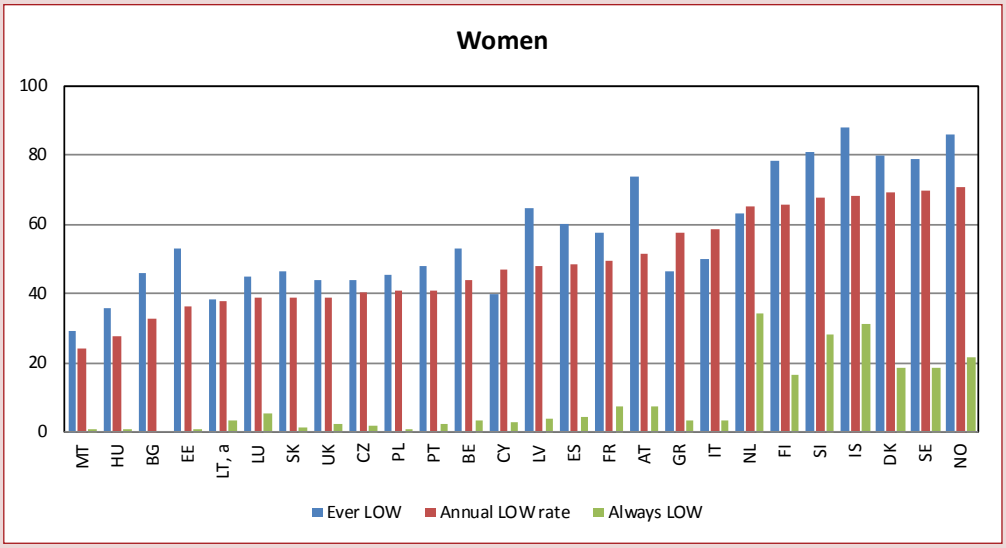
The relatively short permanence in low-pay jobs results also from EU SILC data as indicated in Box 1.3. However, young women are more likely than young men to be trapped in jobs providing low monthly earnings. These results are partly explained by the higher incidence of part-time among women, especially in countries where the gender gap in part-time employment is particularly high (Nordic countries and the Netherlands).

Box 1.3 - Permanence in low-wage jobs

Figure B1.3.1 shows that only 5% of the youth are continuously employed in low wage jobs (monthly earnings) during the four-year period between 2006-2009. Low-wage jobs refer to jobs with a monthly wage below the 60% of the country median wage. The permanence in low wage jobs is stronger in northern Europe and in the Netherlands (where up to 30% are continuously low–wage over the considered period), where the ratio of the ever to the always low-wage points to a low turnover especially for young women. Further evidence is provided in Figure B1.3.2. Exit rates are larger in southern and eastern countries and for males. On average only one third of low-wage workers find a better job in a year and 20% of them experience one or more additional low-wage spells (30% among women).

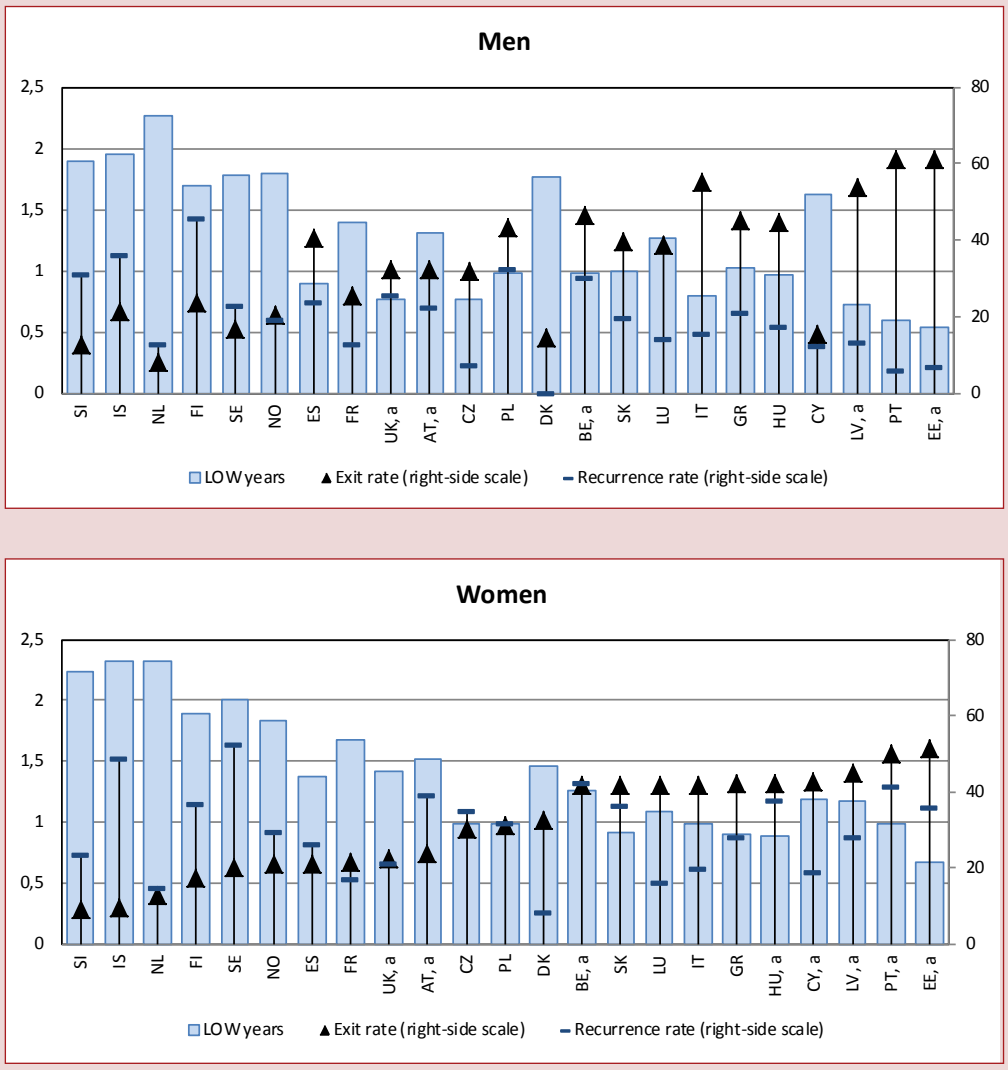
Figure B.1.3.1 - Incidence of low earning employment (LOW) over 2006-2009
Percentage of youth (15-29) in low paid jobs in 2006-2009





Legend. Ever LOW: share of young individual who experienced at least one low-wage job over the period 2006-2009; Annual LOW Rate: share of low-wage workers yearly average on 2006-2009; Always LOW: share of young who have been low-wage workers from 2006 to 2009.
Note: a) displayed statistics are weakly reliable due to small sample size.
Countries are ranked in ascending order by the annual rate of low paid employment for women.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU SILC 2006-2009.

Figure B.1.3.2 – Four year experience of low earning workers (LOW) in 2006-2009



Legend. LOW years: average number of years in low-wage jobs after 2006; Exit rate: share of youth who were low-wage in 2006 and higher paid in 2007; Recurrence rate: share of young who were low-wage in 2006, high paid in 2007 and experience low-wage again in the following period. Low-wage earners refer to workers earning a monthly wage below the 60% of the median wage of total.
Note: a) displayed statistics are weakly reliable due to small sample size. Countries are ranked in ascending order by the exit rate from low paid employment for women.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU SILC 2006-2009.

Gender differences are also present when considering job separation rates and their motivation. In almost all countries young men are more likely to lose their job than to quit it voluntarily, while young women present higher quit rates relative to men in all countries (but CY and LT), especially in Eastern and Mediterranean countries probably due to family care responsibilities.[9]

9 For example in Italy 56% of mothers who left their job at the birth of their child were quitters (Istat, 2012). In some cases employers ask young women to sign a document anticipating that they will quit the job "voluntary" when becoming pregnant. Figure A.2 in Annex 1.1 presents the rates of young workers that separated from their job in the previous 12 months, distinguishing among those who lost their job involuntarily (job losers) and those who left their job voluntarily (job quitters).

1.2 Determinants of gender differences in youth labour market conditions: the effect of individual and family characteristics

The descriptive analysis of the previous section has shown that the youth labour market presents wide and persistent gender and country differences. In order to assess how much these differences are accounted for by composition effects related to individual characteristics (like education, work experience, country of origin, etc.) and family conditions (like marital status, the presence of children, etc.) which may affect the labour market attachment of young women and men, a multivariate analysis has been carried out. This section presents the main results of the analysis, while full details are reported in Annexes 1.2 and 1.3.

1.2.1 Theory background

The socio-economic literature has been mainly aimed at finding explanations for the persistent gender pay gaps in industrialized countries (for a review, see Altonji and Blank 1999) and, more recently, for gender gaps in unemployment rates (Azmat et al. 2006; Arslan and Taskin 2011).

Albeit not explicitly addressed to the youth, most of these explanations may be relevant also to explain differences between young men and women in the labour market. More specifically, these differences can be explained by three main factors: gender differences in labour market attachment, labour market institutions and gender discrimination.

According to the human capital theory, individuals less attached to the labour market invest less in human capital, with negative effects on both their participation rate and employment probabilities. Even if it is true that young women are on average more educated than young men and hence they potentially start their job careers with a larger endowment of initial human capital, they still often choose different fields of studies than men (such as humanities) which may translate in lower employment rates. Furthermore, gender differences in human capital tend to increase with age because of the unbalanced division of housework and care activities among men and women in the household, with women experiencing more and longer out-of-work spells than men in the presence of children. In a regression context, Goldin (2006) shows that children are the most important factor related to out-of-work spells for women and this effect increases nonlinearly with the number of children. However, education seems to partly counterbalance this effect, since women with advanced degrees have shorter out of work spells than other women, also among those with children[10].

Gender differences in the labour market are also influenced by labour market institutions (such as, for example, minimum wage legislation or employment protection legislation) and institutions affecting the work life balance (such as the provision of care services or incentives to part time work, flexible working time arrangements and parental leave). Labour market regulations may reduce the incentive for employers to hire or retain workers with low work experience, while policies affecting the work-life balance may affect both employers hiring decisions and the labour participation decisions of women with care responsibilities.

A third factor explaining the existence of gender differences in the labour market is

10 Almost all of the difference between the out-of work spells of those with advanced degrees and others is due to the shorter duration of their spells for having children.

gender discrimination. This argument, traditionally used to explain part of the gender pay gap, applies also to gender differences in employment and non-employment if, in the presence of equal pay legislation, employers exercise gender prejudices in the recruitment stage by hiring less women than men and/or hiring them only with temporary contracts. It should be noted that gender discrimination may add to the racial one, thus touching especially women from specific ethnic groups. Furthermore, employers may find it easier to discriminate on a gender basis during a recession: when unemployment is high employers receive more job applications and it is more likely that some of them are very similar except for the sex of the applicants, thus allowing the employers to hire on a gender basis with a low probability of being detected and with no negative consequences in terms of profits[11].
In light of this theoretical framework, in what follows our aim is to empirically investigate the role of individual characteristics affecting labour market attachment, such as human capital and family composition, in order to explain the gender gaps observed for a number of youth labour market indicators in the EU countries. We also try to indirectly look at the effect of gender discrimination by looking at the evolution of these gender differences over the business cycle. The role of labour market and other institutions is instead thoroughly analysed and discussed in chapter 4.1.

1.2.2 Results of the multivariate analysis

In order to investigate the role played by human capital and, more in general, labour market attachment in explaining gender differences in the labour market, we followed the empirical strategy proposed by Azmat et al. (2006) to study the gender gap in unemployment rates. The adopted econometric models are presented in Box 1.4.

Box 1.4 – The econometric models

We first estimate the "raw" gender differences for a number of labour market indicators. This is equivalent to estimating the following parsimonious model:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha+\beta_0*female_i+\varepsilon_{it} \quad [1]$$

where Y_{it} is the outcome of interest for individual i at time t, α is a constant term, female is a dummy equal to 1 if the individual i is a woman (0 if a men) and ε the usual error term. In this specification, β_0 provides information on the gender difference in Y[12].
Since "raw" gender differences could be influenced by the so-called "composition effects" (in the specification above, the coefficient β_0 captures also gender differences in education, marital status, family composition and other individual characteristics), we then estimate gender differences conditional upon observable characteristics ("conditional gender differences"):

11 In tight labour markets, gender discrimination can be more costly either because firms hire men who are less productive than women or because firms prefer to wait for a male job applicant instead of hiring a woman.

12 With a linear (OLS) model, β_0 can be interpreted as the marginal effect of the female dummy on Y, which is not the case with non-linear models (such as probit and logit). Marginal effects can be easily retrieved also for the latter.

$$Y_{it} = \alpha+\beta_0*female_i+\beta_1 X_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad [2]$$

where all the variables have the same meaning as above and X is a vector of individual characteristics, including education, nationality, emancipation from parents, marital status and presence of children. In this specification, β_0 provides information on the gender difference in Y keeping all the factors in X constant.
Finally, we test the existence of heterogeneity in gender differences across different groups of the population (as identified by the variables in X) by estimating a model in which all the characteristics in X are interacted with the female dummy as follows:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha+\beta_0*female_i+ \beta_1 X_{it} + \beta_2 female*X_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad [3]$$

where β_2 provides information on the differential effect in the gender difference for a certain category in X with respect to the base category captured by β_0[13].
We use as dependent variables the main labour market indicators discussed in the previous Section, namely: a dummy variable for being NEET (considering also separate dummies for being, respectively, NEET unemployed and NEET inactive), a dummy variable for being out of the labour force but wanting to work (the so-called discouraged), a dummy variable for being employed, a dummy variable for being on a temporary contract but not in formal education and not in apprenticeship and a dummy variable for being on a part-time contract but not in formal education.
Among the regressors, we consider mainly individual characteristics that should affect labour market attachment, such as: education (we use three dummies for lower secondary, upper secondary and tertiary education, according to ISCED classification), nationality (one dummy for individuals whose nationality is different from that of the country of residence), emancipation from the native household (one dummy for individuals whose parents are not in the same household), marital status (one dummy for individuals who are married) and presence of children (one dummy for individuals with cohabiting children). We control also for the effect of the recent economic crisis through time fixed effects.
Given the binary nature of all the dependent variables, we estimate models from [1] to [3] using a probit estimator. Estimates of the probability of being either a temporary or a part-time worker are conditional on employment.
The econometric analysis is based on micro data from the EU LFS for the EU27 countries over the 2005-2010 period and relates to individuals aged 15-29. Separate regressions are run for each country.

13 For example, if X contains a dummy equal to 1 for married individuals, β_2 measures the differential in the gender difference in Y for married individuals with respect to the others (captured by β_0). The overall estimated gender difference for married individuals is given by $\beta_0 + \beta_2$.

Figure 1.18 shows the estimated "raw" (blue bars) and "conditional" (red dashes) gender differences for the labour market indicators outlined in the previous Section. We report marginal effects based on the estimated coefficients of models [1] and [2] for the "raw" and "conditional" gender differences, respectively. In each panel of the Figure, countries are ranked in descending order on the basis of the "raw" gender differences.

When we consider "raw" gender differences, the overall picture confirms the one presented in the previous section. In most EU27countries and with respect to young men:

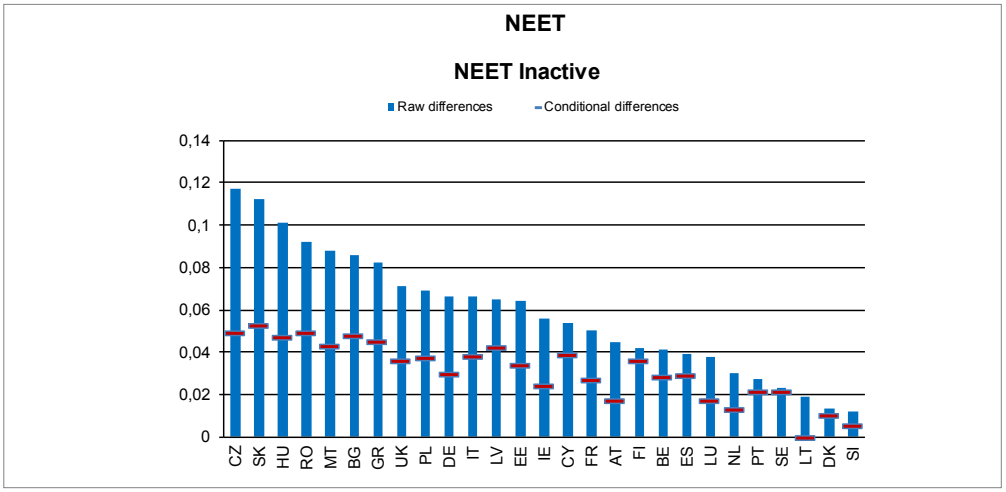
- Young women are significantly more likely to be NEET mainly due to their higher probability to be out of the labour force (NEET-inactive); on the contrary, they are less likely to be unemployed, except in some southern countries (namely Spain, Portugal and Greece);
- Young women are also more likely to be discouraged workers, particularly in some southern (Italy and Malta) and eastern countries (Latvia, Poland and Romania);
- With the only exception of Denmark, young women are less likely to be employed and the gender differences are particularly large (with "raw" differences larger than 10 per cent in absolute value) in some southern (Greece, Italy and Malta) and eastern countries (Czech Republic, The Slovak Republic, Hungary and Estonia);
- Conditional upon employment, young women are also more likely to be working part-time (with the only exception of Romania) and temporary workers (except in Germany, United Kingdom, Luxembourg and most of the eastern countries)

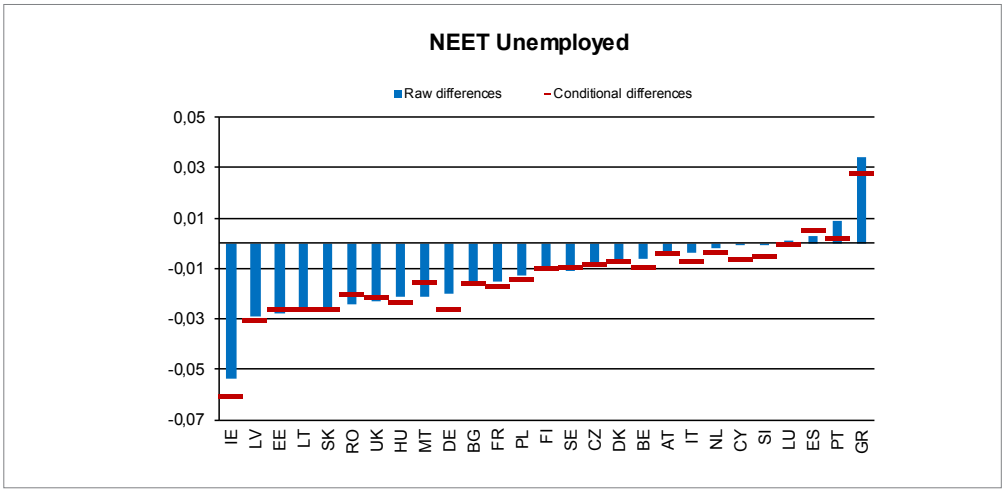
The comparison between "raw" and "conditional" gender gaps points out that the raw gender gaps are usually not fully explained by differences in observable characteristics. Furthermore, the ranking of EU27 countries partially changes when we move from "raw" to "conditional" differences, suggesting that composition effects may be more relevant in some countries than in others.

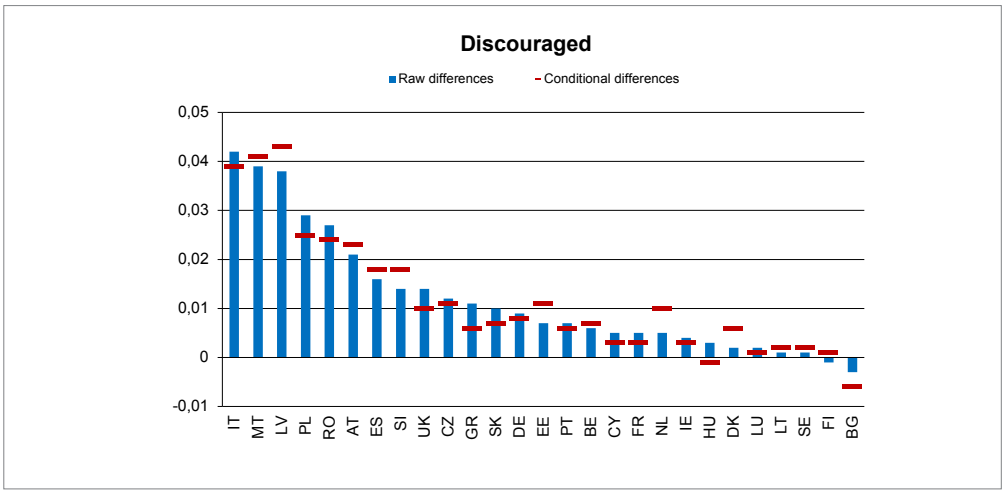
Focusing on NEETs, we find that observable characteristics poorly explain gender differences among the unemployed, while they explain a considerable share of gender differences among the inactive.

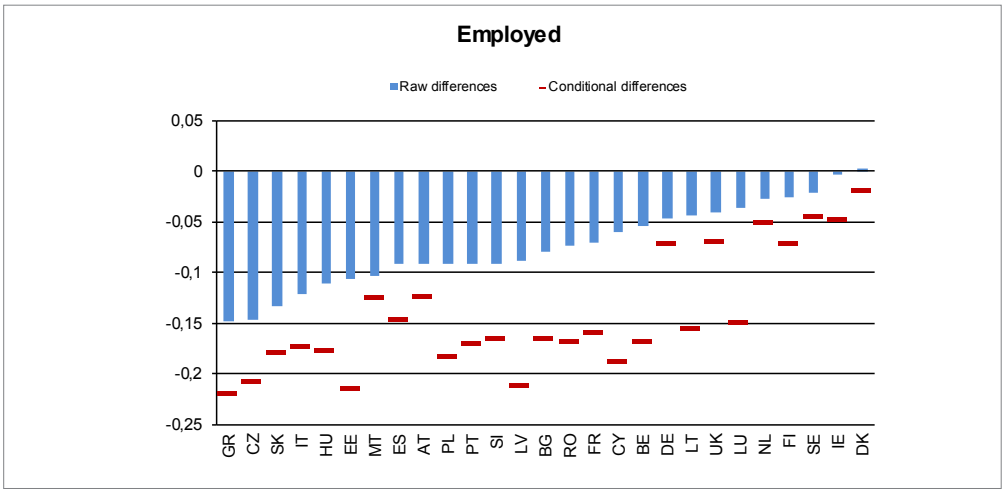
More interestingly, in all the EU27 countries "conditional" gender gaps are much larger than the corresponding "raw" ones in the case of employment. This is due to the fact that, with respect to men of the same age, young women are on average characterized by higher levels of those observed characteristics having a positive effect on employment *per se* (such as education) which actually mitigate gender differences. As a consequence, once we control for them, the gender gap increases.

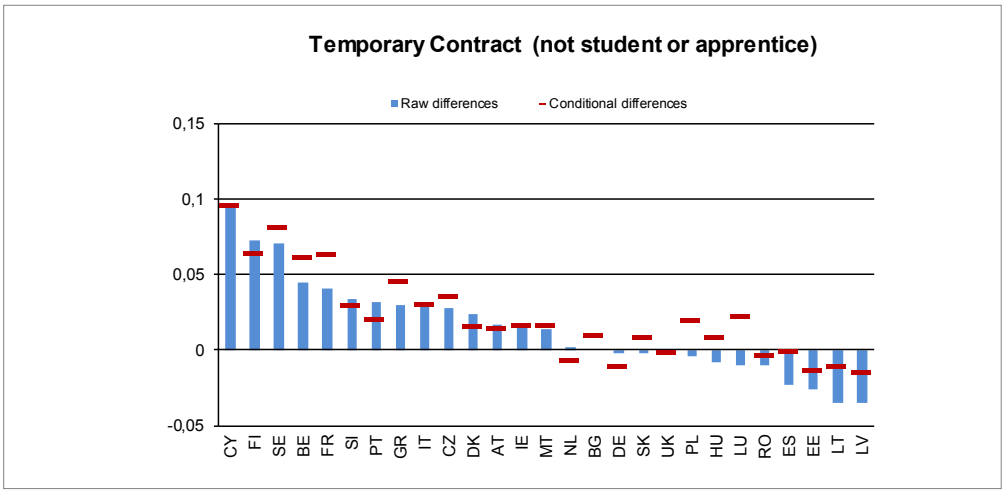
Figure 1.18 – Estimated "raw" and "conditional" gender differences

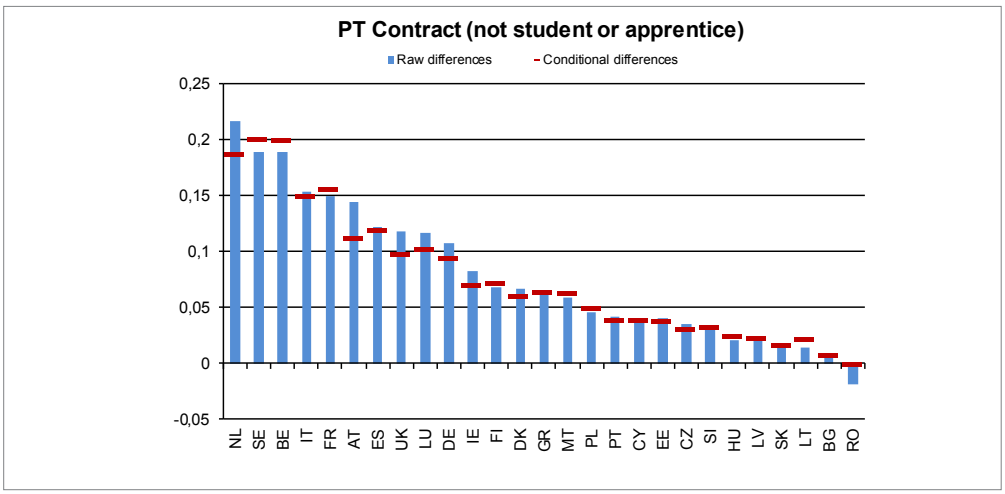












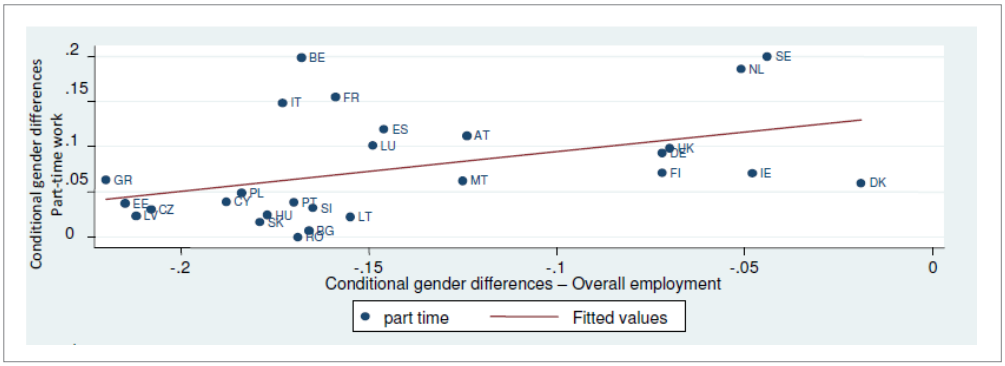
Source: estimates on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data

Looking at the correlation between conditional gender differences, another interesting result is the existence of a positive correlation between gender differences in employment and those in part-time work (see Figure 1.19), partly driven by some countries (such as the Netherlands and Sweden) characterized by low (conditional) gender differences in employment and high gender differences in part-time[14]. Albeit at a descriptive level, these results seem to suggest that part-time work may be an

14 Figure 1.19 also shows that there are some countries, such as Belgium and, to a lesser extent, Italy and France, characterized by relatively large gender differences in both employment and part-time.

effective way to support female employment also at an early stage of their work careers. On the contrary, there is not a clear-cut correlation between the gender difference in overall employment and in temporary work.

Figure 1.19 - The relationship between conditional gender differences in employment and part-time work



Source: estimates on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data

Detailed results on the gender differences estimated with the three models outlined above are reported in the tables in the Annexes 1.2 and 1.3[15].

Estimates of model [3] confirm that gender differences vary considerably with observable individual characteristics also in countries, such as Denmark, registering very low levels of "raw" gender gaps in NEET and employment rates.

Even among the young, family composition, especially the presence of children, plays an important role in influencing gender differences in inactivity, employment and part-time work, which are in fact significantly larger among married individuals and those with children. For example, the presence of children increases the gender difference in the probability of being NEET-inactive from 10 (in the Netherlands) to 47 (in the Czech Republic) percentage points, with a relative larger adverse effect in eastern countries with respect to western ones. As a matter of fact, in all the countries considered the gender gap among the NEET-inactive without children (as captured by the female dummy in model 3) is very small and sometimes negative (as in the case of Germany, France and the Slovak Republic), confirming that "raw" gender differences in inactivity are mainly driven by the behaviour of young women with children. Similarly, the presence of children further exacerbates the negative gender differences in employment, while it increases gender differences in part-time work.

The effect of other family characteristics, such as emancipation from the native family, and of education and nationality is less clear-cut, since it is not the same for all labour market indicators across countries. Nonetheless, with few exceptions, the positive correlation between high education and female participation is confirmed: highly educated women are relatively more likely to be either employed or unemployed and less likely to be either out of the labour force or part-time workers. In

15 For the ten selected countries for this study, the comparative tables in Annex 1.2 report the marginal effect for the female dummy estimated with the three models and the marginal effect of the interaction terms of all the Xs with the female dummy from model [3]. The comments refer mainly to the main findings for the ten selected countries, since most of them apply also to the remaining EU27 countries (see Annex 1.3).

contrast with the evidence for the other countries, in Italy high education reduces also gender differences in the case of temporary employment.
On the whole, these results point out that, even among the young, gender differences in the labour market are heavily influenced by the presence of children (and hence fertility decisions) and to a lesser extent by the level of education. According to our estimates the size of the first effect is usually much larger than that of the second, which implies that, even among the young high educated, women are more penalized than men in terms of participation and employment when they have children.

1.3 Conclusions

The descriptive analysis conducted in this section on stock data shows that there are significant and persistent gender differences in youth labour market conditions, even if the crisis has reduced gender gaps mainly due to the worsening of young men labour market conditions.
In all Member States young women are more likely than young men to be NEET – inactive. In addition, when employed they are more likely to hold part-time and/or temporary jobs and to earn lower wages than their male counterpart. There are however large country differences, with the labour market position of young women particularly negative in southern and eastern European countries, suggesting the importance of the national regulatory and policy regime, besides the overall economic conditions, in affecting labour market risks and gender differences since the early stages of labour market participation.
The econometric analysis of the role of individual and family characteristics in explaining gender differences in youth labour market conditions shows that even among the young, gender gaps are heavily influenced by the presence of children and to a lesser extent by the level of education.
The fragility of early labour market conditions is thus particularly negative for young women, even if they are on average more educated than young men, and appears to be largely related to family conditions and care responsibilities. The impact of a fragile start on the (early) career path is analysed more in depth in chapter 2, whereas in chapter 3 the impact on personal family is elaborated.

2. Starting fragile: gender differences in school-to-work transitions in Europe

Introduction

Chapter I has provided an extensive overview of gender differences in the current labour market position of young persons in the EU Member States. It has showed the effects of the recent crisis in terms of rising unemployment rates and NEET rates among young workers. In addition, young workers are not only far more often unemployed, but also far more likely to be in flexible, non-standard employment, such as temporary jobs, compared to the rest of the workforce. While there are large differences between the EU Member States in numbers, types of non-standard contracts and groups most affected, the upward trend in flexible, non-standard employment is reported unanimously across countries.

This increase in flexibility has been made possible by changes in the employment protection laws in most countries which have been triggered by the "accelerated speed of change in social and economic processes" (Blossfeld et al. 2008: 3). Globalisation forces firms and organisations to change faster, skills become outdated more quickly, firms need to be able to adapt their workforce fast to meet new circumstances. The main concern is whether this trend of increasing non-standard employment harms the development of a stable working life and prolonged employability for the young generation (ILO 2012). It is generally agreed that the transition period from school to permanent work has increased in length, implicates more switches and detours than two decades ago, often involving jobs that do not fit the education of the worker in a traditional way (Anxo et al. 2010; Blossfeld et al. 2008; ILO 2012; Ryan 2001).

While the possibilities of temporary employment and part-time contracts increase operational flexibility for employers, the effect for employees is not theoretically determined. There are a number of possible and opposing consequences, the cumulative effect of which has to be empirically determined (Blossfeld et al. 2008). Especially the different effects on different groups of workers (e.g. male/ female) are not readily predictable from a theoretical standpoint. Section 2.1 will briefly describe the expected effects and summarize the research that has been done on the effects of temporary jobs so far. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 will present empirical analyses of the transition from school to work, using the 2009 ad hoc module of the European Labour Force Survey. Differences in transitions between countries and over time will be described from a gender perspective and the early career consequences of starting working life in a temporary job in the EU Member States will be analysed, again from a gender perspective.

2.1 The effect of temporary jobs on early career development: Stepping stone or dead end?

The two main theories on the effect of temporary jobs on the employment prospects of young workers have been dubbed the 'stepping stone' and the 'dead end' theory (Booth et al. 2002).

The 'stepping stone' argument views temporary contracts as a screening device. The main difficulty or drawback for young workers who are trying to enter the labour market for the first time is their lack of work experience and employment history. It is difficult for them and indeed for prospective employers to appropriately judge their productivity. Therefore, the opportunity of an initial trial and error period with temporary contract(s) is advantageous for both the employer and the employee. Key assumption is that employers prefer giving temporary contracts to new entrants thereby providing a (or extending a given) probationary period, which allows them to better screen and judge the value of the young worker before giving him or her a permanent contract. For the young jobseeker, the temporary contracts are regarded as a good opportunity to 'get a foot in the door' by acquiring experience (Jahn et al. 2012), proving his or her value, and building a professional network. This initial entry period is supposed to - rather sooner than later – culminate in a standard full-time permanent contract that constitutes a good quality job match. Temporary jobs thus are a stepping stone to stable employment.

If the stepping stone hypothesis holds, new entrants should be advised to accept a first job relatively quickly, regardless of the terms of contract and the quality of the job in terms of wages. New entrants declining inferior jobs and searching 'full-time' for a good quality job presumably need more time for the transition into stable employment than their less picky counterparts. This theory has been supported by research that analysed the effect of job-to-job transitions in early careers. For example, Van der Klaauw et al. (2005) have shown that new entrants are often able to switch to better jobs after just a couple of months in their first job, indicating that indeed early work experience has high returns and changing jobs is beneficial for new entrants. The study of Van der Klaauw et al. concentrated on better jobs in terms of wages; they found young workers could often gain a large wage increase by changing jobs.

In addition, it has been argued that a non-standardised educational system, where a diploma reveals little information to the employer, increases the importance of such an initial period (Blossfeld et al. 2008; Anxo et al. 2010). Support for the theory that temporary jobs might indeed be mainly a screening device for some groups was found by Jahn and Rosholm (2012). Using a timing of events analysis, they found that an employment spell obtained through a temporary employment agency increased the transition speed into regular employment for immigrants from non-western countries and for male unemployed on social assistance in the Danish labour market. First generation non-western immigrants have received their education in another country and therefore their training and productivity might be especially difficult to judge for potential employers. In the case of social assistance recipients, Jahn and Rosholm (2012) concluded that screening via temporary employment could help overcome the stigma associated with this group. Also, the success of the apprenticeship system in generating permanent employment for young graduates might lie exactly in the fact that it allows for extensive screening by potential employers before graduation. Dual system vocational training (thus with apprenticeship systems, e.g. Germany and Austria) is indeed associated with faster

integration into standard employment (Quintini and Martin 2006; see also Corrales-Herrero and Rodríguez-Prado (2011) for Spain).

The 'dead end' approach is less optimistic about the effects of temporary jobs for new entrants. It considers temporary and part-time contracts mainly as employer's flexibility instruments providing little benefit to the employees. Temporary and part-time jobs are associated with inferior standards especially with regards to training and career possibilities (Jahn et al. 2012). Research has repeatedly shown that temporary workers are less involved in training than their colleagues, thus decreasing potential human capital accumulation (e.g. Booth et al. 2002). Both the employee and the employer have fewer incentives to invest in training if the employment relationship is only for a limited period of time. Also, temporary jobs are considered as being worse in terms of skill level requirements and pay than permanent jobs (Jahn et al. 2012). In sum, rather than being able to use the first job as an experience and a stepping stone towards permanent jobs, young entrants are likely to become trapped in (a sequence of) temporary contracts. Compared to their peers who invested time in the search for a quality first job, they will need longer to secure stable employment.

The potential negative consequences of viewing temporary employment as a screening device is also emphasized by the dead end view. Using temporary contracts as a way to try on different positions as a worker might not be feasible: searching for other jobs at the end of a temporary contract might be seen as failing to secure permanent employment with the initial employer and might thus send a negative signal about the ability of the young worker. Again, research on the apprenticeship system confirms this mechanism: the apprenticeship system seems to incorporate the screening phase into the education period. Changing workplaces after graduation has a negative effect on future labour market outcomes, even without a period of unemployment in between. It seems to be a negative signal to the future employers if an apprentice does not stay with his/her apprenticeship-employer after graduation (Wagner and Zwick 2012).

A number of recent studies have tested the two opposing theories in different countries, with mixed results. It is generally agreed that temporary jobs shorten unemployment spells because temporary employment is found more easily/ quickly than a permanent position (e.g. Autor and Houseman 2010; De Graaf-Zijl et al. 2011; Esteban-Pretel et al. 2012; Mills et al. forthcoming). Most authors also find that temporary workers are very likely to move to permanent employment, thus confirming some form of stepping stone effect. Gash (2008) studied transitions in four European countries and found that the majority of temporary workers finds permanent employment within 40 months. However, Bruno et al. (2012) found a negative duration effect in Italy: here, the longer the duration of temporary employment was, the less likely the move to permanent employment became, thus suggesting that a temporary job indeed becomes a dead end if the move to permanent employment is not made in time. Gagliarducci (2005) explained, also using Italian data, that longer stay in temporary employment is positive only if it concerns one contract. Temporary jobs generally have shorter employment durations than permanent jobs and result in more frequent transitions, either job-to-job or between labour market statuses. Gagliarducci (2005: 447) argued that "the intermittence associated with temporary contracts" was the main reason for bad employment prospects of temporarily employed workers, especially if interruptions in employment were involved. The main disagreement concerns the question whether taking temporary employment facilitates the transition to stable employment compared to not taking

temporary employment. Using data from the Netherlands, De Graaf-Zijl et al. (2011) found that temporary jobs only reduce the duration of unemployment spells, but do not increase the speed of finding a permanent position. This seems to be caused by a decrease in job search effort once the temporary job starts. Transition rates of temporary employees are lower than transition rates of those who stay unemployed for the first 1.5 years. Only after 1.5 years, temporary employees are more likely to find permanent employment than the unemployed. Therefore De Graaf-Zijl et al. conclude that temporary jobs are no real stepping stone in the Netherlands. Gash (2008) also found that in the first 12 months of employment, temporary employees were more likely to move to unemployment than to a permanent contract. Esteban-Pretel et al. (2011) used data on transitions in Japan to simulate long-term effects of non-standard first jobs. They calculated that those 'contingent' jobs, compared to unemployment, substantially lower the probability to find a regular job for up to ten years into the career of the young worker.

One important field of research concerns the different types of temporary workers. The OECD (2008) suspects, for example, that temporary jobs can be either stepping stone or dead end, depending on the group of workers concerned. Temporary employment is seen as a trap especially for the low skilled, while the high skilled are more likely to use it as a stepping stone. Indeed Bruno et al. (2012) found that 'women in low skilled jobs' are very likely to end their temporary employment by leaving the labour market completely.

To summarize, the literature suggests that temporary jobs do not, at least not 'automatically', lead to better employment outcomes for the unemployed. This may be related to the large variety in temporary jobs in terms of duration of contract, hours, match between education and job, whether it is the first such job, and more general the labour market conditions. There is some indication that consecutive temporary jobs and low quality jobs indeed become a trap at some point. Strong job search support systems, that include temporary workers at the end of their contract period, might help in keeping those transitions short and increase the direct job-to-job hopping as opposed to interruptions between temporary contracts.

With respect to general labour market conditions, it might be argued that in a region with low shares of non-standard work contracts, the (negative) signalling effect of such a contract will be much stronger than in a region with high shares. In this case, there will be stronger selection of (allegedly) worse workers into temporary contracts, so the average quality of the workers will differ more between contract types. For example, Esteban-Pretel et al. (2011) found very strong effects in Japan, where the work culture is extremely biased towards full-time, permanent working lives.

2.2 Transitions in Europe: empirical evidence

To gain insight in the process of young people's entry into the labour market and in the differences between European Member States, the EU LFS ad hoc module on transitions from school to work (2009) has been used. In this module, all participants in the ELFS aged 15 to 34 were interviewed about their labour market entry. Items included work experience at graduation, the time it took to find a first significant job, their activity in the meantime and the type, quality and duration of the first job. Unfortunately, since participants were interviewed about the more or less distant past, the data contain inconsistencies and a lot of missing information, especially with respect to timing of events and durations. Also, the information on

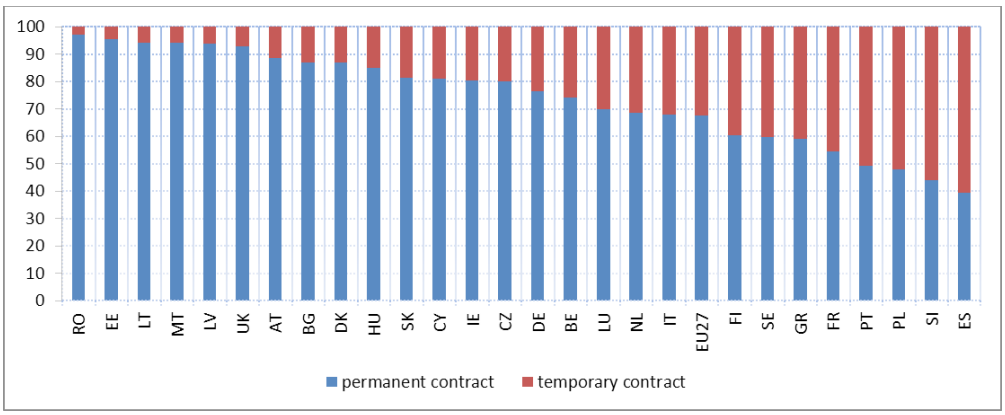
(quality) aspects of the first job is rather limited; only type of contract and occupational category are included. Satisfaction, career and training possibilities and even income, important criteria for judging the success of the first step, are missing. Nevertheless, this module provides an important source of information on the labour market entry of young people in Europe. The data of all participants in this module have been used in the analysis, including the age group 30-34 (contrary to chapter 1, which focuses on the age group 15-29). This allows us to analyse the effect of the first step(s) on the labour market after graduation on labour market outcomes during a longer period of time.
In the first section characteristics of the first job will be described in terms of the incidence of temporary contracts, duration of the first job and main activity between graduation and start of the first significant job. Attention will be paid to country differences and differences over time, as well as differences between educational levels and gender. In section 2.2.2, the early labour market experience of EU youth from graduation to the time of the survey (2009) will be described using transition profiles. Transition profiles sort workers into groups according to the number, type and sequence of transitions. Based on differences in the transition profiles of men and women a gender segregation index for differences in early labour market experience is constructed. The last section (2.2.3) contains an analysis of the current (2009) labour market status of the young workers in relation to his/her first step(s) on the labour market after graduation. Probit regression models are estimated for the probability to be in permanent employment in 2009 as well as the probability to be unemployed in 2009. The influence of the type of first job (permanent or temporary) as well as the impact of an initial period of unemployment after graduation is assessed, conditional on - among others - gender, educational level, time between graduation and the survey, and country.

2.2.1 Transition to the first job: a description

In chapter I the current labour market position of young workers (aged 15 to 29) has been described. This section focuses in more detail on characteristics of the first significant jobs of young workers in Europe. In line with the sample of the ad hoc module, the analyses are based on the age group 15-34. The first job is considered as a significant job if, after completing formal education, the job lasts at least 3 months. There are large differences between the European Member States regarding the first step on the labour market of young people. In most countries, there are also large differences between educational levels. Gender differences seem relatively small within countries. Within educational levels, however, we do find gender differences indicating that education affects women differently than men. Due to limitations in sample size, results within countries have to be interpreted with caution; comparisons between specific groups (e.g. differences between cohorts) are not always possible for each individual country.

The first significant job
Figure 2.1 provides information on the share of temporary jobs among all first significant jobs. It appears that the share of temporary jobs among all first jobs differs to a large extent between the European Member States, ranging from less than 10% in some eastern European countries (Romania, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) and the United Kingdom to almost 60% in Spain and Slovenia.

Figure 2.1 - Type of contract in the first significant job in the 27 EU Member States, 2009



Source: ELFS Ad hoc module 2009

The data suggest a link between labour market regime and the share of temporary employment. Countries known for their strong employment protection legislation (GR, PT, ES and FR) are more found at the upper end with high shares of temporary employment for young people. This is in line with the screening hypothesis that views temporary employment as a risk-reducing device for employers in highly protected labour markets. On the other hand, countries with a low EPL index (UK and DK) are more likely to have low shares of temporary employment. In addition, the overall condition of the economy seems to play a role. For example, Poland with a low EPL but high unemployment has a high share of temporary jobs; in contrast Austria has higher EPL but low unemployment and a relatively low share of temporary jobs.
Large differences exist between high to medium (ISCED 3-6) and low educated graduates, with the share of temporary jobs among first jobs being more than 10 percentage points higher among the lower educated (42.4% compared to around 30%) (table 2.1).

Table 2.1 - Contract type in the first significant job by educational level

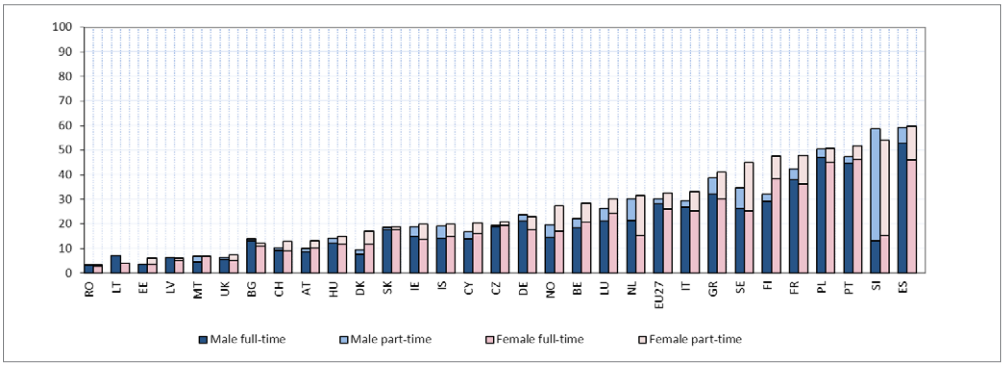
Educational level	First job was a permanent job (%)	First job was a temporary job (%)
Low: Lower secondary	57.6	42.4
Medium: Upper secondary	69.9	30.1
High: Third level	70.2	29.8

Source: ELFS Ad hoc module 2009

The Member States show different patterns with respect to the share of temporary jobs among first jobs for different educational levels. In some Member States the difference in share of temporary jobs among first jobs is very large between educational levels. For example the difference between the share of temporary jobs as first jobs in the high educated group and the share of temp job in the low educated group is 30 percentage points in the Slovak Republic and about 20 percentage points in Bulgaria and Germany; in other Member States it is reversed, for example in Portugal and Italy, the highly educated have a temporary first job more often than the less educated. In a couple of countries (notably Denmark and Estonia), educational level does not seem to play a role.

Women more often have a temporary contract in their first jobs than men in almost all countries (exceptions: Lithuania, Bulgaria), but the differences are generally quite small. Only the Nordic countries as well as Belgium have a large gender gap in this respect; Finland and Sweden rank on top with 15 and 10 percentage points' difference, respectively.
This gender difference is visible at each educational level, but the gender gap is especially large (5 percentage points) for the group with high education.
Figure 2.2 shows more detailed information on the characteristics of the first significant job in Europe. It provides the share of temporary jobs among first jobs for men and women, distinguishing between full-time and part-time jobs.

Figure 2.2 – Share of temporary jobs among first jobs, by working time and gender, in the EU Member States



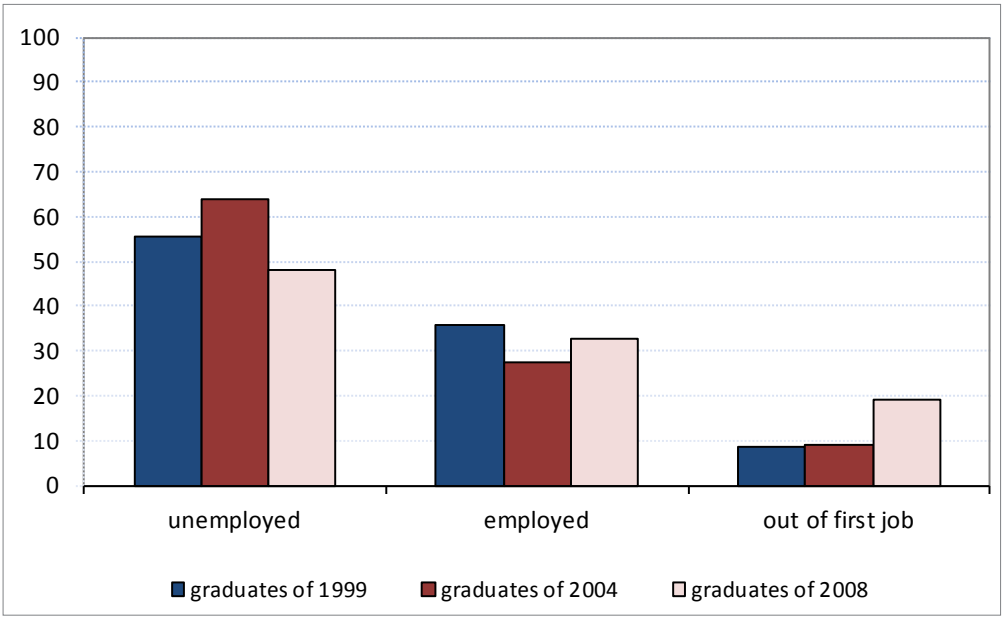
Source: ELFS Ad hoc module 2009

Large gender differences are found with respect to the combination of temporary work with part-time employment. Women are more likely to start in such a double fragile position. For example, 20% (Sweden) and 17% (Netherlands) of the young women start their career in temporary, part-time work contracts. The double fragile position share for men is only half this size: 8% (SE) and 9% (NL). Again, there are large differences between Member States, with part-time rates varying between 0 and 50%. Only in one country, Slovenia, the double-fragile position is common among both men and women; more than 70% of the first jobs that are temporary, are also part-time jobs. Overall in Europe, the double fragile position is uncommon, only 6.5% of young women and 2.9% of young men have a first contracts which is both temporary and part-time.
The share of temporary jobs as first jobs has increased over time; compared to a decade ago, more young people start their working life in a temporary job nowadays. In 1998, approximately 30% of all first jobs where temporary jobs as compared to 38% in 2008. For women, this trend seems to have started a couple of years earlier than for men.
As expected, first jobs last longer on average in case of permanent jobs compared to temporary jobs: 37 months as compared to 17 months. Still, 9% of all temporary first jobs last longer than 3 years, as do 33% of all first permanent jobs. Average duration of first jobs is shortest in Greece (1.5 years on average) and longest in Romania (more than 4 years). Generally, in countries with a lower share of temporary first jobs, the average duration of first jobs is longer. There is no difference in average duration of the first significant job between educational levels or between men and women.

Duration to first job

An important issue is the time it takes young people to find the first job. The report by Mills et al. (forthcoming), which is also based on the ad hoc module 2009, deals extensively with the duration to the first job. An aspect not covered by the Mills report is the change in duration over time. An interesting question is whether the time it takes to find a first job has been increasing in the last years, especially after the 2008 crisis. We therefore have compared the status of the graduates in different years - 1999, 2004 and 2008 - one year after their graduation 16. Figure 2.3 shows the results.

Figure 2.3 - Situation one year after graduation for graduates in 1999, 2004 and 2008



Source: ELFS Ad hoc module 2009

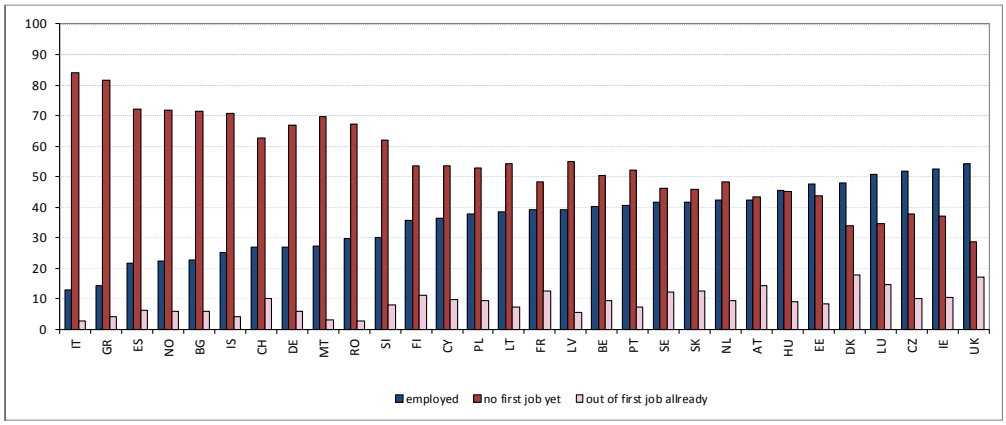
There is evidence that the early careers have become more volatile in the last 10 years. Whereas in 2000 56% of the graduates of 1999 were still unemployed searching for their first significant job, only 48% of the graduates of 2008 is still waiting to start the first significant job 12 months later. This implies that a larger proportion has started working within one year in 2008, in spite of the economic crisis. However, more have already left their first job again as well: 20% of the 2008 graduates made at least two transitions (into the first job and out of the first job[17]) within the first year after graduation; in 1999 and 2004 that figure was less than 9%.

Due to the small number of observations, we cannot compare gender, educational level or country differences for the three cohorts. The following results are therefore based on all observations from all graduation years. Figure 2.4 shows the situation 12 months after graduation for each EU Member State. The variation between the countries appears to be large; the share of graduates who have not found a first job within 12 months after graduation ranges from more than 80% (IT and GR) to less than 30% (UK).

16 Percentages are based on the group of those whose status 12 months after graduation is known.

17 The data does not contain information on the labour market status of those that already left their first job.

Figure 2.4 - Situation one year after graduation in the EU Member States (all observations)



Source: EU LFS Ad hoc module 2009

Comparing the situation one year after graduation of young workers with different educational levels shows the vulnerable position of the low educated: more than 80% have not found their first job yet after one year, as compared to 55% and 43% of the middle and high educated.

Women are more likely to be unemployed one year after graduation (see table 2.2); the share of inactive people is more than twice as high for women than for men (compulsory military service might help keeping young men out of inactivity). While the share of employed is lower, a larger portion of women are working in temporary contracts. Men are also more likely to be self-employed (though the overall share of 1.6% is low).

Table 2.2 - Situation one year after graduation by gender

	Women		Men	
no first job yet - no information on activity	18.0		23.2	
no first job yet - inactive	16.0		7.5	
no first job yet - unemployed	27.0		27.1	
total no first job yet		60.9%		57.9%
employed - no information on type	0.6		0.5	
employed - temporary job (most likely)	11.2		10.5	
employed - permanent job (most likely)	18.9		21.2	
self-employed (most likely)	0.6		1.2	
all employed		31.3%		33.5%
out of first job already - no information on status	7.8		8.7	
all out of job		7.8%		8.7%

Source: EU LFS Ad hoc module 2009

Main activity between graduation and the start of the first significant job

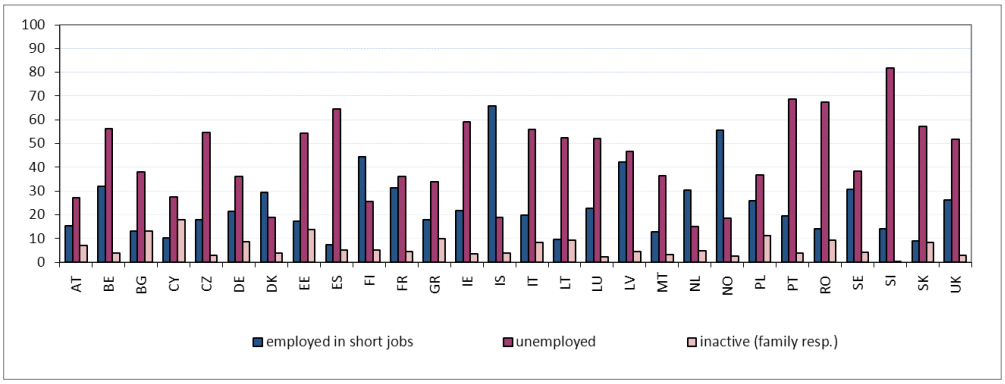
For a large group of young people, a considerable amount of time passes between their graduation date and the start of the first significant job; 14% of the graduates report it took them longer than 3 years to find their first job. All young persons for

whom the time between graduation and first job was longer than three months were asked how they mainly spent their time in this period choosing from a number of possibilities, such as unemployed and searching; mainly employed, but working short-term jobs of less than 3 months; or inactive for various reasons (most important reason is family responsibilities).

Approximately half of young people spent the time between graduation and the start of the first significant job mainly unemployed and searching for a job; the share is higher among women than among men. One fifth reports that they spent the period between graduation and first significant job mainly working in consecutive small, short-term jobs. This group is quite stable regardless of the length of time that passed between graduation and start of first job (though rapidly decreasing in numbers, obviously). About 26% of young people that have not found their first significant job 3 years after graduation (which corresponds to 14% of all graduates) have spent these years mainly working in small, short-term jobs. This is a group of people that seem to be stuck in short-term temp jobs.

Again, large differences are found across Member States with regard to the relative importance of different activities between graduation and the start of the first significant job (see figure 2.5). In Finland, more than half of young people (55%) are working short-term jobs in this period while the share that is 'unemployed and searching' is relatively low (22%). In other countries young individuals use the period between graduation and the first job mainly for job search; for example in Slovenia 82%, are searching and only 14% are working short jobs. There does not seem to be a relationship between the share of regular temporary jobs among first jobs and these short-term jobs. Among the countries with high shares of regular temporary first jobs, in some the share having short-term jobs is rather low (e.g. Spain, 10%), while in others it is higher (e.g. France, 31%, and Finland, 22%). Inactivity due to family responsibilities is more common in eastern European Member States and some southern Member States such as Cyprus, where almost 20% of all young people spend the transition period mainly on family duty.

Figure 2.5 - Main activities between graduation and the start of the first significant job in EU Member States



Source: EU LFS Ad hoc module 2009

Persons with a low educational level are not over-represented in the category of short-term jobs; 17% of the low educated compared to 22% of the high educated work in these jobs. Due to sample size restrictions, it is not possible to split the educational levels into additional sub-groups and compare differences in the lengths of the periods in these short-term jobs. It could be the case that highly educated

people start working on a project-base more often (which would then be registered as short-term temp jobs), but manage to use this as a stepping stone rather than getting stuck in short-term jobs.
Gender differences in the share of those working short-term temp jobs are small and connected to the length of the period between graduation and the start of the first significant job. For one fifth of the women, working short-term jobs is their main activity between graduation and first job; this percentage remains stable regardless of the duration of this period. For men the share increases with the duration from graduation to first job (up to 30%).
Of the women 13% are inactive due to family responsibilities compared to only 1.5% of men. The shares increase proportional to the time passed between graduation and their first job. In addition, inactivity due to family responsibility is found considerably more often among low educated women (20% compared to 6% of the high educated). Approximately 14% of both genders are inactive due to other reasons (such as health problems or non-formal education); women report this form of inactivity only slightly more often than men.
To summarise, the first step on the labour market – the first significant job, the length of time between graduation and the start of this job and the main activity during this period – shows great variation across European Member States. In addition, there is clear variation with regard to educational levels. Gender differences are relatively small and mainly concern inactivity due to family reasons and the share of part-time contracts among first jobs The next section will analyse further steps of the graduates in more detail, that is the steps that follow a first significant job.

2.2.2 Transition profiles

The first job represents the first step in the labour market career of a young worker, but the transition phase is often not completed at that point. As was mentioned in the previous section, 20% of the 2008 graduates had not only found a job within the first year after leaving school, but had already left the job again. For many young workers it might take a couple of transitions between labour market states before a stable position is reached.
From the Ad hoc module data, transition profiles can be constructed as an indication of early career mobility of young workers. Transition profiles were used for example by Esteban-Pretel et al. (2011) to look into the effect of starting in precarious employment relative to remaining unemployed for young graduates in Japan. The graduates are sorted into one of many possible early career profiles. Esteban-Pretel et al. distinguished three different states: unemployed (including inactivity), regularly employed (which means full-time permanent employment) and precarious employment, which could either mean temporary employment or part-time employment or both.
In our analysis we focus on temporary employment (rather than part-time employment) as "precarious" form of employment. Three states are distinguished: unemployed/ inactive (N for NEET), in temporary employment (T) and in permanent employment (P). In the ad hoc module, labour market status was collected for a maximum of four points in time for each person: whether or not graduation was followed by a significant period[18] of unemployment or inactivity; the type of the

18 Analogous to the first significant job we define a significant period of unemployment to last for at least 3 months (this also avoids labeling an extended post-graduation vacation as "unemployment")

first significant job; the labour market status one year before the survey; and the status, as well as the type of job at the time of the survey. From this information a maximum of three transitions can be observed for each participant. A transition in employment is defined in terms of type of contract rather than in terms of jobs, so somebody moving from one temporary job to another with a different employer is not registered as having made a transition. Someone who has his temporary contract converted into a permanent contract with the same employer and indeed the same job position should be regarded as changing between spells. Unfortunately, however, the ad hoc module does not contain information on the type of contract at entry into the current employment implying that we cannot observe such within-job transitions.

It has to be stressed that the observed spells and transitions do not represent the full picture. The ad hoc module does not contain longitudinal data, but rather asks information for four points in time. The gap between first and current job, therefore, differs between respondents. The oldest respondents are 34 years old and might have started working 20 years ago; the youngest are 15 years old and might have started working in 2009. Therefore, the gap not observed by the ad hoc module information can be quite large for some respondents. Since we are mainly interested in the difference between men and women, this gap should be a not too big problem, however, as there is no reason to assume that the observed period differs from the unobserved period by gender. Table 2.3 presents the possible transition profiles observed from the data.

Table 2.3 - Possible transitions profiles in the ad hoc module 2009

no observed transition	at least one transition	at least two transitions	at least three transitions
N	N-T N-P	N-T-N N-T-P N-P-N N-P-T	N-T-N-T N-T-N-P N-P-N-T N-P-N-P
P	P-N P-T	P-N-P P-N-T P-T-N P-T-P	four spells are only observed if there was an initial spell of NEET before the first job
T	T-N T-P	T-N-P T-N-T T-P-N T-P-T	

Constructing transition profiles serves two purposes. First, by comparing the shares of men and women in each category, we can construct a segregation index, similarly to the indices used to analyse occupational segregation (e.g. England 1979). In addition, we can use the number of observed transitions as an additional explanation for different labour market outcomes such as unemployment or permanent employment (e.g. Gagliarducci 2005).

Table 2.4 displays the proportions of the transition profiles for all EU Member States by gender. The data suggest that the largest group for both men and women is successful at entering a permanent contract immediately upon graduation and staying in permanent employment (as far this can be observed).

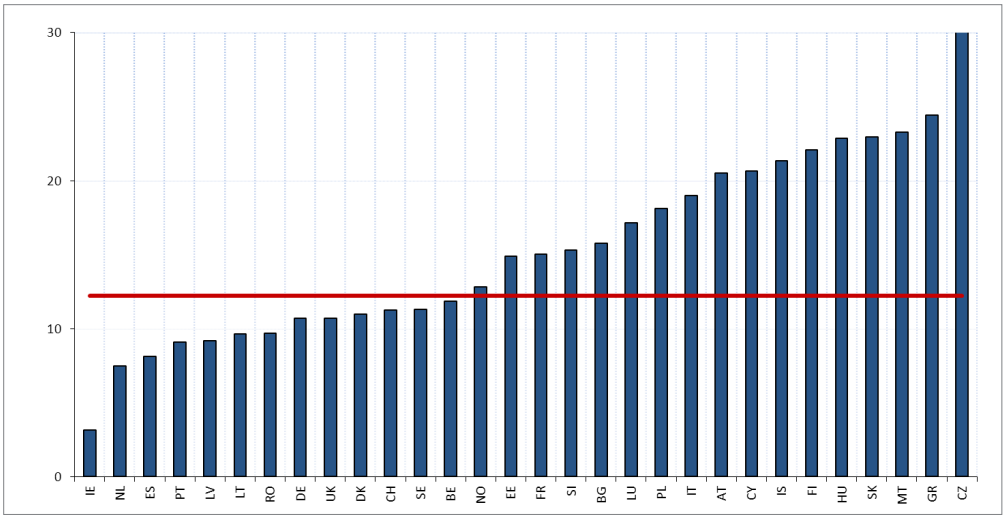
Table 2.4 - Occurrence of transition profiles by gender, EU27

	Total	%	Male	%	Female	%	Difference F-M	
N	13.908	18.6	5.562	15.0	8.346	22.2	7.2	
P	27.761	37.1	15.106	40ù6	12.655	33.6	7.0	
T	3.713	5.0	1.912	5.1	1.801	4.8	0.4	
NP	8.204	11.0	4.545	12.2	3.659	9.7	2.5	
NT	3.589	4.8	1.753	4.7	1.836	4.9	0.2	
TN	2.094	2.8	933	2.5	1.161	3.1	0.6	
TP	4.246	5.7	2.319	6.2	1.927	5.1	1.1	
PN	1.986	2.7	746	2.0	1.240	3.3	1.3	
PT	865	1.2	467	1.3	398	1.1	0.2	
NPN	1.319	1.8	506	1.4	813	2.2	0.8	
NPT	379	.5	228	.6	151	.4	0.2	
NTN	1.931	2.6	780	2.1	1.151	3.1	1.0	
NTP	2.321	3.1	1.305	3.5	1.016	2.7	0.8	
PNP	638	.9	193	.5	445	1.2	0.7	
PNT	154	.2	71	.2	83	.2	0.0	
TNP	164	.2	58	.2	106	.3	0.1	
TNT	326	.4	158	.4	168	.4	0.0	
NPNP	465	.6	186	.5	279	.7	0.2	
NPNT	98	.1	48	.1	50	.1	0.0	
NTNP	109	.1	45	.1	64	.2	0.0	
NTNT	582	.8	268	.7	314	.8	0.1	
Total	74.852		37.189		37.663		24.5	**12.2**

Source: EU LFS Ad hoc module 2009

The last column shows the difference between the shares of men and women belonging into each particular category. By adding up the absolute value of those differences (24.5%) and then dividing the result by two, we calculate a segregation index of 12.2%. This means that 12.2% of all women (or men) would need to change their transition profile in order to make the early labour market experience of women in the EU Member States equal to the experience of men. Comparing segregation measures between the MS's tells us where there are relatively large or small differences in the early transition profiles between men and women. Figure 2.6 summarises the segregation index results for each EU Member State, the red line showing the EU average. The lowest value is found in Ireland (3.2%), the highest in the Czech Republic (30.1%).

Figure 2.6 - Segregation indices of the EU Member States



The columns present the segregation index for transition profiles for each country; the line reflects the EU average
Source: EU LFS Ad hoc module 2009

The segregation index in itself does not reflect a disadvantage for one gender, only a difference. But not all transition profiles are equal, some reflect success (profiles ending with permanent contracts such as P, N-P, T-P), some failure (ending with unemployment, N, P-N, N-T-N, or showing a downward trend in positions held, like P-T), some neither. If we look at the profiles displaying the large differences we observe that men have larger shares of successful transition profiles and women have larger shares in unsuccessful profiles (see table 2.4). This could reflect an unfavourable position of women compared to men, meaning that higher segregation indices not only display differences but do indeed hint at a worse situation for women in the respective countries. By sorting transition paths according to the success/ failure they represent and comparing shares again we can discover whether the transition profiles of men reflect more success in some countries. We have labelled transitions that finish with P as successful and those that show a declining path (P-T-N in the extreme case) or finish with N as unsuccessful. The other transitions – showing no clear pattern - are included in a middle category which is labelled 'struggling'. Table 2.5 shows the results for EU27.

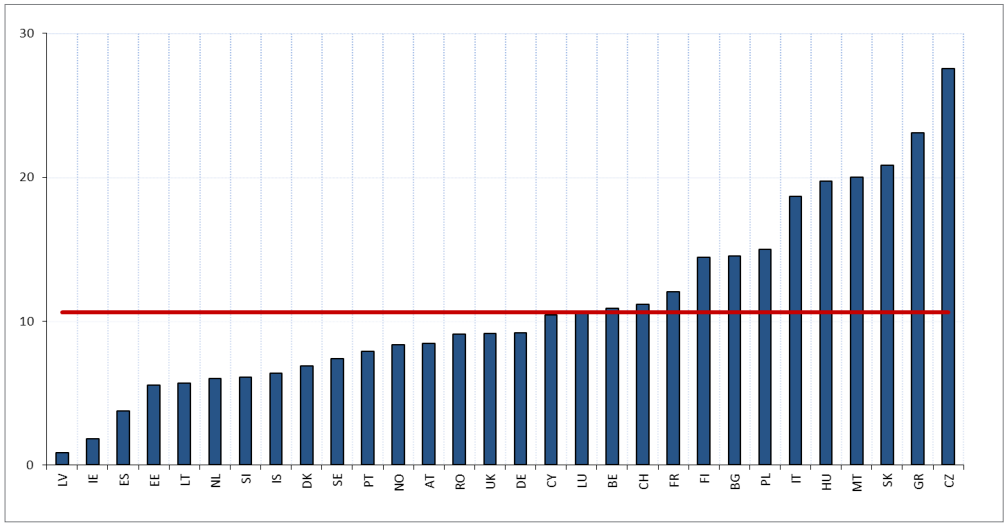
Table 2.5 - EU segregation index for transition profiles sorted into success groups

	Total	male	female	Difference F-M	
N	18.6	15.0	22.2		
PN	2.7	2.0	3.3		
PT	1.2	1.3	1.1		
PNT	.2	.2	.2		
TN	2.8	2.5	3.1		
NTN	2.6	2.1	3.1		
NPN	1.8	1.4	2.2		
NPNT	.1	.1	.1		
No success	29.9	24.5	35.2	10.7%	
NTNT	.8	.7	.8		
T	5.0	5.1	4.8		
NT	4.8	4.7	4.9		
TNT	.4	.4	.4		
NPT	.5	.6	.4		
Struggling	11.5	11.6	11.3	0.3%	
P	37.1	40.6	33.6		
TP	5.7	6.2	5.1		
NP	11.0	12.2	9.7		
NTP	3.1	3.5	2.7		
PNP	.9	.5	1.2		
TNP	.2	.2	.3		
NPNP	.6	.5	.7		
NTNP	.1	.1	.2		
Succes	58.7	63.9	53.5	10.4%	
Total				21.3%	10.7%

The index based on the distinction between successful and unsuccessful paths is lower[19] but not much lower: 10.7% of all women would have to have a different transition profile in order to make the experience of men and women equal. In all but two EU countries (Ireland and Lithuania), the share of women is higher in the unsuccessful profiles and the share of men is higher in the successful profiles category. Only for some countries the size of the success-segregation index is considerably smaller than the 'pure' segregation index. For example, while Austria has a very large segregation index of 20.5%, the index based on a distinction between successful and unsuccessful is not even half the size: 8.5%. This illustrates that the different experience does not immediately imply a worse experience on the same scale. Figure 2.7 presents the segregation index when transition profiles are grouped into success-categories. Now, Latvia has the lowest segregation, whereas the Czech Republic scores again the highest.

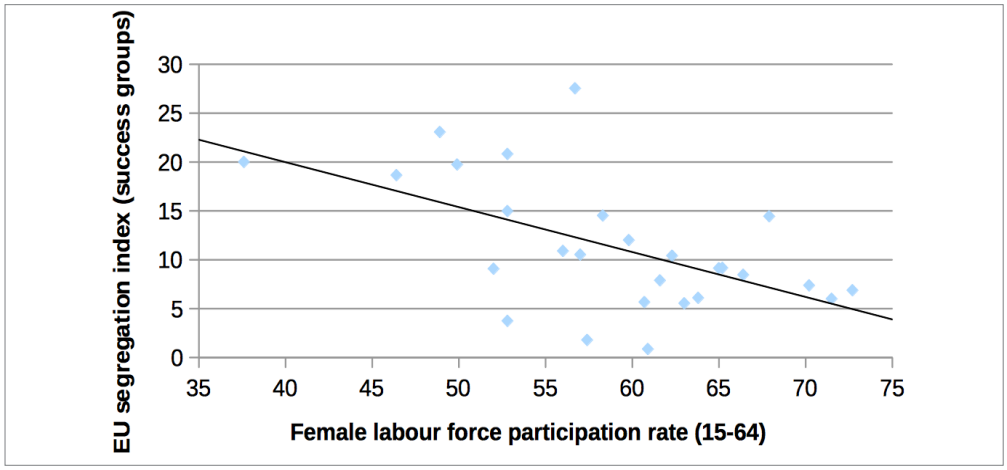
19 Decreasing the number of categories leads to a decrease in segregation index for computational reasons, within category differences are disregarded

Figure 2.7 - Segregation indices (grouping profiles in terms of success) of the EU Member States



A high segregation index means less equal labour markets for young men and women. There appears to be a negative relation between this segregation index and the female labour market participation rate (see figure 2.8). Countries with low female labour force participation rates have a higher segregation index for transition profiles sorted by success. Low female participation rates generally reflect female inactivity (at least for certain periods in life) due to care activities. Women's working careers are therefore more likely to include gaps and more transitions between states (N, T, P). This inequality appears to be already visible in the young age group of 15-34-year olds. We find some indication that women experience more transitions than men. As shown in the next section, a higher number of transitions is related to worse labour market outcomes (lower probability to be in permanent employment; higher probability to be unemployed). This is in line with previous research. For example, Corrales-Herrero and Rodríguez-Prado (2011) found for Spain that the transition trajectories of women involve more transitions between different states, in particular more periods of part-time work and inactivity. As a result young female graduates from lower secondary vocational education had 'less direct labour market integration' (p.3791) than young male graduates.

Figure 2.8 - The relationship between female labour force participation rates (15-64) and the segregation index for transition profiles sorted into success-groups, 2009



Source: Eurostat, EU LFS 2009

2.2.3 The effect of the first step on the current (2009) position: multivariate analyses

This section deals with the effect of the early work experience on subsequent labour market success. Temporary jobs seem to shorten the length of time spent in unemployment after graduation (Mills et al. 2012; De Graaf-Zijl et al. 2011). If the stepping stone hypothesis holds, a temporary job should also shorten the length of time between graduation and the start of the first permanent employment contract. In contrast, the dead end view expresses concern that the short-term gain of avoiding unemployment might come at the cost of weakening the long-term position of the young worker, in terms of income and quality of the job later in life (e.g. Booth et al. 2002; Jahn et al. 2012; Esteban-Pretel et al. 2011). A comparison of the transition profiles described in section 2.2.2 seems to support the stepping stone hypothesis: starting working life with a temporary position leads to an almost equally stable working life as starting with a permanent contract. Around 90% of those that started in a permanent position immediately upon graduation managed to keep this status (as far as we can observe). This share is only slightly lower among those that started in a temporary position: 80% managed to keep or upgrade this status[20].
A real test of the stepping stone hypothesis would imply a duration analysis comparing the time between graduation and first permanent employment contract for people that had a temporary position first and people who did not. Unfortunately, this is not possible with the Ad hoc module data since they do not contain information on the first permanent employment contract of those that started in temporary employment. Instead, we analyse the effect of a temporary first job on the current (2009) position of young workers. In addition, we investigate the impact of a period of unemployment after graduation and the number of observed transitions since graduation. We have tested two different models. In the first model, the effect of a temporary job compared to unemployment on the probability to hold a permanent job in 2009 is analysed. In the second model, the impact of having a temporary job on the probability to be unemployed in 2009 is analysed. The first model looks for a positive effect of temporary work compared to unemployment, the second looks for the ability to protect against a negative effect.

The probability to hold a permanent position in 2009
As reported in chapter 1 (section 1.2), more than 60% of all employed young workers held a permanent job in 2009. If temporary jobs are a stepping stone to permanent employment, those who quickly found temporary work should have a higher probability to be working in a permanent job at the time of the survey than those who started their working live unemployed. The first model investigates the determinants of the probability to have a permanent contract in 2009. The outcome variable takes the value 1 if the person is in a permanent employment contract in 2009, 0 if he/ she is in a temporary employment contract, unemployed, or inactive at the time of the survey.
In this analysis we look at the current labour market position of all EU LFS partici-

20 Transitions are measured here between the states of unemployment/ temporary and permanent job, not between jobs. Since people still in their first job did not have to report the type of contract when they entered into employment with their current employer, the 80% share presumably underestimates the actual success of temporary first jobs. It is likely that part of those that have a permanent contract now, started in a temporary contract with their current employer.

pants aged 15 to 34 who are not currently in education and have had at least one significant job in the past that they do not hold anymore. Since we are interested in the contribution of first jobs and early career on current status, those who have not found their first job yet are not included in the analysis. Also, all persons who reported that their current job was their first job are excluded, since we are interested in the effect of the first step on the labour market on future career outcomes. Unfortunately, this means that entrants who started in temporary employment but where successful in upgrading this temporary contract to a permanent contract with the same employer are excluded as well, since we do not have information on contract changes within the first job. In addition, only regular employees are included; all people who reported that they are self-employed or family worker now, or have been in the past, are excluded from the analysis.

Independent variables included in the analyses are the type of the first significant job – dummy variable with value 1 in case of permanent contract and 0 in case of temporary contract – and the time it took to find this job (thus length of the initial period of unemployment after graduation, measured in months between graduation and the start of the first job). In addition, the number of observed transitions in labour market status as described by the transition profiles (see the previous section for more details) is also included as determinant. Additional controls used are gender, level of education, age, time from graduation to survey, work experience at the time of graduation, the quality of the match in the first job and country dummies. Gender is a dummy with the value 1 for men. Three different levels of education are distinguished: up to and including lower secondary, upper secondary and third level. The aggregate data does not contain the exact age of the respondents, only affiliation to a five-year age-group, which is unfortunate considering the importance of a few additional years of age for this particular research question. Time from graduation to survey is included in months. Work experience at the time of graduation includes any study-related or non study-related job, side jobs and apprenticeships as well as work during an interruption of studies. The amount of work experience is not available. Therefore, work experience is included as a dummy variable where any work experience before graduation, be it a one-time summer job or an apprenticeship training of several years, takes value 1. The quality of the match is again included as a dummy variable, taking value 1 if the skill level of the first job was not appropriate. The skill level is considered appropriate if the skill level requirement of the first job was equal to or higher than the level of highest educational attainment. Given the limitations of the data, this is a rather crude measure[21].

The results (see Annex 2.1 for full details) show that a temporary first job has no significant negative influence on the probability to hold a stable position in 2009 compared to a permanent first contract. This is in line with the stepping stone hypothesis that a temporary job is a good first step to a permanent position. Contrary to the hypothesis, however, there is a significant positive influence of the length of time that passed between graduation and the start of the first job.

This indicates that investing some initial time in the search for a (good, permanent) first job gives an advantage above accepting a (bad, temporary) job too quickly. This

21 An ILO comparison table was used to relate the skill level required in the job (as measured by the first digit ISO-code) to the level of highest education (1 digit ISCED-code). It should be noted that only the first digit of the occupational category is available, resulting in only nine different types of jobs for the whole sample. The indicator is therefore a rather crude measure of skill-mismatch. Unfortunately, the data are not sufficient to develop better and more detailed indicators of skill mismatches (as for example described in European Commission 2012b).

search time should, however, not be too long, as this has a negative impact (as indicated by the variable time squared). A higher number of transitions also lowers the chance for a permanent position, supporting the idea that interruptions in working life are harmful to the labour market position of the young worker. Gender, age, educational level, time since graduation, and work experience at graduation have the expected effects: men, persons with a higher education, persons who are already active on the labour market for a longer period, and those with work experience at graduation are more likely to hold a permanent position. The two youngest age groups have a significantly lower probability to be in a permanent contract. Taking a first job for which one is over-qualified does not seem to have an effect; however, this could be related to the imperfect measure of skill-mismatch.

To deepen the analysis with respect to gender differences, we did additional regressions including gender-interaction terms to the various explanatory variables. There is no evidence that the type of first job, level of education or work experience do affect the probability of young woman to be in stable employment differently than that of a man. The interaction effects of gender with number of observed transitions did, however, indicate that the negative effect of more transitions is significantly stronger for women than for men, especially for the first two transitions.

The probability to be unemployed

As reported in chapter I (section 1.1), approximately 17% of young workers are unemployed. In the previous section we found no indication that young workers that had a permanent contract in their first job were more likely to be in permanent employment in 2009 than young workers that had a temporary contract in their first job. This would indicate that temporary jobs are a good stepping stone towards permanent employment. The results in the previous section could, however, not establish a clear stepping stone effect for taking a temporary job quickly, as an initial (limited) period of unemployment did not appear to have a negative impact on the probability to gain stable employment.

The second model investigates the determinants of the probability to be unemployed in 2009. Avoiding an unemployment spell after graduation by taking a temporary job quickly does not lead to higher probability of finding a permanent job in the future but it could decrease the future probability of unemployment. The dependent variable in this model takes the value 1 if the person is unemployed or inactive in 2009 and 0 if he/ she is employed, either permanent or temporary.

In this analysis, the contribution of the type of the first significant job – permanent or temporary contract – to unemployment is investigated for all EU LFS participants aged 15 to 34 that are not currently in education and have had at least one significant job (including who are still in the first job). Again, since we are interested in the effect of the first job we exclude everyone who was not successful yet in finding his/ her first job. In addition, all people who reported that they are self-employed or family worker now, or have been in the past, are excluded from the analysis. The independent variables and controls are the same as in the first model.

The results (see for full details Annex 2.2) show that having a first job that is temporary has no significant influence on the probability to be unemployed in 2009 compared to a first permanent contract. This again supports a positive view of temporary jobs as they are not proven inferior to permanent jobs in terms of avoiding

unemployment. Contrary to the stepping stone hypothesis, an initial (limited) period of unemployment also has a clear negative effect on the probability to be unemployed in 2009. This result opposes the view that taking a first job quickly to avoid unemployment experience could help in preventing unemployment also in the long run. This indicates again that investing some initial time in the search for a (good) first job gives an advantage above accepting a (bad) job too quickly. This search time should, however, not be too long, as this increases the probability to be unemployed (as indicated by the variable time squared). There is an additional indication that searching for a good job helps preventing future unemployment: people whose first job did not match their educational level have a significantly higher probability to be unemployed in 2009.
A higher number of transitions also clearly increases the probability to be unemployed, supporting the idea that interruptions in working life are harmful to the labour market position of the young worker. Gender had no significant effect, which reflects the small gender gap in unemployment rates for young people (as indicated in table 1.1). Educational level, time since graduation, and work experience at graduation have the expected effects: persons with a higher education, persons who are already active on the labour market for a longer period, and those with work experience at graduation are less likely to be unemployed. There is no evidence that the type of first job, level of education, number of transitions or work experience do affect the unemployment probability of young woman differently than that of a man.

2.3 Conclusions

In this chapter, the characteristics of first significant job and the impact of the type of first job and/ or an initial period of unemployment have been analysed. The transition from school-to-work has become more volatile in the last decades, involving more switches and detours and often involving non-standard jobs. The share of young persons who started working within one year after graduation is higher among recent graduates compared to those who have graduated earlier. In addition, more young persons have already left their first job again as well. The share of temporary contracts in the first job differs to a large extent across European Member States and gender differences are limited; young women do, however, start more often in a double fragile position, that is a temporary, part-time job.
There are also large differences across Member States regarding the main activity of young people during the period between graduation and the first significant job. While in some countries the largest share is unemployed and searching for a job, in other countries the majority is actually working in small short-term jobs. At the level of EU27, about half of the young people spent the time until the first (significant) job mainly unemployed and searching for a job; this share is higher among women than men. One fifth reports that they spent the transition period mainly working in consecutive small, short-term jobs. More women than men are inactive due to family responsibilities.
The first job represents the first step in the labour market career of a young worker, but the transition phase is often not completed at that point. About 40% enters the labour market with a permanent contract immediately upon graduation; the share among young men is slightly higher than the share of young women. When sorting the transitions paths in terms of successful (that is ending with a permanent contract) and unsuccessful (all other), it appears that women are more often in the unsuccessful paths.

Starting in a job with a temporary contract (compared to one with a permanent job) has no negative impact on having a stable position in 2009. However, investing some initial time in the search for a (good quality) first job increases the chances for a permanent position in 2009. Bad quality of the first job, as measured by over-education, increased the probability of unemployment in 2009. The number of transitions has a negative impact on the position in 2009. With respect to gender, it appears that young men do find a permanent job more often than young women. More detailed analysis shows that for women the negative impact of the number of transitions is stronger than for men. Work experience while studying is a strong predictor of labour market success, as is educational level.

To conclude, there is no clear evidence that temporary jobs as such are stepping stones or dead ends. There is some indication that a good match between worker and job as well as the avoidance of too many transitions between labour market states are necessary for a strong start. From a policy perspective the results imply that policies to support young labour market entrants should take the importance of a good match into account. Recent initiatives heavily emphasise the importance of training and the need to avoid prolonged periods of unemployment. An example is the European Youth Guarantee, which proposes to provide additional training, education or a job to every young person after 4 months of unemployment. Especially for the low educated and for people whose field of education does not match the current labour demand (horizontal mismatch) additional training might be a useful pathway to better employment opportunities. However, one should be cautious not to overemphasise the value of any type of job or work experience in order avoid unemployment. The long term implications of skill mismatches, for individuals but also for employers and society at large, are very serious and should be taken into account (see European Commission 2012b).

3. Starting fragile: impact on personal life

Introduction

The results so far indicate that an increasing number of young individuals face difficulties in entering the labour market. Evidently, this will have an impact on their personal life. Being unemployed will have a negative impact on leaving the family home and might frustrate any attempt to start a family. The negative impact on personal life is also noted in previous studies (e.g. Anxo et al. 2010; Knijn 2012). Based on a study of nine European Member States, Anxo et al. (2010: 29) conclude that transitions to independence of young people are becoming increasingly dependent on family income and wealth. As a result, their opportunities for self-determination and for fulfilling life course goals (including reproduction) are limited. The aim of this section is to analyse the impact of a fragile start on personal family life, using qualitative information from ten EU Member States: the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Netherlands, the Slovak Republic, Spain and the United Kingdom. This choice of countries is based on labour market characteristics and/or specific gender aspects (see the Introduction for more details). Firstly, the level of social protection will be addressed in terms of access to unemployment benefits and social assistance. In addition, the impact on pensions will be shortly addressed. In the second section the opportunities to live independently will be analysed, whereas in the third section the central topic will be starting a family.

3.1 Social protection

Sufficient means are an essential precondition for an independent life. Chapter I has shown that the unemployment and inactivity rates among young persons are high. In addition, those with a job often have temporary and/or part-time contracts. It appears that only a small minority of young NEETs receives benefits or assistance (see chapter 4, box 4.1, for more details). This section will analyse the access to social protection more in depth. To what extent are unemployed young persons entitled to unemployment benefits or social assistance? Are the amounts sufficient for an independent living? In addition, we will briefly pay attention to pension rights.

Unemployment benefits

All EU countries have more or less developed systems of social security. Unem-

ployment benefits are an important element in this respect. In most countries the eligibility to unemployment benefits is dependent on the actual work history and the payment of social contributions during a certain period of time. Young persons generally have a shorter and/or atypical work history and, as a result, are less likely to be entitled to unemployment benefits. In addition to the minimum length of the paid job, atypical contracts may be excluded. The minimum period of employment before being entitled varies over the ten Member States. France has a rather low requirement as workers have to have worked at least four months in the previous 28 months. In other countries, this period is generally longer. In Germany and Spain, for example, one has to have been employed for at least 12 months before being entitled to unemployment benefits, whereas in the Czech Republic and Italy the threshold is set at least 12 months in the previous two years. Another example is the Netherlands where in the period before unemployment the employee should have worked 26 of 36 weeks. In most countries there is no difference in access to unemployment benefits based on type of contract. Temporary and part-time contracts also count. In some countries, however, unemployment benefits are only eligible for persons with a permanent job. E.g. in Italy atypical jobs are not covered by social protection. Also in Spain atypical contracts seem not equally insured. Another example is Germany, where the so-called mini-jobs and fixed term jobs generally involve less social security for the employee. See for full details Annex 3.1.

Unemployment benefits are typically related to last earned wages. In addition, the percentage might decrease when the period of unemployment increases. Given the lower wage levels of young, inexperienced persons, the unemployment benefits might be rather low. For example, in the Czech Republic during the first two months the benefits are 65% of the previous average net monthly earnings, whereas in the third and fourth months the amount decreases to 50% and in the fifth month to 45%. It is increased, though, to 60% in case the unemployed participates in a retraining program. In Latvia the rate depends on the history of social contributions and ranges between 50 and 65%. In addition, the amount decreases gradually over time.

There do not appear to be direct gender differences in access to unemployment benefits. However, as young females more often have part-time contracts and lower hourly wages, their unemployment benefits may be considerably lower than those of young males.

Social assistance

In case persons are not entitled to unemployment benefits, countries may offer social assistance that is generally means-tested. In addition, applicants must actively seek employment or start an education. Young persons, however, do not always meet eligibility criteria and/or the amounts may be too low for an independent living, particularly for the youngest age group. In Spain, for example, jobseekers are only entitled to non- contributory benefits (after having exhausted the contributory benefits) in case of family responsibilities and having an income below 75% of the minimum wage or after working for six months below a certain income-level. In the Netherlands young persons (until the age of 27) who are neither in education nor (full-time) employed and who are not entitled to unemployment benefits may apply for social assistance. Before the application, they have to search actively for work or an education during a period of four weeks. In case no employment is found, the guiding principle is that an education or training comes first before social assistance. In case no employment or education is found, the person can apply for social

assistance (which starts at the day of searching for a job). From age 21, social assistance is 70% of minimum wage for a single person and 100% for a couple. Amounts provided to the age group 18-21 are lower (€ 230.98 per month) and not sufficient to be financially independent. Most generous is Denmark where young unemployed persons can get either unemployment benefits or social benefits. After completing education young persons can apply for unemployment benefits in case they are members of an unemployment insurance fund and the benefit is 82% of the maximum unemployment insurance benefit. If this period expires, they are entitled to social assistance.
In the United Kingdom young persons under 18 are not entitled to the Jobseekers Allowance (the unemployment benefits). From age 16, young unemployed can apply for Income Support but they are only eligible if they are registered disabled, having responsibility for the care of a relative who is disabled, are a lone parent or a parent who has to stay at home and look after children. As of 2012 both benefits will be – along with other means-tested out-of-work benefits and in-work tax credits – combined into one single payment, known as Universal Credit. The majority of young people do not receive financial support when they are unemployed and this is unlikely to change after the policy reform.

Specific work-programs for young persons

Some countries, notably Germany, have a comprehensive approach towards young persons. In Germany young workers (workers below 25 years old) are covered by the social protection system the same way as adult workers. According to the Social Security Code III (SGB III) they are allowed to receive unemployment benefits and to join active labour market programmes that aim at re-integration into employment. This rule applies if the young worker has been employed for at least 12 months before becoming unemployed and has paid contributions to the unemployment insurance scheme. Persons who begin their first vocational training programme (mainly young persons) are eligible for various special assistance schemes. According to Social Security Code II (SGB II) persons who are 24 or younger and who apply for unemployment benefits II must immediately be placed into employment, vocational training programmes or job-creation schemes. The SGB II covers young people who are unemployed but who are not eligible for unemployment benefits or training programmes provided by SGB III. A few other countries have policies to integrate young persons in the labour market, though less comprehensive. In Latvia the State Employment Agency has a special program for persons aged 18-24 without any work experience. The program is a work practice for 6-12 months with a stipend of about € 170 per month. Unfortunately, the coverage of the program is limited. In the Slovak Republic young persons without work experience, but who have completed at least secondary education are entitled to a 'graduate practice'.

Pensions

Rights to pensions are often dependent on the number of years worked and on the insurance contributions. Spells of unemployment might prolong the time it takes to build up enough qualifying years to receive a (state) pension. As a result many young people may be forced to work beyond the state pension age when they are older. This is an issue in, for example, the United Kingdom, Spain and Italy. In Spain the retirement scheme is reformed in 2011, the statutory retirement age has been increased to 67 and the period taken into account to calculate the amount of pension has been increased from 15 to 25 years. This might be particularly negative for (low-skilled) women with lower employment rates. Also since individuals start

their working careers increasingly later and with more unstable and lower-paid jobs, the probability to receive a full pension is decreasing. The French system seems positive for young persons as it enables workers to validate a quarterly contribution after 200 hours of paid work. This also applies to young people working short periods, such as during summer holidays. However, the amount of hours concerns each individual pension scheme; hours of different schemes cannot be combined implying that the usefulness is limited. Generally, the period of education is not taken into account in pensions. In the Czech Republic the period of high school, college or university used to be included in the insurance period for retirement. However, this has been abolished; students who have reached the age of 18 can get insured on a voluntary basis. From a gender perspective, a main issue is that the amount of pensions might be considerably lower for women compared to men due to part-time work and a shorter working history due to care responsibilities (see also Bettio, Tinios and Betti 2012).

Summarising, thresholds in social security limit the access of young persons to unemployment benefits. In addition, social assistance is rather limited. There is no direct discrimination between (young) men and women with respect to access to/coverage of social security. There is, however, an indirect impact of type of contracts. As women work more often in temporary contracts and part-time contracts it is more difficult to become eligible and their entitlements might be lower. In the longer term, periods of unemployment generally have a negative impact on pensions. For women, this adds to the negative impact of working part-time and interrupting one's career due to care responsibilities.

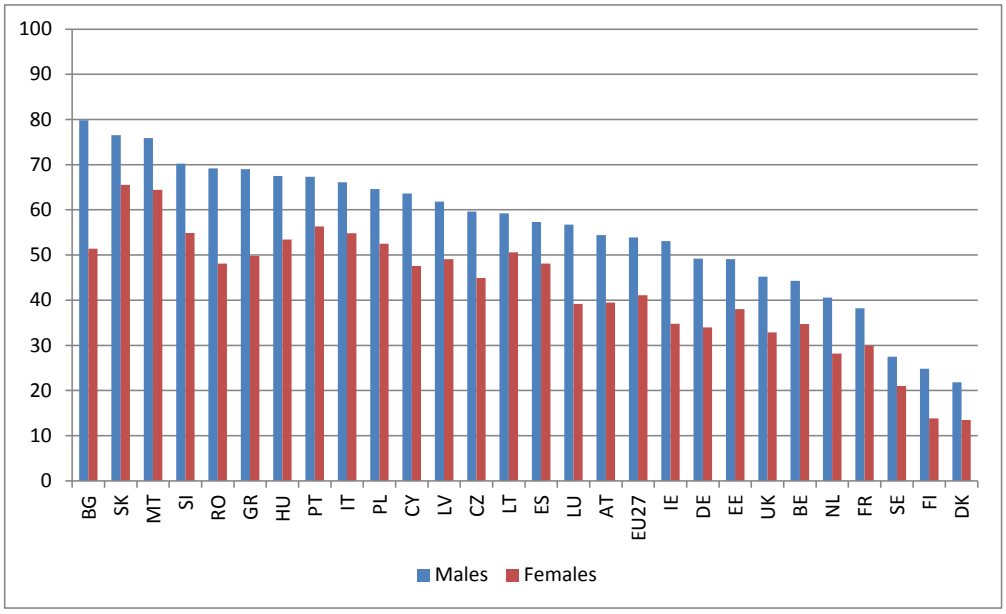
3.2 Living independently

In the transition toward building up an independent life, leaving the parental home is a milestone. Within the EU there is large variation in the age of young people when leaving the parental household. In addition, there are considerable differences between men and women; in all countries, women move out of the parental home on average at an earlier age than men (Eurostat 2009). Finnish women are the first to leave the parental house at the average age of 22. In the Netherlands and France, women leave the parental house around 23. The highest average age among women is over 29 and is found in Italy, Malta, Slovenia and the Slovak Republic. Men leave the parental house relatively early in Finland, at the average age of 23 years. In the Netherlands and France they are just above 24. Men leave the parental house relatively late (that is over 30), in Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Malta, Romania, Slovenia and the Slovak Republic. An important reason why women leave the parental home earlier than men is that they marry or move out with a partner earlier than men (Eurostat 2009).

It should be noted that some children never leave the parental home or return to home after a while. Young persons might also intersperse spells living with their parents with spells living independently. It is therefore, as Iacovou (2011) argues, not straightforward to compute an "average" age at leaving home. As an alternative, the EU SILC provides data on the share of young adults living with their parents. Figure 3.1 shows the figures for the age group 18-34 (see annex 3.2 for figures for age groups 18-24 en 25-34). In all countries the share of young males living with their parents is higher than the share of young females. The highest rates are found in Bulgaria, the Slovak Republic and Malta, where more than three quarter of young males between 18 and 34 still live in the parental home. The Slovak Republic and

Malta also have the highest rates of young females still living in the parental home. At the other end of the scale are the Nordic countries Sweden, Finland and Denmark, where the share of young males is less than 30% and the share of females is less than 20%. Bulgaria has the largest gender gap (more than 28 percentage points), followed by Romania (21 pp.). The smallest gender gap is found in Sweden (6.5 pp.), followed by Denmark and France (8.3 pp.).

Figure 3.1 - Share of young adults in EU Member States living with their parents, age group 18-34, 2010



Source: Eurostat EUSILC

Different factors have an impact on the age when leaving the parental home. One of the most important factors is the length of time spent in education. Other important factors are the lack of financial resources to live independently and the lack of affordable housing (Eurostat 2009). The importance of the factors varies across the countries. A study of Iacovou (2011), covering the EU Member States, shows that young persons with higher incomes of their own leave the family home earlier in all countries, but that this relationship is particularly pronounced in the Nordic and north-western countries compared to the eastern and southern countries. This seems to be related to the social norm encouraging early departure from the parental home. Another important factor is the income of the parents. Interestingly, in Nordic and north-western countries parents with higher incomes assist their children in leaving home, whereas in the southern countries and some of the eastern countries parents seem to use their higher incomes to delay departure of children from home. The findings of Iacovou (2011) are confirmed by the national reports. In eastern EU Member States, both norms as well as the low availability of (affordable) housing push young persons to stay with their parents. In the Slovak Republic, leaving home is closely connected with marriage and becoming parents (though parenthood is becoming less connected to marriage). In the last decades these events are more and more postponed and as a result the age at which young individuals leave home increased considerably. In Latvia norms have changed but are still rather supportive towards young persons living at home.

In the United Kingdom leaving the parental home used to be connected to marriage, but is nowadays more driven by a preference for residential independence (Berrington et al. 2012). The low-skilled are in the most precarious position as they have lower wages and a higher risk of unemployment and therefore less able to afford to live independently (Berrington et al. 2012). In addition, there are class differences in the propensity for students to live in the parental home.
Young persons from middle class families leave the parental home earlier to attend university. Young persons from working-class families are less likely to go to university and when they do so they are more likely to live with their parents in order to save costs from living independent. In addition, increasing tuition fees push young people to attend local universities so that they can keep living in the parental home (Heath 2008).
There is little research on the impact of the crisis on leaving the parental home. A few countries, notably France, Spain and the United Kingdom, report the issue of increasing number of young individuals returning to the parental home ('boomerangers') due to the crisis. Recent figures are lacking though and it is not clear if there are gender differences. The study of Iacovou (2011) provides some figures on EU15 countries before enlargement based on ECHP data. In this study, the United Kingdom has the highest rates of returns to the parental home (4 per cent of young people). All other countries have rates below 2%. The lowest rate is found in Austria and Germany (about 0.5%). The study finds no evidence that return rates to the parents are higher in the (northern) countries where the age at which young individuals leave the home is lower. According to Iacovou, the low return rates in the northern countries are related to relatively generous welfare state benefits and a culture where both young people and their parents value independence. In southern Europe, young persons are less often entitled to welfare benefits and living with the parents is probably more acceptable to them and the parents. The high return rates in the United Kingdom are likely to be related to the lower level of welfare benefits compared to other northern countries. In the United Kingdom, it is expected that the return rate is likely to increase due to rising levels of student debt and a weaker job market for graduates (Clapham et al. 20120, cited in Berrington et al. 2012). Returning home can have a significant impact on young persons. In Spain, for example, returning home is seen as traumatic, reflecting personal and collective failure and creating deep frustration.

The impact of the housing market

A key factor influencing the departure of young persons from the parental home is the housing market. In particular, the lack of affordable housing is important reason to keep living with the parents is. With the exception of Germany, this seems to be an issue in most countries. In Spain the lack of affordable houses and the absence of a developed rental market are important factors keeping young persons within the parental home. In Latvia, under the old regime housing was relatively scarce and three generations living in a small flat was a common situation. Though this has changed considerably, young individuals still leave the parental home relatively late due to scarcity of appropriate housing and insufficient financial resources. In the Slovak Republic the housing market has undergone a privatization process after 1989. In the beginning of the 1990s, all state-owned dwellings were transferred to municipalities and legislation enabled tenants to buy their houses for a rather low price. However, currently there are hardly any social or 'start' public dwellings anymore. In the Czech Republic renting or buying

a house generally requires double, permanent incomes.
Buying a house is also complicated due to the conditions to receive a mortgage. Generally a steady, permanent income is necessary. Given the high rates of temporary contracts, this impacts a large group of young persons. This seems to be an issue in most countries. In addition, in most countries the criteria to get a mortgage have become stricter as a result of the financial crisis. In the Netherlands, for example, according to the current Code of Conduct for Mortgage Loans "When determining the borrowing capacity of a borrower applying for a mortgage loan, the mortgage lender will take account of current fixed and long-term income" (section 6.3). In case the applicant has no fixed, long-term income, lenders may take into account the average income of the last three calendar years prior to the year in which the mortgage loan is offered. While this offers some opportunities for persons without a permanent job, it is a rather long period for young persons.

Another problem with respect to housing is increasing rents and house prices. Due to these increased house prices particularly starters (first-time buyers) have difficulties to buy a house. This is an issue that occurs in most countries. In addition, affordable rental housing is difficult to find. In France, rents have increased considerably over the last years. About half of young people under 25 live in privately rented housing and spend on average half of their budget on this accommodation. In addition, deposits seem to increase and may be two to three times the required rent. Often parents have to act as guarantors. In the United Kingdom the supply of private rented accommodation has increased over the last three decades, and the increasing rents and reduced government support with rents for low income households has meant that young persons on low incomes or who are unemployed may struggle to attain residential independence. The availability of social housing has decreased. This is related to the sales of these houses to sitting tenants under the Right to Buy policies. At the same time, due to the economic situation, new builds of social housing are increasingly less likely (Berrington et al. 2012).
Denmark reports an increase in the number of young homeless people, which is related to financial problems and the lack of suitable housing. Also in France the number of homeless young people is increasing. In France, persons facing emergency situations can resort to Accommodation and Social Integration Centres ('*Centres d'hébergement et de réinsertion sociale*'). Nowadays 25% of the residents here are young persons. There is however a shortage of facilities to protect young homeless persons.

There is very little information on possible gender differences with respect to renting or buying a house. In most countries there do not appear to be direct gender differences in access, but there are indications of indirect differences. In the Netherlands, for example, in principle banks do not treat the income of women and men differently. However, the income of the second earner, who is often a woman, does not count fully (any more) in determining the loan capacity, but only for one third. In Italy, banks also have become stricter and a full-time permanent contract is necessary to get a loan. This implies that those working part-time, which are often women, have more difficulties to get loans.

Some countries have policies to support the youth to get accommodation or to be able to afford it. An example is France which has introduced a Guarantee concerning tenants risks ('*Garantie des risques locatifs*'), which is used by 50% of young

people. Also Denmark has different forms of state financed housing allowances (but reports an increasing number of homeless young people). In the United Kingdom only a minority of young persons have access to housing benefits to help pay for rent. According to the law tenants must be over 18 with the exception of those with a low income, regardless of whether or not they are in work. In order to be eligible, income and capital must be below a certain level.

Other countries lack policies for young people. For example, in Latvia there is a general housing benefit for poor families, provided by municipalities. Specific housing programmes for young people are, however, not available. Also in Spain housing policies for young persons are insufficient. Housing policies may be vulnerable to budget cuts, as is illustrated in the Czech Republic. Between 2004 and 2011, the Czech State Fund for Housing Support provided credits to young people up to 36 years to buy or renovate a flat or house with low interest rate. Almost 25,000 contracts were signed within the context of this programme. It was, however, abolished due to austerity.

Housing and family formation

Having a home is also an essential factor in family formation. There has been some research in this field, showing that though family events and housing events are strongly interrelated, causality is complex. As Mulder (2010: 434) states: "Housing serves as the context for family events and families serve as the context for housing events". A particular case in this respect is home ownership. It may be argued that there is a positive relationship between home ownership and family formation; starting a family seems to speed up the process of buying a house. However, relationship may as well be negative as both home ownership and family formation are rather costly. Mulder (2006) finds a positive relation for several countries (using micro data), but not consistently, e.g. not for the United Kingdom. Mulder and Billari (2010) have investigated the relationship between homeownership and fertility at the macro-level. This study distinguishes four homeownership regimes, based on the share of owner-occupied housing and access to mortgages. It appears that in countries with a 'difficult' regime, that is a high share of owner-occupation and low access to mortgages, fertility rates are lowest. Examples include Italy, Spain and Greece. Though the authors stress that causality is complicated, they argue "that it seems plausible that housing and mortgage markets are important in shaping the transition to parenthood; these markets might therefore affect fertility levels and population dynamics through fertility tempo" (Mulder and Billari 2010: 537).
Summarising, there does not seem to be an overall trend regarding living independently apart from the fact that young women leave the parental house earlier than young men. Leaving the parental home seems highly country- specific and related to factors such as the educational system and cultural norms. A factor of significant importance is the housing market; it seems increasingly problematic for young persons to find affordable housing. This limits the opportunities to start an independent life. At the macro-level it also influences fertility. In the next section, the topic of starting a family will be analysed more in depth.

3.3 Starting a family

Starting a family is another milestone in the life of young people. Research shows that – at the macro-level - economic recessions have a negative impact on fertility; the impact seems, however, relatively low and of short duration (see for an elaborate overview of the literature Sobotka et al. 2011). That is, during a recession the choice to start a family is postponed, particularly in case of first birth. Recession has only a minor impact in terms of the number of births. At the micro-level the precarious labour market situation of young persons can have a mixed impact.

Unemployment and family formation

Many young individuals face a situation of unemployment. The relationship between unemployment and family formation is (again) rather complex. Different factors affect this relationship and the impact of these factors differs for men and women and across countries. Theoretically, unemployment might have a negative and positive impact on family formation. Raising a child is time-consuming, time that cannot be spent in the labour market (Becker 1993). As such, unemployment reduces the opportunity costs of parenthood and therefore may have a positive impact on fertility. Having a child, however, is costly and unemployment generally results in lower income. This implies a negative impact of unemployment on family formation. In addition, the longer the period of unemployment, the more likely human capital investments will devalue. In order to avoid this devaluation, unemployed persons might be more inclined to focus on a (quick) return to the labour market than on starting a family.

Given the traditional gender division of labour, the specific impact is likely to differ between men and women. Unemployment may lower the female opportunity costs, as a result of which unemployed women may be more inclined to start a family. This is particularly the case for low-skilled women; highly skilled women will probably focus more on reintegration as they face greater loss in terms of skill degradation and lost opportunities (Schmitt 2008). Schmitt (2008) has investigated the gender-specific effects of unemployment on family formation in four countries: France, Finland, Germany and the United Kingdom. Indeed, for men unemployment has a negative impact on family formation, whereas female unemployment seems to stimulate the transition toward parenthood, particularly when the occupational prospects are bleak. In addition, the impact is stronger among women with a lower education. The findings particularly hold in Germany and the United Kingdom which –according to the author – is related to the lack of reconciliation facilities in these countries. The relation between social services and fertility is confirmed in several other studies (for example Ermisch 1989; Del Boca et al. 2003; Adsera 2004a and 2004b; D'Addio and D'Ercole 2005; Hilgeman and Butts 2009). Most relevant in this respect are leave arrangements and childcare services.

Leave arrangements and child care services

Especially when children are young, time related provisions such as leave entitlements are very important for combining work and private life. A relevant question in this respect is to what extent these arrangements are accessible for the young unemployed and those with an atypical employment status.

In most countries paid maternity leave is only available to women who have a paid job, with specific conditions varying over the Member States. For example, in the Slovak Republic women are entitled to maternity leave when they have paid health

insurance (which is a part of social insurance) for at least 270 days in the two calendar years preceding the birth of the child. In that case they receive 65% of the gross monthly wage, with a ceiling. Without health insurance (such as in the case of students and unemployed people), women on maternity leave can apply for welfare subsidies. A similar situation applies in the Czech Republic. For women with atypical contracts, different rules might apply. In Italy, for example, employees on fixed-term contracts are entitled to paid maternity leave but the payment depends on the social contributions. Another example is the United Kingdom, where temporary workers are not entitled to maternity leave, unless this has been agreed by their employer. There is no obligation for the employer to give workers on a short-term temp contract weeks of statutory leave and keep the job open for them. This is regardless of how long they have worked for the employer. However, temporary workers are entitled to statutory maternity pay if they have worked for their employer continuously for 26 weeks (which is financed from National Insurance Contributions).

In some countries, notably Spain, conditions for paid maternity leave are less strict for younger persons. In Spain, all employed women are entitled to 16 weeks of maternity leave and receive a flat-rate payment for 42 days after delivery. Under certain conditions they are also entitled to earnings-related leave benefits, e.g. women have to have contributed to social security at least 180 days in the previous seven years or 360 days during working life. The criteria are less strict for women under 21 (no previous period of contribution necessary) and for women between 21 and 26 (period is 90 days in the previous seven years or 180 days during working life).

Access to (paid) parental leave varies over the countries. In some countries, including the Slovak Republic, paid parental leave is accessible for all parents, whether employed or not. Parents receive a basic allowance and are also allowed to work while receiving this allowance. In Germany parental leave is accessible for the employed, the unemployed, fixed term employees and students. Excluded are self-employed. In the other countries, parental leave is only for employees. Entitlements and payment vary. For example, in the Netherlands, employees are entitled to unpaid parental leave if they have worked for the employer for at least one year. Parents taking parental leave are entitled to a tax reduction of €712 a month (i.e. half the statutory minimum wage a month in case of full-time leave) or €4.11 an hour for each hour of leave. Additional payment of parental leave is regulated in collective agreements. It is more common in the public sector than in the private sector. In France, paid parental leave is only accessible when at least eight quarterly pension contributions have been made (validated via occupational activity) in the two years before the birth of the first child, in the previous four years in case of the second child and in the previous five years in case of the third or additional child. It is unlikely that (very) young parents with a precarious labour market position meet these criteria.

Unemployed persons or those with atypical contracts may be subject to different conditions. For example, in the Czech Republic, after maternity leave, parents are entitled to a parental benefit. This benefit may be renewed every three months and is independent on earnings in the previous year with maximum amount of about (currently) € 455 per month (the total amount of the whole period is about € 8,800) until the child is four. Students, unemployed and those who did not participate in health insurance during 270 days in the previous two years have lower entitlements; they are entitled to the lowest benefit of about €304 per month until the child is nine months old or € 152 until the child is four year old. In the United Kingdom, similar to the situation in case of maternity leave, employers are not obliged to provide

temporary workers with parental leave.

In addition to leave arrangements, childcare services may improve the reconciliation of work and family life and thus foster labour participation. In some countries access to formal childcare facilities is dependent on employment status. In the Czech Republic, for example, childcare services often require that both parents are employed. In Italy, all parents have access to childcare facilities but parents who are both working have priority. In other countries, childcare services are accessible for all parents but prices are high which may be problematic for young persons. In the Netherlands childcare services are available for all (working) parents. An income-related childcare allowance is provided in case both parents have a job or are studying. However, when (one of the) parents becomes unemployed, the allowance stops after three months. Without an allowance the services are quite costly. Other countries report that costs of childcare are high and generally not affordable for low incomes and unemployed. This is, for example, the case in United Kingdom. In Latvia and the Slovak Republic public childcare is affordable but there is insufficient supply. Private providers are, however, too expensive for most households. In Spain the availability of public services varies regionally and private services are expensive. Moreover, public services are threatened by budget cuts which seem to affect young unemployed in particular.
Denmark provides a more positive example. Here all parents are guaranteed to have access to formal childcare facilities. Moreover, childcare is publicly funded; those with low income pay reduced prices or get childcare free of charge. In Germany studying parents or parents in vocational educational training or continuing training programs are generally entitled to a full-time place and fees are often income dependent (but differ by region). In France since 2009 parents in insecure situations, such as lone parents, unemployed and those with a low income, have a priority in crèches. In practice, however, only a minority actually uses formal childcare facilities.

Summarising, the precarious position in the labour market has a different impact on young men and women. During unemployment, women - in particular the low skilled - may be more inclined to start a family, whereas men try to keep working. Access to social services that support parenthood, such as maternity leave and parental leave, is often based on a (solid) employment status. As a result, it is more difficult for parents with a fragile labour market status to claim such services. In addition, affordable childcare services are often not available. As a result there is a danger that young women become inactive, which can have a negative long-term career impact.

3.4 Conclusions

The impact of the crisis on personal life of young people differs widely across Europe. Though this section focuses on a limited number of countries, the results suggest some general patterns. In northern and continental countries young people leave the parental home rather early, facilitated by the income of the family. In addition, they are covered by relatively generous welfare state benefits. In the southern and eastern countries, the situation is rather different as young persons leave the parental home quite late. Moreover, welfare benefits are less generous. A

topic that impacts on almost all young people is the unfavourable situation in the housing market. The lack of affordable houses to rent or to buy prevents young people in pursuing their independency. This is reinforced by more strict criteria to get mortgages. In general the financial situation of young persons seems to deteriorate, as more of them face increasing study debts. Exact figures are lacking though.
Detailed information on youth gender differences is lacking; gender mainstreaming is hardly applied. The impact of a fragile start seems, however, to be different for men and women. As women work more often in precarious contracts (part-time jobs and temporary jobs), access to social security might be more difficult and entitlements lower. In case of unemployment, females might opt more often for starting a family, particularly the low-skilled. Young persons have, however, only limited access to reconciliation facilities. As a result, they might become full-time carers, which can have a negative long-term career impact.

4. Starting fragile: policy approaches

4.1 Introduction and theory background

The previous chapters have shown that young women present a more vulnerable position in the labour market and a more 'fragile' school-to-work transition than young men. This might be due to labour market discrimination, a higher probability for young women to be employed with part-time and/or temporary employment contracts or in the informal economy, gender differences in educational choices and skill mismatches, and, especially, in household roles and care responsibilities resulting in lower attachment to the labour market and higher probabilities of inactivity for young women than men.

However, individual and family conditions do not completely explain the wide country differences in youth labour market conditions and in gender gaps. National policy regimes and economic conditions are other important factors, as anticipated in the previous chapters. Furthermore, the different position of men and women in the labour market and in the household might also imply that there are gender differences in the effects of policies targeted to the youth and, more generally, in those policies affecting labour demand and supply.

According to the economic literature policy regimes that increase the relative cost of hiring less experienced or low skilled workers, such as the minimum wage and collective bargaining (trough trade unions), may reduce the incentive to hire these workers. For example, Bertola et al. (2007) find that union density significantly increases both the employment and unemployment gender gap for prime-age individuals and the unemployment rate of young men. They however do not find robust evidence of union effects on the unemployment for young women (15-24 years old); their interpretation of this result is that, once not employed, young women move predominantly out of the labour force (towards education or home production).

Institutions which reduce labour turnover by increasing the firing costs, such as the employment protection legislation (EPL), are likely to reduce the out flow from employment, especially of workers with long job tenures, but they also reduce the hiring of new workers, particularly of those less attached to the labour market. Hence, the impact of lower EPL on female employment is a priori ambiguous: lower employment regulation should increase job turnover and hence employment

opportunities for new entrants (including young women), but it could also increase women's exit from employment, particularly during recessions and when EPL applies also to female-dominated sectors. Furthermore, youth employment rates and gender gaps are influenced by the asymmetry of employment protection between permanent and temporary contracts: if the latter have much lower firing costs and such types of contracts are more widespread among the young and women, these categories of workers are more likely to move back and forth from unemployment and to have unstable job careers. This asymmetry has been exacerbated by the EPL reforms "at the margin" implemented in most countries in the last decades, which have increased flexibility only for temporary contracts. Azmat et al. (2006) point out that, if women display a higher outflow rate from employment than men (also for some of the reasons we discussed above), the negative effect on hiring will magnify the gender gap in the unemployment rate.

Institutions that make it difficult for workers less attached to the labour market to stay in employment, such as the different forms of temporary contracts, are also likely to increase the gender gaps in the labour market, particularly given that such types of contracts are rather widespread among the young and women. Rubery (2011) argues that employment protection and working time regulation could promote gender equality in the labour market, if issues such as labour market segregation, gender gaps in access to social security, taxation systems, gender pay gaps and the under-evaluation of women's work are addressed as well.

Recent studies have pointed out that product market regulation (PMR) may be also relevant in affecting gender gaps. For example, the empirical analysis by OECD (2006) on the effects of institutions on labour market performance points out that the main negative significant effects on aggregate women's employment are associated with unemployment benefits, the tax wedge and product market regulation, but it is only the latter that actually displays quite different effects by gender: strict PMR does not affect (prime-age) men's employment, while it has a negative effect on women's employment, of a size comparable to that of unemployment benefits and the tax wedge. The OECD study puts forward three main explanations for this result. First, excessive regulation is usually associated with lower job creation and, in the case of the service sector, this means lower employment opportunities for women. Second, excessive regulation is likely to restrict the supply and increase the price of services, such as childcare and household services, thus making it more difficult for parents, particularly low wage women, to participate in the labour market. Finally, stringent regulation of opening hours of public and private services might make it difficult for (young) mothers to reconcile work and family life.

Gender differences, even among the youth, are also likely to be influenced by institutions affecting the work-life balance, such as the provision of care services, incentives for the use of part-time work, flexible working time arrangements and parental leaves, as well as by family related taxation systems, affecting participation decisions for women with care responsibilities. In this respect, using national time-use surveys for the late 1990s and early 2000s and regression techniques, Anxo et al. (2011) find that the design of family policies and employment regimes influence the time use of men and women over the life course, with subsequent effects on gender differences in the labour market at any stage of life.

In light of the theory and the empirical evidence discussed above, this section presents an assessment of the policy approaches adopted by European countries to tackle youth difficulties in the labour market from a gender perspective. We propose first a descriptive quantitative analysis based on available policy indicators to describe differences in national approaches and the correlations between the different policy mixes adopted in EU Member States and gender gaps in labour market indicators.

Given the wide range of factors affecting the labour market position of young women and men, we consider a large set of institutions and policy fields that we expect to affect gender gaps in employment and non-employment among the youth:

- Labour market policies (LMP) expenditure (distinguishing between active and passive measures);
- Education system (in terms of public expenditure on tertiary education and the incidence of the so-called "dual system" in upper secondary education);
- Markets regulation (both product and labour markets, including unions and minimum wage);
- Family-related taxation (taxation on second earner and children-based tax deduction, including public cash transfers);
- Work-life balance policies (part-time, flexible working time, parental leaves and childcare).

The quantitative analysis is followed by a more in depth assessment of policy measures adopted in recent years to support the employment of young people in a gender perspective.
The quantitative analysis is based on an original dataset of policy indicators[22] for all Member States over the 1998-2010 period, while the assessment of recent policy measures is based on the information gathered by national experts in the 10 selected countries, as well as on the secondary analysis of existing comparative studies and evaluations available at the EU level[23].

4.2 Policy approaches and gender gaps in the youth labour market: a quantitative analysis

To identify whether and how European countries have (re)oriented policy instruments in favour of the younger generations and their effects on gender gaps in youth labour market conditions, the analysis is based on the following steps:

- A descriptive cluster analysis to identify homogeneous groups of countries with respect to the policy mix adopted, considering all the above mentioned policy fields, and their relation with indicators of gender differences in youth labour market conditions.
- A correlations analysis, to pin down the positive (or negative) association existing

22 The main sources of data are EUROSTAT and OECD. A detailed description of the indicators considered and of the data sets is presented in the Data Appendix

23 Eurofound 2011a, 2011b, 2012a and 2012b; Quintini and Manfredi 2009; Scarpetta et al. 2010; European Employment Observatory 2011; OECD 2008 and 2010; ILO 2012

between (long-run averages of) each policy indicator and the main indicators of the gender gaps in the youth labour market.

4.2.1 Results of the cluster analysis

To compare national policy responses to youth difficulties in the labour market and the effects of the crisis, EU Member States have been clustered in homogenous groups of countries on the basis of the policy indicators relating to the above mentioned policy fields in the pre-crisis period.
As shown in Table 4.1, five clusters of countries have been detected[24]:

1. The first cluster (Dual System countries) is composed by AT and DE and is characterized by high and increasing levels of expenditure in training policies, involving a significant number of young people, and in income support relative to the EU27 average. These countries are also characterized by the highest incidence of the dual system and by expenditures on tertiary education above the European average. Conversely, these countries present a relatively low support to the work-life balance, especially with regard to formal childcare.

2. The second cluster (Continental countries) is composed by BE, FR, LU and NL. This cluster of countries is characterized by a relatively high level of income maintenance support and labour market regulation. In the 2009-2010 period these countries have increased expenditure on employment incentives. Work-life balance policies are also substantial**,** especially relative to day care and formal childcare.

3. The third cluster (Nordic countries) consists of the Nordic countries (DK, FI and SE), presenting high support to the work-life balance and to tertiary education: all indicators reach the highest value relative to the other clusters. Expenditure on LMP, both active and passive, and the incidence of the dual system are also above the EU27 average. The market regulation indicators are in line with the European average, except for an high degree of union coverage and density.

4. The fourth cluster (Anglo-Saxon and eastern countries) consists of the two Anglo-Saxon countries(UK and IE) plus several eastern European countries (BG, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, RO and SK).This cluster presents the lowest level of expenditure in income support (even if growing in the 2009-2010 period due to the high increase in unemployment), in tertiary education and in policies supporting the work-life balance (except for parental leaves). Market regulation is in line with the European average, while union coverage and density are the lowest in Europe. This result, clustering together Anglo-Saxon and some eastern countries, is in line with the findings of the recent literature on welfare regimes in Central and Eastern European Countries (see for example Fenger, 2007, Neesham et al., 2011), pointing out that eastern European countries cannot be considered an homogeneous group, but followed different paths with regard to reforming their welfare and regulatory systems in the transition period. Some countries have adopted the neo-liberal welfare model (under the pressure of international institutions), while others moved towards the Continental and/or Mediterranean models with some changes in the considered periods. As shown in Table 4.1, reporting the

24 We used a hierarchical cluster technique with the method of complete linkage. A range of solutions were processed and analysed (from 3 to 8 clusters). The five cluster solution was selected using a parsimony and greater internal similarity criteria.

data separately for Anglo-Saxon and eastern countries, these two subgroups do not present significant differences in the clustering variables, except for product market and employment regulation, much lower in the Anglo-Saxon subgroup, and formal childcare expenditure, very low in the eastern countries.

5. The fifth group is composed by Mediterranean countries (CY, ES, IT, MT, PT) plus PL and SI. It is the group with the lowest incidence of the dual system and high levels of product market and employment regulation. Expenditure on labour market policies, both active and passive, and work-life balance policies are slightly lower than the EU average. The high increase in unemployment has pushed up expenditure in income support in the crisis period.

Table 4.1 – Policy approaches by clusters of countries. Average values of the indicators for each cluster, 2003-2007and 2009-2010

	Dual System Cluster (1)	Continental Cluster (2)	Nordic Cluster (3)	Anglo-Saxon and eastern countries Cluster (4)	Mediterranean + PL, SI Cluster (5)	EU 27							
	AT DE	BE FR LU NL	DK SE FI	BG CZ EE HU IE LT LV RO SK UK	UK, IE	BG CZ EE HU LT LV RO SK	CY ES GR IT MT PL PT SI						
	2003-07	2009-10	2003-07	2009-10	2003-07	2009-10	2003-07	2009-10	2003-07	2003-07	2003-07	2009-10	2003-07	2009-10
LMP Expenditure (% GDP)														
Training	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Employment Incentives	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Supported employment/ rehabilitation	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Direct job creation	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Startup incentives	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Income maintenance support	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.1	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.7	1.0
Education system														
Size of dual system	39.6	40.4	12.3	12.6	29.7	30.0	19.9	18.4	nd	19.9	6.6	6.0	17.4	16.8
Expenditure on tertiary education	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.5	2.1	2.2	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.3
Markets regulation														
Product market regulation	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.6	1.3	1.0	1.7	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.4
EPL (regular)	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	1.4	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.4
EPL (temporary)	1.4	1.4	2.8	2.8	1.6	1.3	1.0	1.1	0.5	1.1	2.3	2.5	1.8	1.8
Unions density	22.3	17.2	48.1	46.2	64.3	69.1	26.7	25.9	24.2	27.3	31.9	26.6	35.3	29.8
Unions coverage	81.5	80.5	82.4	81.6	88.6	87.0	34.3	31.9	43.5	31.9	69.8	65.7	61.5	59.0
Minumum wage	0.50	0.50	0.53	0.50	0.47	0.50	0.44	0.50	0.50	0.40	0.47	0.49	0.46	0.50
Taxation on second earner	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Work-life balance policies														
Day care (% GDP)	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6
Parental leaves (% GDP)	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4
Formal Childcare (0-2 years)	11.0	14.5	35.0	40.0	48.6	53.2	13.0	13.8	26.8	9.5	20.4	21.8	22.2	24.5

Source: calculations based on various sources (see Data Appendix for full details).

The available data do not show significant changes in the policy approach between the pre-crisis period (2003-2007) and 2009-2010, except for the increase in passive labour market measures, especially in the Anglo-Saxon-eastern and Mediterranean clusters, due to the sharp increase in unemployment. In addition, the policy indicators register a significant increase in formal childcare expenditure in all the clusters considered.

In order to see whether the different policy approaches adopted in the country clusters correspond to different labour market outcomes for young women and men, Figure 4.1. presents the main youth labour market and poverty risk indicators associated to each cluster of countries before the crisis and the changes occurred in the period 2007-2011.

Dual System, Continental and Nordic Clusters show the higher pre-crisis employment rates and the lower gender gaps than the other clusters. The best performances are associated to the Nordic countries (cluster 3), which present the lowest gender gaps in all indicators and the highest employment rates for young women. With the crisis, gender gaps in employment rates (measured as the differences between the male and the female values) decreased in all country-clusters. However, while in the Dual system cluster (AT and DE), characterised by a high incidence of the dual system and a lower impact of the crisis, the reduction in the gender gaps has been due to a greater increase in the female employment rate relative to males between 2007 and 2011, in all the other clusters the reduction in gender gaps has been mainly due to the greater worsening in the employment rate for young men.
Nordic Countries (cluster 3) show the lowest NEET- unemployment rates in Europe, both for young women and men, even if they experienced a slight increase in the unemployment NEET rate between 2007 and 2011, more marked for men than for women. AT and DE (Dual System Cluster) also show a good performance in this respect: even if the NEET-unemployment rates are higher than in Nordic countries, these countries are the only ones in Europe to register a reduction in the rates both for young women and men. On the contrary, in the other country-groups the crisis has led to a sharp increase in NEET – unemployment rates especially for young males.

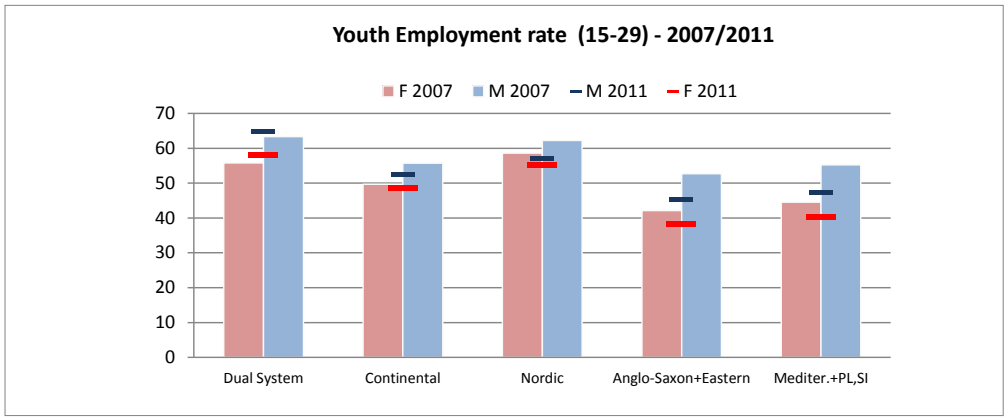
As anticipated in chapter 1.1, NEET-inactivity is much higher for young women than men in all clusters. While before the crisis the NEET-inactive rate of young men was rather similar in all country groups, the inactivity among NEET women presents large country differences, reflecting differences in attention on work-life balance policies. The NEET-inactivity rate is in fact particularly high, especially for the 25-29 age group[25], in the Mediterranean (cluster 5) and Anglo-Saxon-Eastern countries (cluster 4) clusters and the lowest in the Nordic countries cluster. Furthermore, the crisis had a different impact on NEET-inactivity across country clusters: the NEET-inactive rate increased among males in all clusters, while the changes for young women are differentiated. Female NEET-inactivity remains at pre-crisis levels in the Continental countries cluster (BE, FR, LU and NL) with a consequent reduction in the gender gap (F-M). Nordic countries (cluster 3) register instead a similar slight increase for both females and males, except for the youngest age group (15-24) where the female inactivity increases more than the

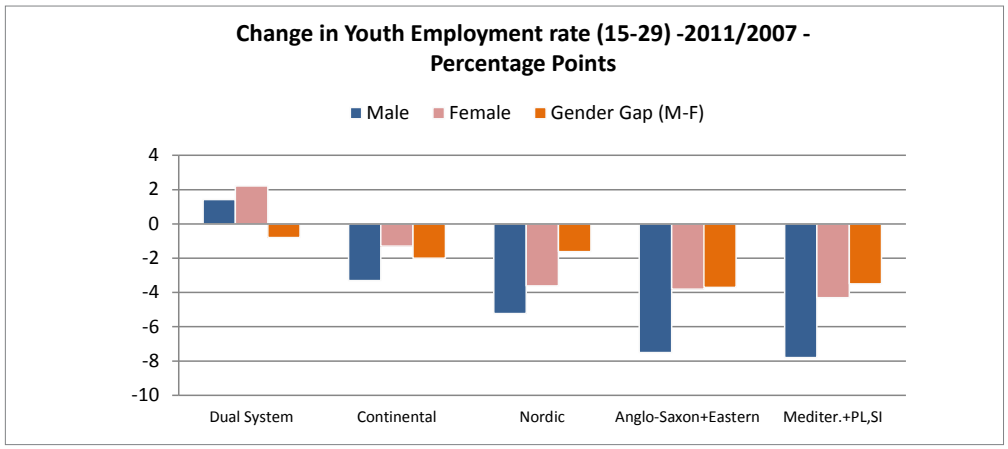
25 See Figure A1b in Annex 4.1 presenting the disaggregation by age subgroups.

males one[26]. On the contrary, the inactivity of young female NEET decreases in the Dual System cluster (AT and DE), in cluster 4 (Anglo-Saxon and eastern Countries) and in cluster 5 (Mediterranean Countries plus PL and SI). These latter countries, characterized by low pre-crisis levels of female labour force participation, have experienced an increase in the participation of women between 2007 and 2011, probably due to the necessity to contribute to the household income, given the worsening employment conditions of the male breadwinners (the so called "added worker" effect).

The critical labour market conditions have also affected the risk of poverty of the younger generations, with a growing share of youth at risk of poverty compared to pre-crisis levels, both for young men and women. The increase affects all country clusters except cluster 1 (AT and DE), where the recession had a weaker overall impact also on younger generations. The risk of poverty increased more for women than men in Continental countries (cluster 2, BE, FR, LU and NL) and in Nordic countries (cluster 3, DK, FI and SE), with a worsening of the gender gap. The Anglo-Saxon and eastern countries in cluster 4 registered the highest increase in the risk of poverty both for boys and girls. On the contrary, the risk of poverty declined slightly among young women compared to pre-crisis levels in cluster 5 (Mediterranean countries + PL and SL)[27], even if it remains very high.

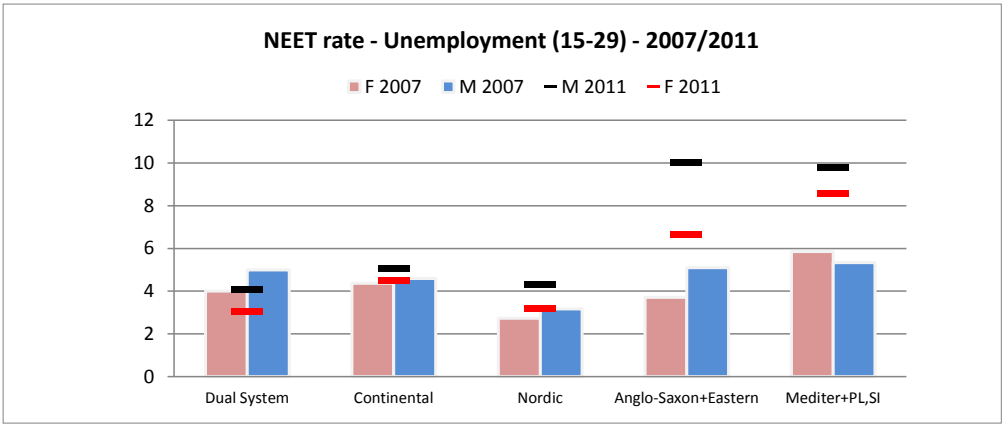
Figure 4.1 – Gender differences in main youth labour market indicators and in poverty risk by cluster

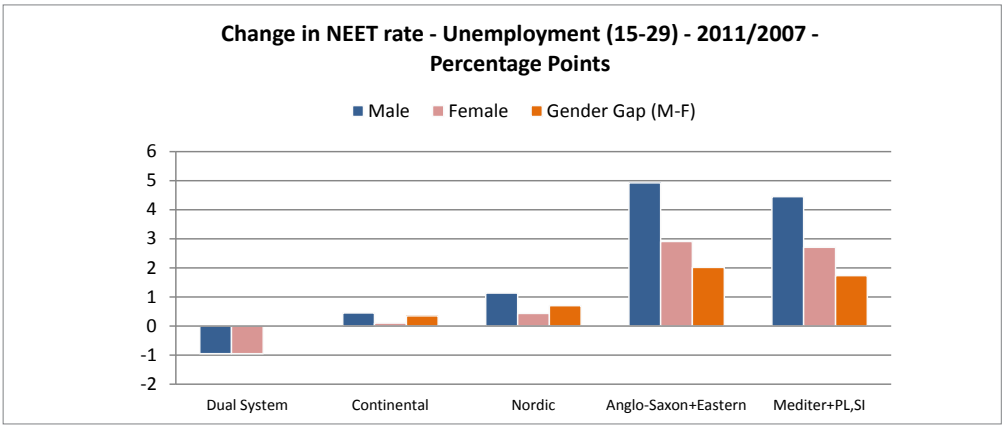


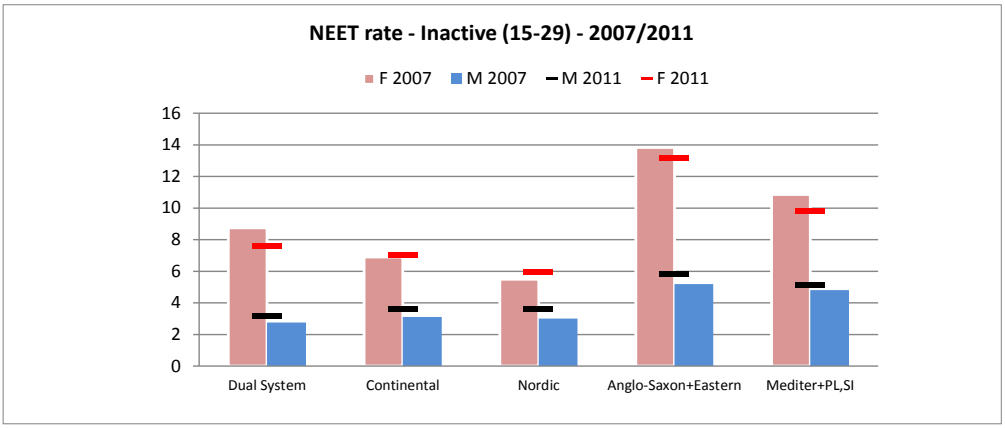


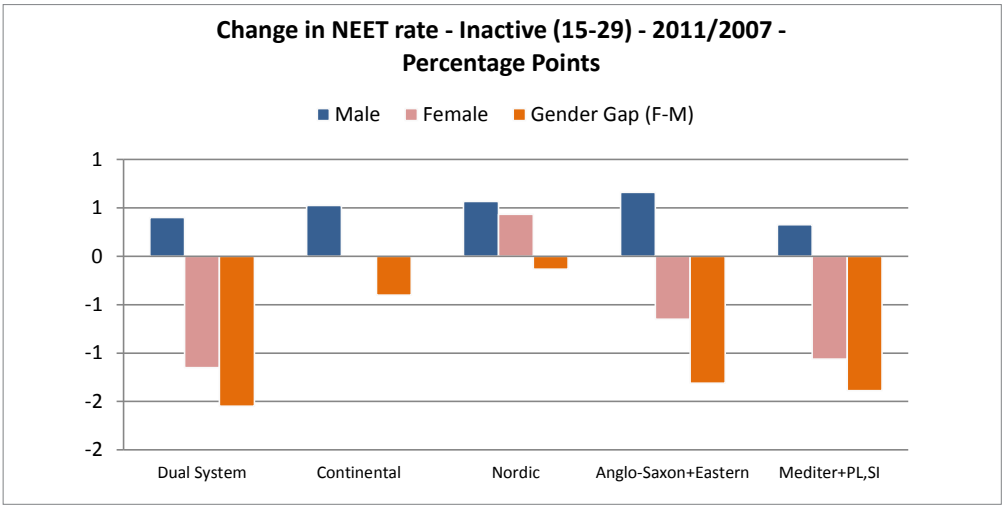
26 See Figure A1a in Annex 4.1presenting the changes disaggregated by age subgroups.

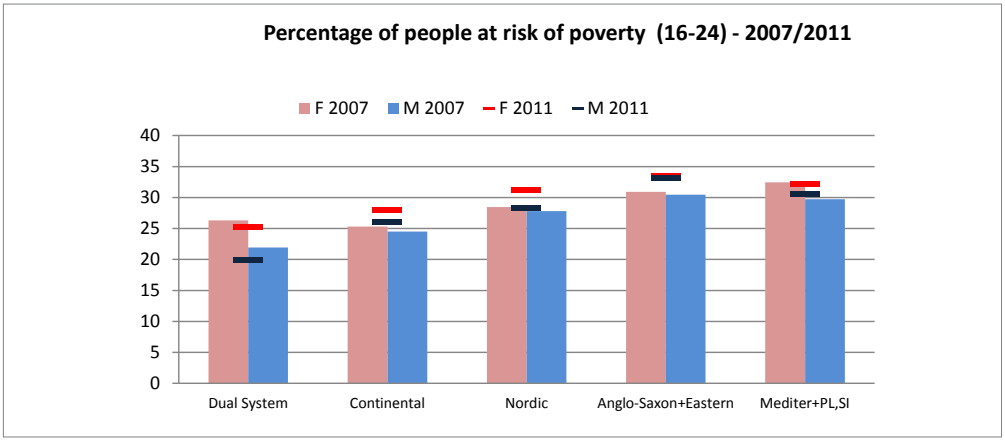
27 The slight average decline in the risk of poverty for young women registered for this cluster is the result of different country changes: the risk of poverty for young women increased in GR, ES, MT, PT, but decreased in IT, CY and PL.

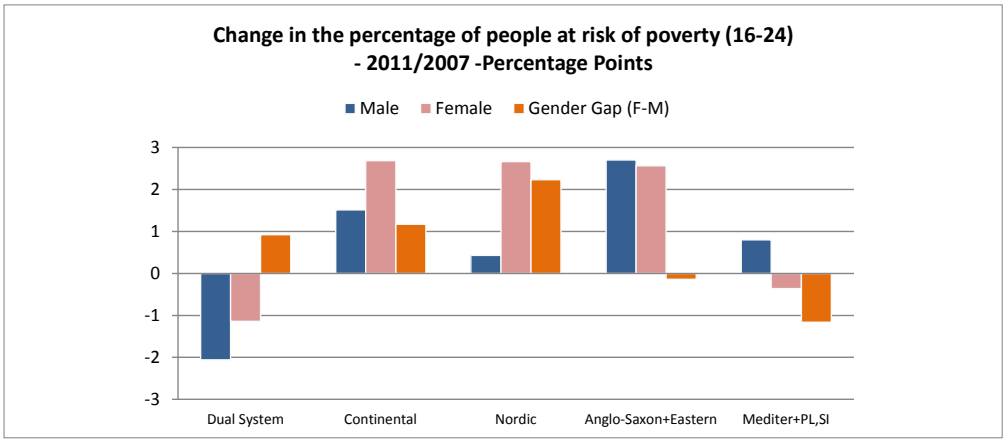

NEET rate - Unemployment (15-29) - 2007/2011
F 2007
M 2007
M 2011
F 2011
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Dual System
Continental
Nordic
Anglo-Saxon+Eastern
Mediter+PL,SI


Change in NEET rate - Unemployment (15-29) - 2011/2007 - Percentage Points
Male
Female
Gender Gap (M-F)
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
-1
-2
Dual System
Continental
Nordic
Anglo-Saxon+Eastern
Mediter+PL,SI


NEET rate - Inactive (15-29) - 2007/2011
F 2007
M 2007
M 2011
F 2011
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Dual System
Continental
Nordic
Anglo-Saxon+Eastern
Mediter+PL,SI


Change in NEET rate - Inactive (15-29) - 2011/2007 - Percentage Points
Male
Female
Gender Gap (F-M)
1
1
0
-1
-1
-2
-2
Dual System
Continental
Nordic
Anglo-Saxon+Eastern
Mediter+PL,SI





Source: calculations based on various sources (see Data Appendix for full details).
Notes: Dual System Cluster (1): Austria, Germany; **Continental Cluster** (2): Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands; Nordic Cluster (3): Denmark, Sweden, Finland; **Anglo-Saxon and eastern countries Cluster** (4): Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, The Slovak Republic, United Kingdom; **Mediterranean countries plus PL, SI Cluster** (5): Cyprus, Spain, Greece, Italy, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia.

4.2.2 Results of the correlation analysis

The cluster analysis has shown that country clusters characterised by policy packages focussed on the facilitation of the school to work transition and the work-life balance tend to present better youth labour market conditions and lower gender gaps.

To further analyse the correlation between each policy measure and gender gaps in youth labour market conditions we consider pairwise correlations measuring the existing positive (or negative) association between (long-run averages of) each policy indicator and the main indicators of the gender gaps in the youth labour market. Pairwise correlations between gender gaps in labour market conditions and policy indicators[28] point out that institutions are likely to affect in quite a different way unemployment and inactivity (see graphs in Annex 4.2).

28 Pairwise correlations are based on 1998-2010 means. Gender gaps in NEET rates (unemployment and inactivity) are defined as females-males; gender gaps in employment rates are defined as males-females. See the Data Appendix for information on the missing countries for each policy indicator.

Correlations between policy indicators and gender gaps are in general stronger when considering employment and NEET inactivity, while they are usually less clear cut in relation to gender gaps in NEET unemployment rates. This might be explained by the high cross-country heterogeneity in gender gaps in NEET unemployment described in chapter 1: while (long run) average gender gaps in NEET-inactive and employment rates are in all the EU countries in favour of young men[29], the NEET - unemployment rate is higher for men than for women in some countries (particularly in eastern countries, Ireland and Germany), while it is lower in most of the southern countries, particularly Greece, Portugal and Spain.
In greater detail the correlations show the expected results[30]:

- A negative correlation between labour market policies and gender gaps in NEET inactivity and employment rates. Countries with higher expenditure (as a share of GDP) on active and passive labour market policies are characterized by lower gender gaps in employment and NEET inactivity rates. This negative correlation is more evident when we consider, among active labour market policies (ALMP), training and employment incentives. Furthermore, correlations between ALMPs expenditure and employment/inactivity are stronger for young women than men[31]. These correlations are in line with the results of a meta-analysis based on several evaluation studies for the entire population showing that ALMPs have a larger positive effect on employment outcomes for women than for men, particularly in the case of training and in economies with a relatively low female labour force participation. Thus, positive and larger effects of ALMPs on employment outcomes for women compared to men are present in countries with larger gender gaps in labour force participation, implying that these measures mainly help women to move from home production to the labour force in response to productivity increases due to training (Bergemann and van den Berg 2006). However, as shown in section 4.2.1 below, women are less likely than men to participate to ALMPs programmes, particularly when eligibility is limited to unemployment benefits recipients and women are underrepresented in this category (Rubery 2011).
- The incidence of part-time employment is negatively correlated with gender gaps in both NEET inactivity and employment rates, meaning that high shares of part-time employment are correlated with high employment rates and lower NEET-inactivity rates for young women.
- Public expenditure on parental leaves (as a share of GDP) seems uncorrelated with the gender gaps considered, but this is mainly due to the behaviour of some eastern EU countries (CZ, EE, HU, SK), which are characterized by both high expenditure on parental leaves and high gender gaps. If we drop these countries from

29 Meaning that both the negative correlation between ALMP expenditure (as a % of GDP) and the NEET – inactive rate and the positive correlation with employment rates are stronger for females than for males.

30 Results from an exploratory regression analysis, which takes into account composition effects and time-invariant cross-country differences, confirm that these correlations are very robust in the case of the dual system, passive labour market policies, product market regulation and parental leaves (for the latter when we consider the labour market performance of those aged 25-29, who are among the young those more likely to demand for work-life balance policies due to the presence of children).

31 A detailed analysis of gender differences in the beneficiaries of labour market policies is presented in §4.3.1.

the analysis, correlation between public expenditure on parental leaves and both inactivity and employment is negative and much stronger: a higher expenditure is associated with higher (lower) employment (inactivity) of both young men and women, but the correlations are stronger for the latter.

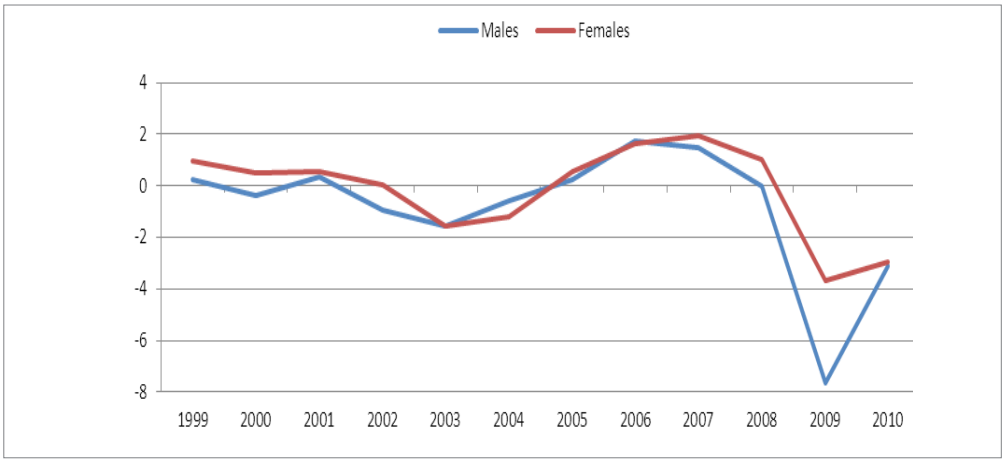
- Similarly, higher public expenditure on day care/home-help services is associated with smaller gender gaps in both NEET inactivity and employment rates, due to the strong negative correlation between such type of expenditure and female NEET-inactivity, and the strong positive correlation with the female employment rate. These correlations are driven by Sweden and Denmark, which are characterized by very high public expenditure on day-care and low gender gaps in employment rates. No clear-cut relationship emerges in the case of gender gaps in the NEET unemployment rate.
- The higher the incidence of the dual system in upper secondary education, the lower the gender gaps, particularly in unemployment, due to a larger negative correlation with the NEET-unemployment rate of young women with respect to that of young men. However, these correlations are rather weak and based on a few number of countries. Furthermore, they are driven by Denmark and Germany, which share a high incidence of the dual system and relatively low gender gaps.
- Higher investment in human capital (in terms of public expenditure on tertiary education as a share of GDP) is associated with smaller gender gaps in inactivity and employment, larger gender gaps in unemployment, confirming the positive effects of education on women participation and employment.
- Product market regulation (as measured by the OECD index) seems more relevant than labour market regulation (as measured by the OECD overall indicator on strictness of EPL) for gender differences. More specifically, countries with a stricter regulation of product markets are also characterized by larger gender gaps for all the labour market indicators considered, mainly due to the larger negative correlation with labour market indicators for young women. Product market regulation is actually negatively correlated with both female and male employment.
- Taxation on second earners seems uncorrelated with all the gender gaps considered and the corresponding gender-specific labour market indicators, except for the male NEET-inactivity rate, which is lower where taxation is higher.

4.2.3 Youth labour market and institutions in times of crisis

The analysis presented above is performed using 1998-2010 data, which covers two main economic crises: the early 2000s one (also known as the dot.com crisis) and the 2008-2009 one. It may be interesting to investigate whether and how institutions have been changing during the two crises.

Figure 4.2 shows that the labour market effects of the current crisis have been much more severe and persistent than the early 2000s one, particularly for young males: for example, with respect to the previous year the youth employment rate declined by around 1.5 per cent for both males and females in 2003, while it declined by more than 7 per cent for males and around 3.5 per cent for females in 2009.

Figure 4.2 – Youth employment rates by gender (age group 15-29), 1999-2010
Percentage annual changes



Source: Eurostat

The greater severity of the current crisis should have required more extensive public interventions, particularly in terms of labour market policies. On the other side, public spending have been limited in the current crisis by the binding public budget constraints imposed by the European Stability and Growth Pact.
Table 4.2 reports the level of the institutions considered in the exploratory econometric analysis discussed above and their annual change during the two crises. Given the labour market trends reported above, we identify the early 2000s crisis with the 2002-2003 years and the 2008 crisis with the 2009-2010 years.

Table 4.2 – Institutions during the early 2000s and the 2008 economic crises

	Levels			Average annual changes		
	2000 crisis	2008 crisis	Difference (2008-2000)	2000 crisis	2008 crisis	Difference (2008-2000)
Labour Market policies						
ALMPs (% GDP)	0.455	0.471	0.016	-0.018	0.063	0.081 ***
Passive LMPs (% GDP)	0.925	1.115	0.191	0.050	0.191	0.141 ***
Education system						
Tertiary education (% GDP)	1.203	1.344	0.141	0.020	0.059	0.039
Dual System	20.765	18.882	-1.883	-0.169	0.191	0.361
Markets regulation						
Employment Protection Legislation	2.137	2.081	-0.056	-0.030	-0.007	0.024
Product Market Regulation	1.824	1.342	-0.482 ***	-0.237	n.a.	-
Minimum w age	0.307	0.316	0.008	0.002	0.007	0.005
Union density	34.391	29.269	-5.122	-0.237	-1.728	-1.491
Family-related taxation						
Tax rate second earner	0.282	0.282	0.000	-0.002	0.000	0.002
Children-based tax saving	9.890	9.610	-0.281	-0.012	-0.086	-0.074
Work-life balance						
% part-time	13.715	17.633	3.919 *	0.237	1.228	0.991 ***
% workers with flex hours	5.633	6.393	0.759	0.385	0.459	0.074
parental leave	0.347	0.411	0.064	0.008	n.a.	-
daycare	0.640	0.691	0.050	0.022	n.a.	-

Note: see the Data Annex for a detailed description of the variables.
*** statistically significant at 1%; ** statistically significant at 5%; * statistically significant at 10%

Overall, institutions in the two crises are statistically similar, except for product market regulation (which is on average lower in the current crisis than in the early 2000s) and the incidence of part-time employment (which is almost 4 points higher in the current crisis than earlier). Expenditure on both active and passive labour market policies (as a share of GDP) is higher in 2009-2010 than in 2002-2003, but these differences are not statistically significant.

It may be argued that, to properly assess the different role of institutions during a crisis, we should look at differences in annual changes rather than in levels: the first should actually capture different policy responses to the crisis, while the latter should be more influenced by long-run trends and structural reforms. This implies that annual changes may be different also when levels are similar; furthermore, larger changes should be observed in the case of automatic stabilizers (such as passive labour market policies) or when institutions are defined as a share of GDP (and hence the observed change may be due also to changes in GDP).
Average annual changes reported in the last columns of Table 4.2 show that policy responses during the two crises were not statistically different, except for expenditure on labour market policies and the incidence of part-time. As expected, public expenditure on passive labour market policies has been increasing during both crises, but the greater severity of the current one has required much greater changes than the early 2000s one. Quite different patterns emerge in the case of expenditure on active labour market policies, which has been declining during the early 2000s crisis while it has been substantially increasing (albeit less than passive measures) during the current recession.

The incidence of part-time employment has been increasing during both crises, but at a higher pace during the current recession than in the early 2000s. Such trend is evident in all the EU countries (except Luxembourg, Poland and Portugal). This is due to the fact that the current crisis has destroyed much more full-time jobs in male-dominated sectors than the previous (milder) recession. Furthermore, in many developed countries the global economic crisis has led to shorter hours of work due to either work sharing policies or an increase in involuntary part-time work (ILO 2013). It has also been observed that the countries that registered the highest increase in part-time employment during the current crisis (namely, Estonia, Latvia, Ireland, Hungary, Slovenia and Slovakia) were also those characterized by relatively larger increases in unemployment (and very low initial levels of part-time employment). In the four countries with very high unemployment rates (Estonia, Latvia, Ireland and Slovakia), men contributed more than women to the rising part-time rates (Lescke 2012).

4.3 Policies supporting the employment of young people: a gender perspective

The results of the correlation analysis presented in the previous section show that countries with higher expenditure (as a share of GDP) on active and passive labour market policies are characterized by lower gender gaps in employment and NEET inactivity rates and that correlations between LMPs expenditure and employment/inactivity are stronger for young women than men. In order to extend the analysis of the (potential) effectiveness of youth policies in reducing gender gaps in the labour

market, in this paragraph we see whether and to what extent the adopted policies have considered gender differences in their design. Firstly we consider gender differences in participation to labour market policies. Then we present an analysis of measures supporting youth employment, providing examples of good practices emerging from the ENEGE country reports.

4.3.1 Gender differences in participation to labour market measures

The ambiguous effects of labour market policies in affecting gender gaps in youth labour conditions may be due, among other factors, to the scarce involvement of young people, and especially of young women, in the adopted measures.

Gender differences in young beneficiaries (less than 25 years[32]) of LMP and the changes occurred in participants between 2006-2007 and 2009-2010 are derived from the Eurostat-Labour Market Policy Database.[33] The analysis considers the incidence of young people on total beneficiaries by type of labour market programme and coverage rates.

Table 4.3 shows the countries with a higher incidence of young people and of young women among LMP beneficiaries relative to the EU average by type of LMP measure in 2009/2010.

The main evidence on the share of young women and men among the beneficiaries of LMP is that:

- Young people (less than 25) represent 29.5% of participants in active labour market measures (categories 2-7). The incidence is higher for males than for females: in 2009/10 it is 34.5% for males and 29% for females. Eastern European countries tend to have higher shares of young women among beneficiaries.
- The proportion of young people receiving out-of work income maintenance and support is only 10.6%, with no significant gender differences at EU27 level.
- The largest incidence of young people is in training programmes (45.7% in 2009/10), followed by Job rotation and job sharing (23.4%) and employment incentives (19.7%). On the contrary, their share in supported employment and rehabilitation measures, direct job creation and start-up Incentives is much lower and decreasing in the considered period.
- Young women represent a high share of young beneficiaries in job rotation and

32 The Eurostat LMP database only distinguishes between less than and over 25 years old.

33 Eurostat, Labour Market Policy Database; (*http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/labour_market/labour_market_policy*). Labour Market Policies are categorized under LMP services (category 1), LMP measures (categories 2-7), which refer to labour market interventions where the main activity of participants is not job-search related and where participation usually results in a change of labour market status (2. Training, 3. Job rotation and job sharing, 4. Employment incentives, 5. Supported employment and rehabilitation, 6. Direct job creation, 7. Start-up incentives); - LMP supports (categories 8-9), which refer to interventions that provide financial assistance, directly or indirectly, to individuals for labour market reasons, or which compensate individuals for disadvantage caused by labour market circumstances (8. Out-of-work income maintenance and support, 9. Early retirement). In the analysis only categories 2-8 are considered, while categories 1 and 9 are excluded. The data base contains stock and flow information on participants, however data on flows are often lacking when disaggregating for sex, age, country and type of measure. For this reason in the analysis we consider only stock data.

job sharing (79.2%), direct job creation measures (51.6%) and employment incentives (45.7%), while young men are predominant in start-up Incentives (62.4% of young beneficiaries) and training (60.4% of young beneficiaries). The percentage of young female participants is higher than males in eastern countries for training; in Germany, Spain, Italy, Lithuania, Portugal and Finland with regard to job rotation and job sharing; in Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Ireland, Cyprus, Latvia, Austria, Poland, Romania and the Slovak Republic with regard to employment incentives.

- The crisis increased the share of young LMP beneficiaries in many countries, especially with regard to employment incentives (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Malta, Poland, Slovenia), direct job creation (Belgium, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Austria, Poland, , Romania, Finland) and out-of-work income maintenance and support (Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, France, Italy, Cyprus, Lithuania, Hungary, Austria, Portugal, Romania, Finland).

Table 4.3 - Countries with a higher incidence of young people than EU average and countries with a % of young women beneficiaries higher than 50% of total young beneficiaries by type of measure 2009/10

Policies	Countries with a share of young beneficiaries over the total number of policy beneficiaries higher than the EU average. Share of women in bracket (when available)	Countries with a % of female young beneficiaries over total young beneficiaries higher than 50% - 2009/2010
Training	Germany (41.2%), France (33.4%), Austria (43.7%)	Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Romania, the Slovak Republic
Job rotation and job sharing	Germany (69%), Spain (79%)	Germany, Spain, Italy, Lithuania, Portugal, Finland
Employment incentives	Czech Republic (24%), Latvia (29.8%), Malta (68.5%), Poland (51.2%), Portugal (32.7%), Romania (25.3%), the Slovak Republic (44.1%)	Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Ireland, Cyprus, Latvia, Austria, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic
Supported employment and rehabilitation	Germany (55.3%), Ireland (17.1%),Cyprus (23.7%), Lithuania (8.2%), Netherlands (10.3%), Austria (25.4%), Portugal (67.8%)	Bulgaria, the Slovak Republic
Direct job creation	Czech Republic (6.1%), Germany (14.3%), France (19.4%), Hungary (13.7%), Austria (26.4%), Romania (30.1%), United Kingdom (100%)	Belgium, Bulgaria, Ireland, France, Malta, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia,
Start-up incentives	Belgium (10.3%), Bulgaria (17.2%), Germany (6.1%), France (10.3%), Hungary (15%), Poland (16.1%), Slovenia (5.4%), the Slovak Republic (14.4%), Finland (7.7%)	Bulgaria, Hungary
Out-of-work income maintenance and support	Belgium (12.1%), Estonia (14.2%), Ireland (23.1%), France (12.4%), Latvia (11.5%), Lithuania (11%), Malta (29%), Austria (14.4%), United Kingdom (32.8%)	Cyprus, Latvia, Portugal, Romania, Sweden

Notes: *Training*: data not available for: Belgium (2006/2007); Czech Republic, Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Netherlands, UK (2006/2007 and 2009/2010). *Job rotation and job sharing*: data not available for: Portugal (2006/2007), Sweden (2009/2010); Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, France, Cyprus, Latvia, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, the Slovak Republic, UK (2006/2007 and 2009/2010). *Employment incentives*: data not available for: Czech Republic (2006/2007); Greece, Hungary and UK (2009/2010); Spain, France, Lithuania (2006/2007 and 2009/2010). *Supported employment and rehabilitation***:** data not available for: Ireland, Austria, Poland, Finland (2006/2007); Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Italy, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Romania, Slovenia, UK (2006/2007 and 2009/2010). *Direct job creation:* data not available for: Denmark, Greece, Spain, Italy, Cyprus, Netherlands, Sweden (2006/2007 and 2009/2010). *Start-up incentives***:** data not available for: Latvia, Malta (2006/2007); the Czech Republic, Denmark, Italy, Cyprus, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Romania, UK (2006/2007 and 2009/2010). *Out-of-work income maintenance and support*: data not available for: Luxembourg (2009/2010); the Czech Republic, Greece, Netherlands (2006/2007 and 2009/2010).
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, LMP database

Figure 4.3 presents gender differences in coverage rates by type of measure and the change occurred between 2007 and 2010.[34] Coverage rates are defined as the number of young participants to LMP measures as a share of the NEET population aged 15-24.

The main evidence is that:

- Coverage rates of the NEET population are lower for young women than for young men in all countries and for all types of measures.
- Considering ALMPs, in 2010 the average coverage rate is 32.3% for young women and 42.3% for young males. The gender gap in coverage rates is particularly high in training measures (17.1% for young women relative to 26.8% for young men), while no gender gaps result for employment incentives and direct job creation.
- Gender gaps in coverage rates are high also in relation to unemployment income support, probably due to the higher incidence of inactivity rather than unemployment among young women: the coverage rate for young women is only 18% relative to 28.4% for young men, with BE, DK, DE, IE, FR and UK showing higher values than the EU27 average.
- Between 2007 and 2010, coverage rates decreased for both males and females in all LMP measures, with the only exception of out-of-work income maintenance and support, for which the coverage rate increased by 7.9 percentage points for males and by (only) 5.6 percentage points for females. Box 4.1 presents some additional information on the gender differences in young NEETs receiving welfare support..

34 The incidence of young people on total beneficiaries by country and type of measure is presented in Table A1 in Annex 4.3.

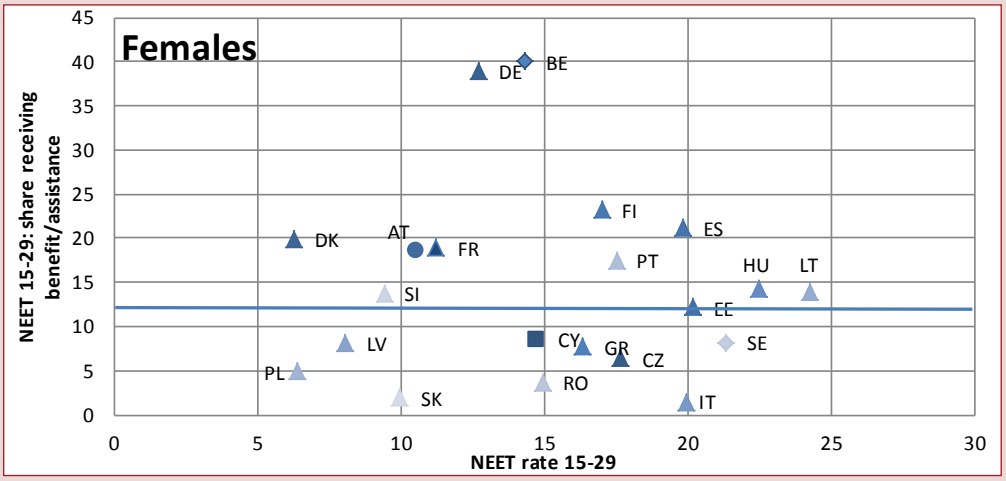
Box 4.1- Young NEETs receiving benefits or assistance

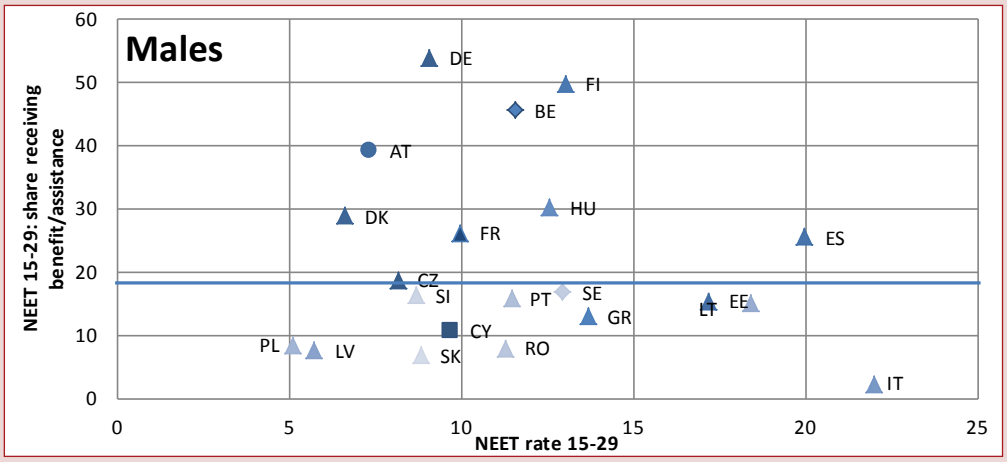
Young NEETs not having an employment income have to rely on welfare or family assistance. However, in some EU countries they are not entitled to welfare support, since welfare systems are based on the insurance principle (and not on the assistance one) and they have not contributed into the system long enough to be eligible for unemployment benefits (see also Annex 3.1). Only 15% of young NEETs on average receive benefits or assistance, according to EU LFS data35.

The share of young NEETs which can rely on welfare assistance is higher in northern Europe (DE, BE, FI, DK, AT), where the share of NEETs is lower than the European average (as shown in the Figure below). In many countries the share of young NEETs receiving welfare benefits has increased during the crisis due to the increase in beneficiaries of unemployment benefits.

The share of NEET women receiving welfare support is lower than that of men in all EU countries, since for women inactivity accounts for a larger share than for young men.

Figure B4.1.1 - Young NEETs receiving welfare assistance by gender

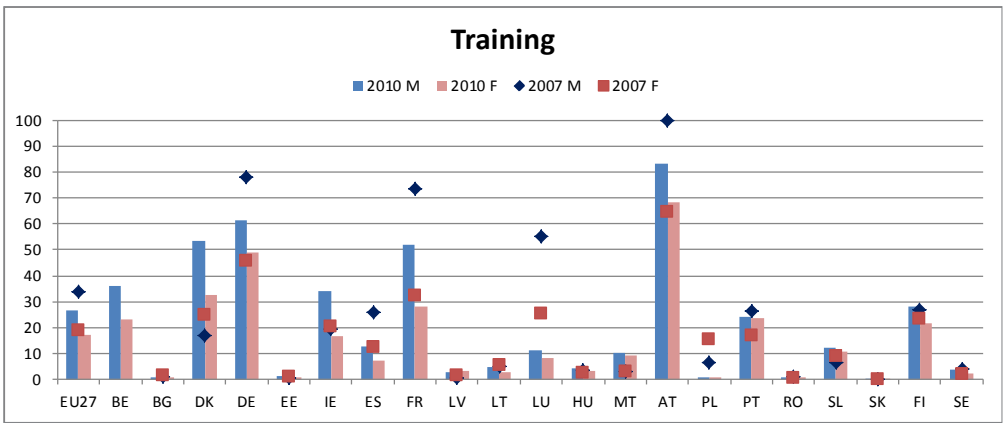


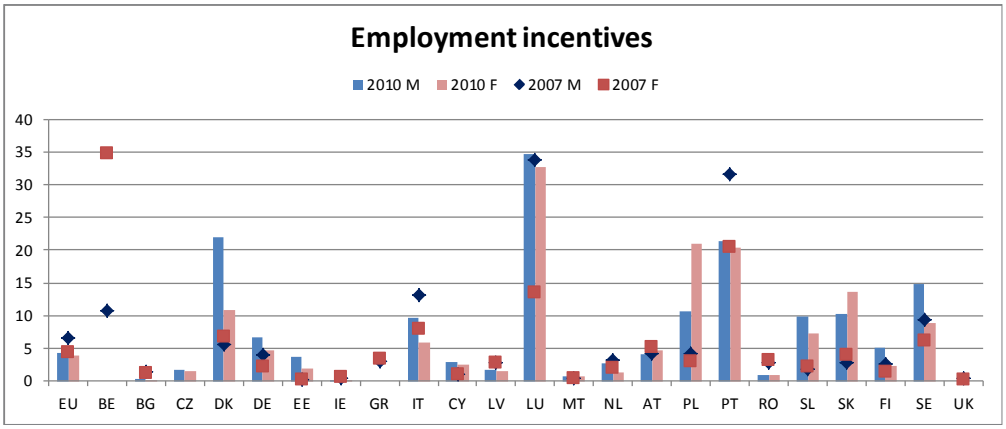


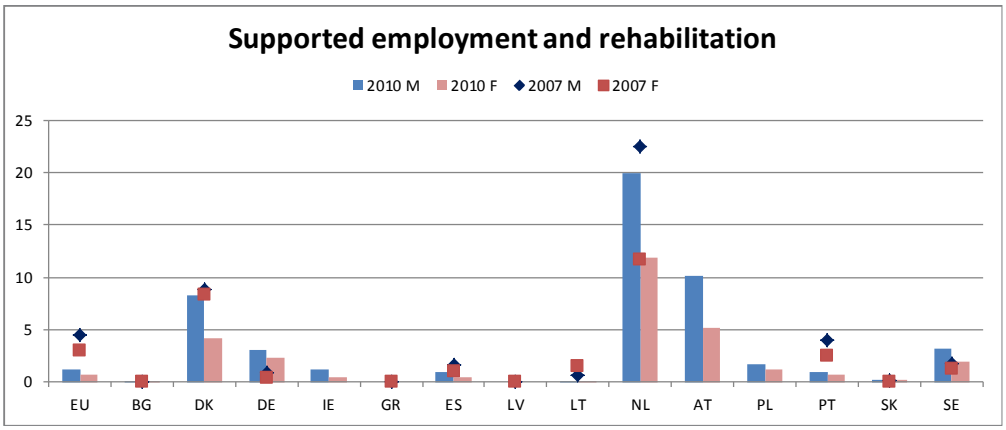
Notes: Blue lines represent the EU average of considered countries; No data available for MT, NL, IE, UK
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

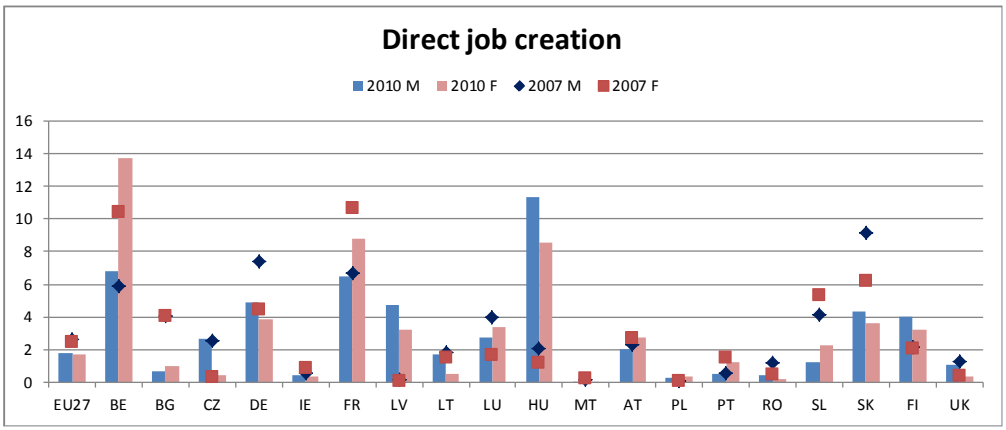
35 Calculated using variable "register" in the EU LFS average 2009/2010; IE, UK, NL and MT are not included since information was not available or numerosity below "EU limits".

Figure 4.3- Coverage rates (calculated on the NEET population 15-24) by sex and type of measure (2010 vs. 2007)









Source: calculations based on Eurostat, LMP database and EU LFS yearly micro data

4.3.2 Main features of youth policies in a gender perspective

Youth policies are becoming a central feature of European Union policy making both at EU and national level. A large number of recommendations and resolutions have been enacted and studies have been carried out on the issue. However the gender dimension is in most cases lacking. Apart from general considerations, most research and policy documents very rarely tackle gender differences, even if attention to this issue is increasing in the recent years.

European strategies

At the EU level the fragile conditions of young people in the labour market have come at the forefront of the political debate and of European policy making.

The *EU Youth Strategy (2010-2018)* lists among key areas of intervention education and training, employment and entrepreneurship, health and well-being, participation, voluntary activities, social inclusion, youth and the world, creativity and culture (OJEC 2009). Promoting gender equality and combating all forms of discrimination are key issues of the Strategy which calls for initiatives by Member States and the Commission within their respective spheres of competence to address gender and other stereotypes via formal education and non-formal learning. No other targeted initiatives are described, a part from the important fact that the promotion of opportunities to reconcile working life with family life is considered a priority both for young men and for young women.

In the *Europe 2020 strategy*, the EU explicitly recognises youth unemployment as a problem at the highest political level. Two of its seven flagship initiatives are particularly relevant to this concern. The *Youth on the Move initiative* (European Commission, 2010b) recalls that temporary contracts produce a segmented labour market and young women are particularly at risk of falling into this segmentation trap, but no targeted initiatives are then taken in consideration. The recent *Youth Opportunities Initiative* is a set of measures planned for 2012 and 2013 as part of the EU's *Youth on the Move* education and employment initiative. Its goals are to help those who left school or training without having achieved upper-secondary education to return to school or enrol in vocational training for in-demand skills, and to help graduates to get a first work experience.

Within this policy framework, the European Commission in the recently released *Youth Employment Package* has proposed a *Council Recommendation to Member States on introducing the Youth Guarantee* to ensure that all young people up to age 25 receive a quality offer of a job, or continued education or training, or an apprenticeship or a traineeship, within four months of leaving formal education or becoming unemployed (European Commission 2012c) [36]. The proposal is derived from the successful experiences of a number of Member States (Finland, especially, but also Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark and France to mention some). The Commission will provide financial support to these schemes through EU structural funds, promote the exchanges of good practice among Member States, monitor Member States' actions and support awareness-raising campaigns. To facilitate school-to-work-transitions, the Package also launches a *consultation of European social partners on a Quality Framework for*

36 A political agreement has been reached on the proposed Youth Guarantee Recommendation at the EU's Council of Employment and Social Affairs Ministers on 28th February.

Traineeships so as to enable young people to acquire high-quality work experience under safe conditions. Furthermore, it announces a *European Alliance for Apprenticeships* to improve the quality and supply of apprenticeships available by spreading successful apprenticeship schemes across the Member States and outlines ways to reduce obstacles to mobility for young people. The need to secure successful school to work transitions for young people is also stressed in the *2013 Annual Growth Survey* adopted in late 2012 that underlines the importance of Youth Guarantee schemes as key measures that should be prioritised within growth-friendly fiscal consolidation (European Commission 2012d). Member States should implement Youth Guarantee schemes on the basis of EU guidelines[37], according to national, regional and local circumstances and paying attention to gender and diversity among young people.

These most recent policy documents show an increased attention to gender differences. The Council Recommendation on Establishing a Youth Guarantee requires that "*gender and diversity of the young people who are being targeted*" be considered in the design of the schemes. The background analysis of the Staff Working Document provides indications on gender differences in accessing the labour market and in remaining in it. Furthermore the European Youth Report, recently adopted by the Commission, and its Staff Working Paper on the situation of young people in Europe, includes information on gender differences (OJEC 2012; European Commission 2012e). The flagship initiative *An Agenda for new Skills and Jobs* (European Commission, 2010c) also supports gender equality and non-discrimination in the labour market, and mentions the ESF as a possible co-funder/supporter of measures to reconcile work and private life, gender mainstreaming, and actions for tackling gender-based segregation in the labour market.

National policies

Member States are particularly active in promoting initiatives and strategies aimed at supporting the employment of young people, but a specific attention to the gender perspective is still scarce.

It is especially the Nordic, Continental and Anglo-Saxon countries that show a wide range of policies specifically targeting young people and based on an integrated approach linking the payment of welfare benefits to employment activation measures, and strengthening the links between the education/training system and the labour market. The results of the cluster analysis presented in chapter 4.1 and the available evaluation literature show that the most successful European countries in terms of school-to-work transitions and low gender gaps in youth labour market conditions are those where apprenticeships and/or work-related learning schemes and effective guidance services are widespread (e.g. in Germany, Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands), as well as policies supporting caring responsibilities (e.g. the Nordic countries). In southern and eastern European countries on the other hand, young workers are more likely to embark on unstable trajectories, with frequent job changes separated by spells of unemployment and/or inactivity and young women are particularly penalised.

37 The guidelines suggest to: establish strong partnerships with all stakeholders (including representatives of young people), ensure early intervention and activation to avoid young people becoming NEETs, take supportive measures to enable labour integration through measures enhancing skills and labour market related measures, make full use of EU funding to that end, assess and continuously improve the Youth Guarantee schemes, and implement the schemes rapidly.

The following Table presents a classification of policy measures specifically targeted at young people based on Eurofound (2012b) and European Employment Observatory (2011) as well as an initial assessment of their potential relevance in a gender equality perspective.

Table 4.4 – A classification of policies supporting youth labour market conditions in a gender perspective

TYPE OF POLICY	RELEVANCE OF THE POLICY IN A GENDER EQUALITY PERSPECTIVE	
	High	Medium
Policies tackling early school leaving		
• preventive measures		
- reducing early school-leaving		X
- addressing gender stereotyping in education	X	
• reintegration measures		X
Policies facilitating the transition to employment		
• measures to support school-to-work transition such as		
- Counselling to address the stereotyping of educational and career choices	X	
- youth guarantees		X
- Measures to support female entrepreneurship	X	
• measures to foster employability through		
- apprenticeships, internships or training/re-training courses		X
- measures to foster the insertion of young people in the public sector	X	
• incentives to employers		X
Policies supporting caring responsibilities		
• access to childcare or other kinds of support to care activities	X	
• policies promoting parental leave	X	
• more equal balance between women's and men's share of part-time work	X	
• flexible working practices and teleworking	X	
Policies combating occupational segregation		
• recruitment	X	
• retention	X	

Policies tackling early school leaving

Prevention measures involve targeted initiatives in the education and training system to support children and young people who are at high risk of early school leaving. The main measures adopted in European countries involve: support to at risk students since pre-school; guidance and counselling services; vocational and/or work-based learning to offer a different environment for students at risk of dropping out; school and work alternation programmes as an alternative route to achieving formal qualifications; incentives to the active involvement of parents in the development and education of their children; measures to motivate students to

remain in education; the allocation of additional resources to schools with a more disadvantaged pupil population. New measures have also been designed with the goal of overcoming financial reasons for early school- leaving (for example through *learnfare* measures) and educational segregation, providing special support measures to students from marginalised communities such as the Roma or students of foreign origin. [38]

These measures do not specifically address gender differences, even if early school leaving has an important gender dimension. Young women stay longer in education than young men[39]and are less likely to drop out from education. In 2011 the EU27 average of the early school leaving rate is 15.3 % for young men and 11.6 % for young women, with wide differences among EU countries (Eurostat database on early leavers from education and training). Only in Bulgaria the incidence of early leavers is higher among girls than boys. The implementation of policies to prevent early school leaving may thus reduce the gender gap as well as the incidence of early school leaving. However, it is important for these policies to be gender mainstreamed so that efforts to encourage post-compulsory school attendance is tackled in a way to respond to the needs of both sexes. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence of this to date in most European countries. An exception is the Danish National Gender Equality Plan, as shown in the box below.

In **Denmark** the 2012 *National gender equality plan*, explicitly addresses gender segregation in education and training[40]. A specific focus on "the failing boys" has also been put on the agenda by the Danish Minister for Gender Equality in the beginning of this year. Thus, in January 2012 the minister launched a fund (in total twenty million Danish kroner) to support projects and research on breaking down the gender-segregated educational choices and enhance knowledge on how to recruit and maintain boys within the educational system[41].

Source: ENEGE Country report 2012

While early school leaving is more a male phenomenon than a female one, except for traditional cultures where families with limited resources may tend to exclude their daughters from further education, gender stereotyping and segregation in education and training is likely to penalise girls. Gender segregation within different field of study reinforces gender segregation on the labour market and, it is, somehow, related to the gendered expectations and behaviours of both teachers and pupils: young women are under-represented in science, mathematics and economics and over-represented in humanities and languages, and segregation increases as young people progress into further education, vocational training and at degree level (Fagan and Teasdale, 2008). Reform of curricula particularly regarding gender stereotypes, setting targets for gender balance in courses, and career guidance measures can encourage girls to take subjects with better employment opportunities.

38 See Eurofound, 2012b and European Commission, 2010f for a review of the main developments in Member States.

39 The proportion of women among the 20 to 24 year olds who have at least completed upper secondary education in 2011 is 82.4% against 76.7% for men, and the proportion of women with tertiary education attainment reaches 39.7% for the 25-34 age group relative to 30.4% for males.

40 Minister for Gender Equality, "Report / Perspective and Action Plan 2012".Submitted to the Danish Parliament by the Minister for Gender Equality.*http://www.lige.dk/files/PDF/PHplan/PH-plan_2012.pdf*

41 *http://www.lige.dk/Default.asp?Id=134&AjrNws=1660* .

Policies addressing gender stereotyping and supporting the choice of non-traditional education and training opportunities for girls and boys are thus particularly important to reduce gender gaps in the labour market and society. In recent years there is an increasing attention to these issues in educational policies, starting from pre-school and compulsory education. Some examples are presented in the box below. However the crisis and budget constraints are rapidly reducing public funding for these programmes.

In **Denmark**, starting in 2008, a children's book and an accompanying guide was diffused among educators in kindergartens. The aim of the book and guide is to challenge different expectations of how girls and boys should behave, and to break down traditional gender stereotypes and give them equal opportunities to develop their skills regardless of their sex/gender. At the same time the book inspires educators and others working with children to integrate gender perspectives in their daily work – e.g. as part of the educational curricula The material was distributed nationally and sent to all kindergartens accompanied by a letter from the Minister for Gender Equality and the chairperson of the union of kindergarten teachers encouraging them to use the book and guide.

Germany activated some federal programmes to reduce horizontal segregation in the long run: "Girls Day" and "New Ways for Boys". The *Girls' Day – Future Prospects for Girls* initiated a large campaign in which experience made so far has been used and a wide range of professions and activities have been presented to girls to motivate and encourage them to seize their career options and to decide in favour of a qualified vocational training or degree[42]. Other federal programmes are aimed at increasing the number of women in mathematics, science and technology in higher education: an example is the so-called "National Pact for Women in *MINT*-Careers" launched in 2008 and involving numerous partners from industry, science, research, politics and the media.

In **Latvia**, on June 2012 the Ministry of Welfare established a working group that will assess the situation of men and women in the education sector. The working group will focus on: the balance of men and women among teachers and of male and female students across the fields of studies. In a year's time the working group will develop a proposal on how to make the education sector more gender balanced.

In **Portugal** the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG) promoted Educational guidelines on "Gender and Citizenship" addressed to teachers of preschool (from 3 to 6 years) and basic education (9 years of schooling). The guidelines were developed by experts on gender and education and validated by the Ministry of Education. They offer a theoretical and a practical approach to: mainstream gender equality into the education system; integrate a gender dimension and promote equality between women and men in teaching; place gender equality at the centre of the Education for Citizenship programme. The diffusion and implementation of the Guides started in the school year 2008-09 with a pilot experimentation in a school cluster followed by other seven school clusters and will end in academic year 2012-13.

42 For more detailed information see URL:*http://www.girls-day.de/Girls_Day_Info/English_Information.*

The **Spanish** the Ministry of Education has been implementing, with the collaboration of the Women´s Institute, specific programs to promote coeducation including: the design and implementation of non-sexist orientation programs that promote course selection through awareness- raising campaigns in school[43]; the revision of teaching materials to ensure that they respond to gender equality and non-discriminatory criteria; the dissemination of training materials addressing gender stereotypes among students, parents and teachers; the training of teachers in co-education, gender violence prevention and gender equality; the creation of specific programmes, methodological guides, awareness- raising- campaigns, equality awards to support coeducation in schools; the improvement of school services in order to meet student diversity and ensure equality.

In the **United Kingdom**, various desegregation policies were put in place by the Labour government to remove obstacles and provide incentives for young women, and to a lesser extent young men, to select non-traditional areas of study and training. A major emphasis has been on increasing women's entry into science, engineering, ICT and other technological areas. For example, a government-funded initiative to encourage women into the 'SET' (Science, Engineering, Technology) occupations was launched in 2003, re-invigorating a series of initiatives that have been run by the government and various professional and employer associations since the 1980s to encourage women into these occupations. Furthermore, in 2004 the UK Resource Centre for Women in Science, Engineering and Technology (UKRC) was set up as the lead organisation working to advance gender equality in SET subjects providing advice, services and policy consultation across businesses, universities, government and the third sector (UKRC 2012). Women have subsequently increased their rate of achieving graduate level (Masters and PhD) qualifications in SET subject areas (see Fagan 2010). In 2010 however, the Coalition government announced it would stop Centre funding from April 2011 as part of their spending cuts. Despite this, the Centre has continued to stay open and is now constituted as a Community Interest Company and an Associated Company of Bradford College (see UKRC 2012).
Sources: Exchange of good practices on gender equality: Gender and education, Lisbon Portugal, 18-19 October 2012 for Portugal and Denmark [IRS and OSB Consulting, 2012]; ENEGE Country reports for Germany, Latvia, Spain and the UK.

Reintegration measures support young people who have dropped out of school due to personal difficulties or previous negative experiences of formal schooling. Eurofound evidences that second chance schemes for young dropouts are now integral part of the education and training system in many European countries. "Overall, they tend to focus on the provision of alternative training/teaching environments and methods. They also tend to be more practically orientated than mainstream provisions and include elements of non-formal learning.[..] Their importance has been accentuated by the economic crisis, which has made a return to education a more attractive option for many young people due to fewer job opportunities" (Eurofound 2012b: 10).
The validation of informal and non-formal learning acquired outside the class room, through work experience, responsibilities within the home, participation in non-for-

43 For instance, the media campaign called "Give a title to your future" ("Ponletítulo a tufuturo"): (*http://www.educacion.gob.es/multimedia/00001659.pdf*).

mal training, hobbies or volunteering (adopted for example in Estonia, Latvia and Romania) could also be relevant in a gender perspective, as girls may have several opportunities to be involved in outside experiences and more often than men take part in non-formal learning activities (Cedefop 2012).

In **Estonia** the APEL ('Accreditation of Prior and Informal learning') programme offer the possibility to convert a person's study and work experience into study "credits" when continuing of entering education. In 2009 approximately 8% of the applicants obtained credits following assessment of the skills they had acquired in formal and non-formal settings.
Source: Eurofound 2012b

As for highly skilled young people youth guarantee schemes, grants and scholarships (adopted mainly in the Nordic, Continental and Anglo-Saxon countries) and measures promoting access to loans and financial support for university and PhD students could be important for girls who usually have a higher educational level relative to boys, but often lower financial resources to continue education.

Policies facilitating the transition to employment

Measures to support school-to-work transitions include the provision of information, advice and guidance, work experience opportunities for young school leavers, as well as measures addressing skill mismatches, youth guarantees, job-search assistance and the promotion of entrepreneurship.
The provision of information and in-school guidance/counselling may present a specific gender relevance when addressing gender stereotyping in educational and career choices. Actions targeting young people, parents, teachers, career advisors, social partners and training providers may help to reduce occupational segregation (European Commission 2010d).

Young women have on average higher educational levels than young men, but they often choose fields of studies which may translate in lower employment rates. In entering the labour market they are more exposed to over-education compared to men, especially in countries where female participation is high (such as France, Finland and the United Kingdom). Instead, in Mediterranean countries, where women remain underrepresented in the labour force, their increasing educational attainments often does not protect them from unemployment or inactivity. 'Vertical skills mismatch' or 'over-qualification' are widespread especially among young women with tertiary education, because they tend to choose more formal educational paths in traditionally female dominated sectors which make them formally overqualified but with skills less matched to the available jobs. Young men are instead more likely to have completed VET-oriented education, which, according to a recent Cedefop study (Cedefop 2012), leads to better labour market outcomes than general education.

Careers advice and media campaigns to tackle gender stereotyping at a young age and encourage girls and boys into a wider choice of educational paths and occupa-

tions are thus particularly important in a gender perspective[44]. Providing guidance in the choice of field of study, especially for girls, has a potential to reduce educational mismatch (Bettio and Verashchagina 2009). However in many cases career consultants are not adequately trained. For example in Germany career counselling is criticised for supporting gender stereotypes by biased descriptions of occupations.

Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Poland, Spain, Sweden and Austria have introduced various forms of youth guarantees with the aim to ensure that all young people receive a job offer, or an educational or training opportunity, within a certain timeframe after leaving their previous education/employment (Eurofound 2012b). These measures could help reduce gender gaps if gender differences are considered in their design and implementation, such as the provision of care services during training and opening hours that consent work-life conciliation. As shown in section 4.1., young women tend to be less involved in active labour market policies supporting the school to work transitions and have a more limited access to information channels than young men. A greater access of women to ALMPs could be ensured through complementary measures supporting care responsibilities as is the case of the BIBB recommendation in Germany presented in the box below.

In Germany a BIBB study showed, that young mothers without or with a low school leaving level have no formal vocational training certificate. The BIBB Board then adopted the first recommendation ever on extending or shortening the duration of vocational training that also covers part time VET. This recommendation aims at better balancing the demands of VET and child rearing by allowing the number of training hours per day or week to be reduced and by consenting the option of undergoing VET on a part-time basis. Part-time initial vocational training represents an opportunity –particularly for young mothers, fathers and care-givers – to undergo vocational training and still fulfil family responsibilities. Trainees who undergo part-time initial vocational training have to work at least 25 hours per week. The trainee and the training company have to agree on when these hours are to be worked. The trainee and the trainer have to submit a joint application to the competent body. Part-time initial vocational training does not invariably lead to a longer overall duration of the individual's training.
Source: ENEGE Country report

In several countries self-employment and entrepreneurship is promoted as an alternative route into the labour market. As seen in chapter 1, young women are less likely than young men to be self-employed and women entrepreneurs in Europe are only 30% of all entrepreneurs.
Measures to promote female entrepreneurship may have a positive impact on gender equality, if they provide targeted services supporting young women to develop their potentialities. Targeted measures should tackle the specific barriers faced by (young) women to doing business. A study promoted by the European Commission

44 This is recognised by the Council of the European Union which states that "gender-stereotyping is one of the most persistent causes of inequality between women and men in all spheres and at all stages of life, influencing their choice of education, training and employment, the sharing of domestic and family responsibilities, participation in public life, and participation and representation in decision-making positions, both in political life and in the economy". Council of the European Union, Council Conclusions on Eliminating Gender Stereotypes in Society, Luxembourg, 2008, *http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/lsa/101020.pdf*

in 2008[45] indicated as the main obstacles to women's innovative entrepreneurship: the difficulty to access financial support as women are seen less credible financially than men; gender stereotypes affecting educational choices; the lack of access to technical scientific and general business networks, the lack of business training, role models and entrepreneurship skills. Some measures to encourage women to running small firms, and to make it easier for them to do so have been implemented in Member States and at the EU level. The great majority are pilot projects addressing 'soft' factors, relating to the lack of information, training or networking. Most of these initiatives support the creation of networks among women entrepreneurs and government agencies and other support organisations; provide training and business services; promote information and awareness-rising initiatives. Measures to facilitate access to financial support are instead less diffused. At the European level, in 2011 a European Network of Mentors for Women Entrepreneurs was inaugurated under the Polish Presidency to provide advice and support to women entrepreneurs on the start-up, running and growth of their enterprises in the early phase of their life (from the second to the fourth year of existence of a new woman-run and owned enterprise). This network enforces and complements the European Network of Female Entrepreneurship Ambassadors (ENFEA) created in 2009.

Measures to foster employability focus on enhancing youth's skills through apprenticeships, internships or training/re-training programmes.

According to the evaluation literature, classroom training is not very effective, even if women are usually performing better than young men (Kluve 2007; Card et al. 2010; Piopiunik and Ryan 2012). Conversely, on the job training and, especially, apprenticeships and internships helping young people to develop practical skills and to become accustomed to the work environment, result much more effective for their employability.

The results of the multivariate analysis presented in section 4.1 show the positive effects of dual systems is reducing gender gaps in youth inactivity and, to a lesser extent, employment. However young women are usually less involved in on the job training and apprenticeship schemes. According to Eurobarometer results (2011), men are more likely than women to have participated in training over the last 12 months (by a margin of 24% to 21%); they are also more likely to receive funding from their current employer (60%, as opposed to 50% of women) and to have completed a traineeship (37% vs 32%).

Furthermore, apprenticeship systems tend to perpetuate existing patterns of segregation. Young women are still usually underrepresented in apprenticeship programmes compared to their share in the total population, especially as far as some specific professions are concerned. According to a recent EC Study (European Commission 2012g), for example in Denmark young men represent up to 70% of total apprenticeship students (data for 2011) and in Estonia they represent up to 58% (data for academic year 2010/2011); in Germany, male apprentices have a 60.1% share in the total number of all concluded training contracts within the dual system (data for 2009).

45 European Commission (2008a), "Evaluation on policy: promotion of women innovators and entrepreneurship", DG Enterprise and Industry, *http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/newsroom/cf/_getdocument.cfm?doc_id=3815*

Women are usually over-represented in the less paid service occupations (ho.re.ca. activities, health services, etc), while their share in production and technology-oriented occupations is usually under-proportional again as a consequence of gender segregation in education and training and in occupations.

For example in **Germany**, within the upper secondary education system women more often are trained in a full- time vocational school instead of participating in the dual system and they more often choose female dominated formal occupations, while they are under-represented on the higher quality, better paid programmes. A survey of the German Trade Union Federation shows that female dominated formal vocational education occupations are connected with less holidays, more unpaid overtime hours and less job satisfaction compared to male dominated formal vocational education occupations in 2009 (Pimminger 2010). Although some programmes exist to reduce gender segregation in apprenticeship, up to now changes could hardly be observed: since the beginning of the 1990ies horizontal segregation within the dual system remains constant (BIBB 2010). In technical production professions - the majority of all the technical professions – the female share has not changed in 15 years (beginning of the 1990ies until 2005: 7.3%) and the female share in new technical service occupations actually declined from 13.6% in 1997 to 8.9% in 2008 (see Pimminger 2010).

In the **UK**, in the better paid male-dominated sectors, such as engineering and construction, women accounted for less than 2% of the apprentices in 2006/7, while they constituted 91.7% of hairdressing apprenticeships and 97.1% of childcare apprentices, which are the two lowest paying apprenticeships. Low pay particularly affects female apprentices who are paid 26 per cent less than their male counterparts on average. According to Miller et al. (2004), 10 male dominated sectors account for 82% of male apprentices and 10 female dominated sectors account for 92% of female apprentices (cited in Fagan 2010). The gender pay gap amongst apprentices can partly be explained by entrenched patterns of occupational gender segregation. Progress in encouraging more girls and women into non-traditional apprenticeships has been slow with young women often unaware of the differences in pay between different sectors when they make careers choices. This gendered segregation is not just problematic for women, as men who wish to work in childcare or hairdressing may be dissuaded by the low pay prevalent in those sectors as well as the stigma attached to men doing “women’s work” (Women’s Budget Group 2011). Furthermore, analysis by the Women’s Budget Group (2011) reveals that although in 2008/9 there were 119,300 female apprenticeships out of a total of 239,900 (just under 50%), the female apprenticeships tended to be much shorter than the male ones (typically less than one year, and in some cases only a few weeks). There were also fewer opportunities for apprentices to work part-time or flexibly, making it hard for young women to combine on the job training with caring responsibilities.

On the contrary, according to the French national expert, in **France** recent trends in apprenticeship and the Relaunching apprenticeships programme (2011), encouraging companies with more than 250 employees to open apprenticeships positions by a bonus-malus system, could be a source of more sustainable jobs for women. This is because apprenticeship contracts are increasing especially in the service sectors, thus indirectly benefiting young women. In recent years there is a major increase of apprenticeship contracts in business services, personal and social servi-

ces so that women now represent almost one third of apprentices : they make up the majority of those entering apprenticeships in personal services and more than two-fifths of those entering business and commercial services. Furthermore the is an upgrading trend in the level of diplomas in apprenticeships which might favour women who are generally older and more qualified than young men.

Source: *ENEGE Country reports, 2012*

As for traineeships, recent studies reviewed in a European Commission report (European Commission, 2012h) present some evidence of an opposite gender imbalance in the take-up, with more young women undertaking traineeships than young men (e.g. AT, DE, FR, IT, etc). A part from general considerations on take up rates, in some countries the same EC report identified a traineeship-related gender pay gap with a larger proportion of women in unpaid or in low paid positions. According to the authors, this could again be related to occupational and sectoral segregation rather than to direct discrimination, since it may be that more women can be found in poorly paid sectors and occupations, or sectors known for low quality traineeships (in Germany and UK creative industries and media/journalism; in Austria the health and social care sector, media, NGOs and the culture sector). Among the few studies tackling the issue of gender differences in traineeship experience, an Austrian survey (European Commission, 2012h) reported that only 47% of women trainees were paid, compared to 67% of male trainees.
To deal with these problems some Member States reinforce career guidance and counselling activities in all basic schools to assist students in making well-informed decisions about education, training and career/development options available. There are also examples of measures to foster the insertion of young people in the public sector for low-skilled young people. This is the case for example in the French scheme 'Route into careers in three areas of the public sector' supporting the creation of fixed-term contracts in public administrations, where women are widely overrepresented.

Training programmes specifically devoted to counter segregation have been recently implemented in Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom. However often specific provisions ask young women to change, encouraging them to enter areas that men were quitting in search for better opportunities — for example manual, technical work in manufacturing-, while men are rarely encouraged to enter female dominated areas. In order for men to be encouraged to enter female areas of work and taught to value traditional feminine skills, it is important to invest more in motivational events, media and educational campaigns since early ages. Pay is also a strong incentive to overcome stereotypes, and evidence from case studies strongly supports the contention that the most effective way to attract men to female areas of work is to find ways to raise the pay (Bettio and Verashchagina, 2009).

Incentives to employers. To stimulate the demand for young workers, apprentices and/or trainees, some countries have implemented specific measures targeted at employers such as subsidised jobs or reductions in social security contributions for employers. Targeted employer incentives may be effective in promoting the employment of young girls but, according to evaluations cited by Eurofound (2012b), can have a positive effect in the short-term, while their net impact on future employment prospects of participants can be poor.

Subsidised employment measures are present in most of the countries and they can be universal or targeted to disadvantaged young people. These programmes seem to have been particularly successful for disadvantaged youth, and young women in some countries are included in this category, because of low deadweight effects. Hiring subsidies have been targeted to young people in particular in continental countries (i.e. Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany) but also in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Spain, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia and in Finland with the 'Chance card' (2009).

An example of employment incentives explicitly targeted at young female workers can be found in **Spain**[46]. Young women (aged 16-30) hired under the new Spanish permanent entrepreneurship contract (*contratoindefinido de apoyo a los emprendedores*) if employed in male-dominated sectors perceive 100€ more than their male colleagues. Moreover, with the conversions of training into permanent contracts, 500€ are envisaged for men and 700€ for women for the first three years of employment.

Also in **Italy**, in December 2011 to promote female and youth employment, a tax relief was introduced for firms hiring young people (under 35 years old) and women in permanent contracts. The tax relief partially addresses the issue of low labour market participation by women. The fiscal stimulus works as an incentive to firms and boosts the demand for female workers.
Source: ENEGE country reports

Policies supporting caring responsibilities
Apart from the lack of skills and qualifications, young people may have practical problems and barriers to taking up employment or training opportunities. As shown in the previous section, an important factor to reduce gender gaps also in young age is the provision of reconciliation measures that should be addressed to both male and female workers.

Measures to support access to childcare or other kinds of care services (for the elderly or the disabled for example)targeted at people who are taking part in training courses or are employed or actively looking for a job or inactive and willing to work have been implemented only in a small number of countries. Flexible, affordable and good quality childcare arrangements should be encouraged to help all parents to balance work and family life. These measures represent an essential tool to foster young women's employment and reduce gender gaps in the labour market.
At the company level, initiatives in this field relate to *workplace arrangements* (flexible work place, telecommuting), *working time arrangements* (flexible working time, part-time, shift trading), job-sharing models and specific measures for persons with caring responsibilities (childcare facilities, nursery vouchers) (European Commission, 2010e).

In **Italy**, in June 2011 € 15 million were allocated to promote the adoption of re-

46 Public Employment Service (2012). Available at:
*http://www.sepe.es/contenido/empleo*_formacion/empresas/contratos_trabajo/index.html

conciliation measures within firms and public administrations consistent with the legal provision of Law 53/2000, including i) flexibility at the workplace, primarily for childcare reasons but not exclusively, through part-time work, tele-working, job-sharing, hours savings, home-working, flexible start and end of working time and flexibility for shift working; ii) training programmes for workers returning after parental leave and iii) the possibility for the self-employed to be substituted by a co-worker. Furthermore, the new National Plan for the Family enacted in June 2012 for the first time adopts a medium-term strategy involving: actions supporting family care work (care services and provisions for early childhood, parental leave, time for care of the elderly, the disabled and children); actions promoting equal opportunities and reconciliation policies**;** and a specific attention to migrant women**.**
Source: ENEGE country report

As discussed in chapter 3, maternity, paternity, parental and/or other family related leave are all effective measures to encourage the sharing of family caring responsibilities between women and men. As evidenced by European Commission (2010c) women take up family related leave more than men, especially where this leave is unpaid, and this makes employers less keen to hire them relative to men. Measures aimed at reducing gender differences in the take up of parental leaves, part time, flexible time and tele-working, are thus necessary, as well as those tackling the gender pay gap.

Policies addressing occupational segregation and supporting gender equality in the workplace
Horizontal and vertical gender segregation are widespread features of European labour markets. Horizontal segregation is one of the reasons for the gender pay gap, as female connoted jobs are regularly lower compensated. Thus, some of the measures taken in recent years aim at increasing women's participation in so-called "male sectors" to contribute to gender equality and to tackle companies' skills shortages at the same time. Vertical gender segregation results in an underrepresentation of women in management positions and contributes to the gender pay gap as well. Thus, some initiatives explicitly focus on measures to increase the share of women in decision-making bodies.

A specific attention to gender issues in the recruitment phase may also prove effective to reduce gender gaps in employment: a European Commission (2010e) study presents examples of good practices at the enterprise level that "have implemented procedures to attract and employ more women in order to achieve a better balanced staff structure and to benefit from the diverse talents and skills". Some measures are very simple and costless, as, for example, the use of anonymous application forms or CVs that do not reveal information about the sex of the applicant facilitate neutral recruitment procedures.

As for retention, the same European Commission (2010e) study underlines that retention becomes especially relevant when major changes in the private life of employees make adaptations of their work schedule necessary, notably when a child is born. Some large companies have activated rather sophisticated retention strategies for talented women, often involving different fields of intervention, e. g. reconciliation, career development etc.

In many countries in order to support gender equality at the workplace, different tools have been implemented to measure, communicate and reward good practices of enterprises and organisations in the field of gender equality. These tools include labels, prizes and awards, charters, rankings of companies, and publications with the aim to disseminate good practices; to motivate other companies to adopt and implement similar measures; to achieve a far-reaching publicity for the assigned enterprises and to provide economic arguments for equality measures.

4.4 Conclusions and policy implications

Youth policies are becoming a central feature of European Union policy making, both at EU and national level. However attention to gender differences is lacking, which reduces their potential effectiveness in reducing gender gaps in youth labour conditions.

The analysis carried out in this chapter shows that the main policies that seem to reduce youth gender gaps by improving the corresponding female labour market indicators are the incidence of the dual system and policies supporting the work-life balance. Those countries characterized by a policy approach focused on the dual system (like AT and DE) and the Nordic countries, characterized by a well-developed support to the work-life balance, present much lower gender gaps in youth labour conditions relative to other countries and as well as higher employment rates and lower unemployment and NEET inactivity for both young women and young men. Another interesting result is that product market regulations appear more harmful for gender gaps than the rigidity of labour markets, indicating the need to consider this aspect when addressing policies to reduce gender gaps. Well targeted labour market policies could be effective, but often lack gender – specific measures and present a low involvement of young women, as shown in the analysis of gender differences in beneficiaries of labour market policies.
More in-depth analysis of measures recently adopted in Member States to support youth employment shows that most measures do not address gender differences and this reduces their effectiveness in tackling gender gaps. For example, preventive measures are mainly addressing early school leaving, a predominantly male phenomena (except for traditional cultures where families with limited resources may tend to exclude their daughters from further education), while little attention is paid to gender stereotyping and segregation in education and training, which affect the employability of young women and their future earnings and socio-economic conditions. As for reintegration measures, the validation of informal and non-formal learning acquired outside the classroom could also be relevant in a gender perspective, as girls may have several opportunities to be involved in outside experiences. Regarding measures to facilitate the school-to-work transitions and to foster employability, greater attention should be given to reducing gender stereotyping in career choices and to increase the involvement of young women in on the job training and good quality apprenticeship and internship programmes. Targeted employment subsidies appear to be effective in supporting the employment of young women, as are policies supporting care responsibilities, especially when they encourage the sharing of family responsibilities between women and men. Measures to support entrepreneurship should specifically address the greatest constraints young women face in starting their own business relative to young man (for example in access to

financial support and the lack of access to business networks and training). Finally, policies addressing the recruitment and retention phases in companies may be effective in reducing gender stereotypes and gender gaps in employment.

Against the background of the presented gender differences a greater attention is needed to gender differences in education, social and employment policies in the future. This requires the implementation of gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation of access to policy measures and outcomes.

5. Summary and conclusions

This report addresses gender differences in the current fragile start of young persons in the European labour markets, and in its effects both on the labour market career as well as on personal life.

In chapter 1, the current labour market position of young men and women in the European Member States is analysed. Young people have been particularly hit by the current economic crisis, as shown by the high and increasing unemployment and inactivity rate, as well as by the changing labour market conditions, with flexible forms of employment gaining in importance in all Member States. Between 2007 and 2011 the youth (aged 15-29) employment rate dropped by 3.3 percentage points and the unemployment rate increased by 4.7 percentage points. Young people accounted for almost 35% of total unemployment growth and the unemployment rate differential between youth and adults widened. Furthermore, the inactivity rate has increased due to discouragement effects; the NEET (not in employment, education or training) rate has reached 15.4% in 2011 in the EU27. In contrast to past recessions, this time the increase in the NEET rate has also involved young highly educated workers.

The crisis has worsened the labour market conditions more for young men (particularly those aged 15-24) than for young women. However, young women still face worse labour market conditions relative to young men. In all Member States it is especially the inactive component of NEETs that is higher for females and gender gaps are particularly high for the 25-29 age group. Inactivity appears to be largely due to family responsibilities, even if young women are also more likely to be discouraged workers than young men, particularly in some southern (Italy and Malta) and eastern countries (Latvia, Poland and Romania). When employed, young women more often hold part-time or temporary jobs and have lower monthly earnings than their male counterparts. There are however large country differences, with the labour market position of young women being particularly negative in southern and eastern European countries. Educational attainment is an important factor in employment opportunities, especially for young women. Gender gaps in employment are lower for young persons with a tertiary education. Education also plays an important role in being NEET, as the probability of being NEET declines for young women having a tertiary education.
The econometric analysis on determinants of gender differences in youth labour

market conditions confirms that, even among the young, gender gaps are heavily influenced by the presence of children and to a lesser extent by the level of education. Thus the fragility of early labour market conditions is particularly negative for young women, even if they are on average more educated than young men, and appears to be largely related to family conditions and care responsibilities.

Chapter 2 focuses on the entry of young people into the labour market. An analysis of 'first jobs' shows that the share of temporary jobs among those first jobs differs to a large extent between the European countries. Women more often have a temporary contract in their first job than men in almost all Member States; the difference is rather small though. Women do, however, start more often in a double fragile position, that is a temporary, part-time job. There is some evidence that the early careers have become more volatile in the last 10 years. The share of young persons who started working within one year is higher among recent graduates compared to those who have graduated earlier. In addition, more young persons have already left their first job again as well. Approximately half of the young people spent the time until the first (significant) job mainly unemployed and searching for a job; this share is higher among women than men. One fifth reports that they spent the period between graduation and the start of the first significant job mainly working in consecutive small, short-term jobs. More women (13%) than men (1.5%) are inactive due to family responsibilities.

The first job represents the first step in the labour market career of a young worker, but the school-to-work transition phase is often not completed at that point. Based on the available EU LFS data, which provides information on a maximum of 3 transitions, transition profiles have been constructed as an indication of early career mobility of young workers. When sorting the transitions profiles in terms of successful (that is ending with a permanent contract) and unsuccessful (all other), it appears that about 60% of the young workers is successful; however, women are more often in the unsuccessful paths than men.

Regarding the impact of temporary jobs on subsequent labour market success there are two opposing views. According to the stepping stone hypothesis a temporary job could shorten the length of time between graduation and the start of the first permanent job. The dead end view, however, expresses concern that the short time gain of a temporary contract goes at the expense the long-term position of the young worker. Regression analyses indicate that starting with a temporary first job as opposed to a permanent does not have a negative impact on being in a permanent position in 2009, which clearly opposes the dead end view. However, the stepping stone hypothesis is not completely confirmed either as an initial (limited) period of unemployment has a positive impact on the chance to be in a stable position and a negative impact on the likelihood to be unemployed in 2009. This is in contrast to the stepping stone view that prefers temporary jobs to unemployment at all times. With respect to gender, it appears that young men do find a permanent job more often than young women. The number of transitions seems to have a negative impact. More detailed analysis shows that for women the negative impact of the number of transitions is stronger than for men.

In chapter 3 the impact of a fragile start on personal life is analysed. The difficulties young persons face in entering the labour market have a clear impact on the op-

portunities to start an independent life. Thresholds in social security limit the access of young people to unemployment benefits. In addition, social assistance is rather limited. The available information suggests that there is no direct discrimination between (young) men and women with respect to access to/coverage of social security. There is, however, an indirect impact of type of contracts. As women work more often in temporary and/or part-time contracts, they are less likely to become eligible and their entitlements might be lower. Long periods of unemployment generally have a negative impact on pensions. For women, this adds to the negative impact of working part-time and interrupting one's career due to care responsibilities.

Living an independent life implies leaving the parental home. The timing of this transition seems highly country-specific and related to factors such as the educational system and cultural norms. In northern and continental countries young persons leave the parental home rather early, facilitated by the income of the family. In addition, they are covered by relatively generous welfare state benefits. In the southern and eastern countries the situation is rather different as young persons leave the parental home quite late. Moreover, welfare benefits are less generous. In all countries women move out of the parental home on average at an earlier age than men. A factor of significant importance is the housing market; the lack of affordable houses to rent or to buy prevents young people in pursuing their independency. This is reinforced by more strict criteria to get mortgages. In general the financial situation of young people seems to deteriorate as more of them face increasing study debts. Exact figures are lacking though.
An important milestone in life is starting a family. The precarious position in the labour market has a different impact on young men and women in this respect. During unemployment, women - in particular the low skilled - may be more inclined to start a family, whereas men try to find a more stable job. Access to social services that support parenthood, such as maternity leave and parental leave, is often based on a (solid) employment status. As a result, it is more difficult for young persons to claim such services. In addition, affordable childcare services are often not available. The lack of facilities may increase the likelihood that young women become inactive, which can have a negative long-term career impact.

In chapter 4 the central issue are policies to tackle youth difficulties. Such policies are becoming a central feature of European Union policy making, both at EU and national level, however attention to gender differences is still limited, even if increasing in recent years. Policies supporting the work-life balance and facilitating the school to work transitions appear to be particularly important in reducing youth gender gaps by improving the labour market conditions of young women. Those countries characterized by a policy approach focused on the dual system (AT and DE) and the Nordic countries, characterized by a well-developed support to the work-life balance, present much lower gender gaps in youth labour conditions relative to other countries.
Measures to reduce gender stereotyping and segregation in education and training appear also important to increase the employability of young women and to improve their future earnings and socio-economics conditions. Well-targeted labour market policies could be effective, but often lack gender-specific measures and young women are much less involved than young men in active labour market policies and are less supported by passive ones.

A more in-depth analysis of measures recently adopted in Member States to support youth employment shows that most measures do not address gender differences and this reduces their effectiveness in tackling gender gaps in youth labour market conditions. Apprenticeships schemes, support to youth entrepreneurship, job guarantee schemes, occupational orientation programmes and employment incentives might have very different effects for young men and women due to gender segregation in education and employment and gender differences in access to social protection. Thus it is crucial to develop a gender perspective, to enrich the policy debate on youth and support the implementation of more effective policies.

Summarising the main results, it seems that the transition from youth to adulthood is becoming more complex, with different stages of activity and type of jobs alternating. As such this may increase the social risks of young people. The current economic situation makes the transition even more complex, increasing the fragility of the school-to-work transition. It is unclear what the long-term impact will be, particularly for the low-skilled. In some scenarios, low skilled may find new jobs in the growing services sector. In other scenarios however, the long-term perspective of low skilled people remains problematic. (European Commission 2008b).

The fragile situation seems to impact young men and women differently. Young women are more often than young men in temporary jobs and a significant part of these jobs are also part-time. Moreover, young women have more difficulties in making the transition to a permanent job, resulting in even more uncertainty. At the same time young women move out of the parental home at an earlier age than men and – particularly the low-skilled - might opt to be full-time carers. As a result, their distance from the labour market will increase, which will seriously hamper their long-term perspective in terms of career and income.

Youth employment has high priority in Europe and within the context of the Youth Opportunities Initiative numerous initiatives have been developed to support young people (e.g. European Commission 2012e, 2012f; OJEC 2012). While these initiatives are undoubtedly of significant importance, a more integrated approach to youth transitions into the labour market and youth life course transitions seems to be missing (Knijn and Plantenga 2012: 206). An important problem is that the current institutional support system is not geared towards the current reality of many young people, as this system is mainly based on stable, permanent employment. As such it seems important that the current division between secure permanent jobs and unsecure flexible jobs, becomes redefined. In some countries this may imply a change in the system employment protection legislation; in others the working time regime might change in order to create more diverse working time patterns, while in almost all countries the challenge is to bring the system of social security in line with the new reality of flexible and unsecure jobs.

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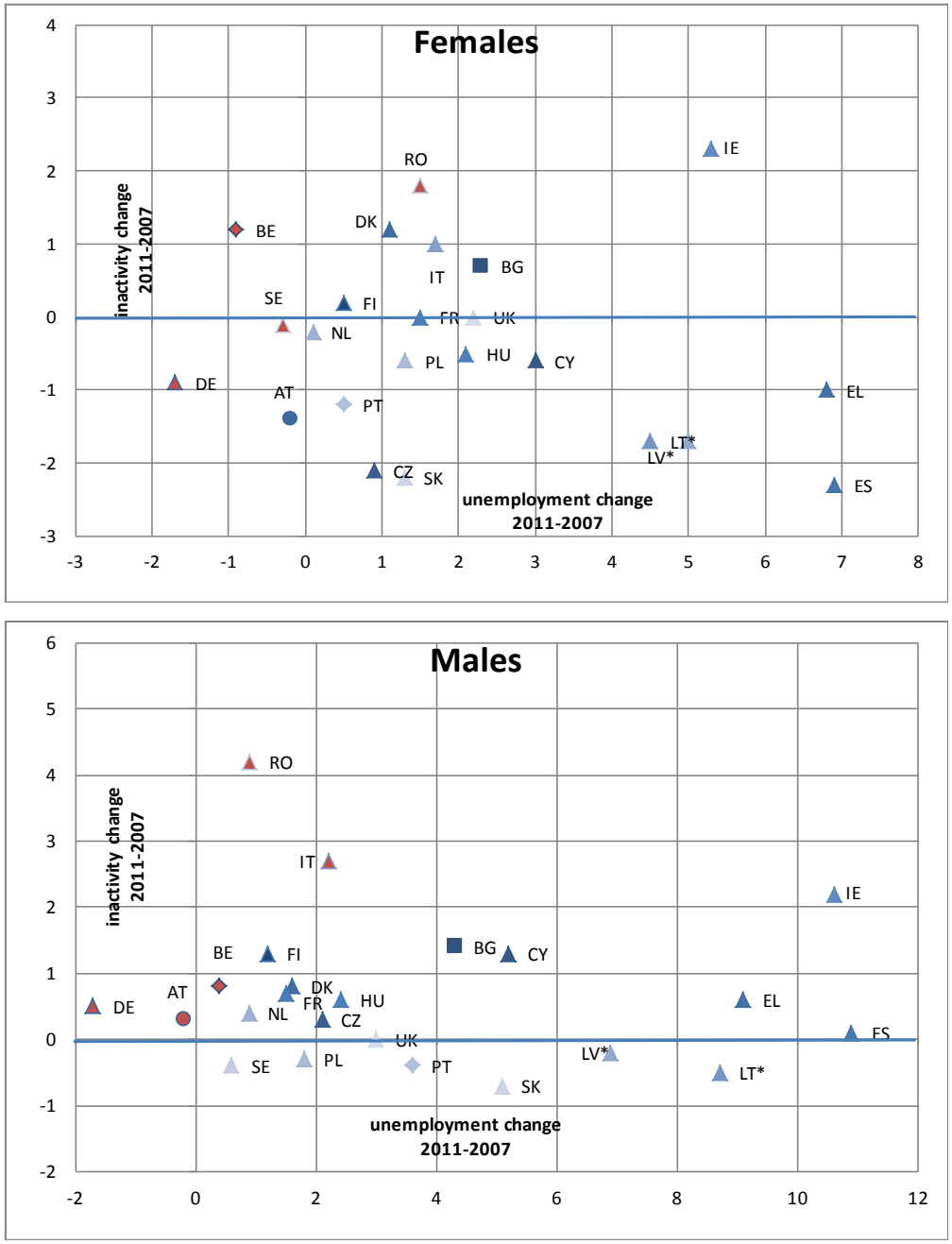
STARTING FRAGILE
Gender Differences In The Youth Labour Market

Annexes

ANNEX 1.1

Figure A1 – Change (2011/2007) in unemployment and inactivity rates among young (15-29) NEETs by gender (in p.p.)



How to read the Figure: for young females in DK unemployment increased by 1.1 percentage points while inactivity (excluding those in education/training) increased by 1.2 percentage points.

Notes: Low reliability for LT and LV; no data available for EE, MT, LU, SI.

Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS, annual average

Figure A2 - Job quits and job loss among young workers aged 15-29, 2009-2010 (as a % of all employed in the previous period)

Notes: Data refer to all persons who are currently not employed but who had been working in a wage and salary job during the previous 12 months. Job losers refer to workers who lost their jobs involuntarily and job quitters to those who left their job voluntarily. No data available for MT, LU, RO.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly micro data, average 2009/2010

ANNEX 1.2

Detailed results on the gender differences estimated with the three models (10 selected countries)

NEET

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
DK	0.006***	0.002	0.003	-0.009	-0.001	0.005		0.074***		0.015**	0.020**	0.001	-0.015***	-0.014***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.006]		[0.013]		[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.004]
DE	0.046***	0.006***	-0.029***	0.026***	-0.031***	0.010	-0.005	0.129***	0.288***	0.004	0.005	0.021*	0.009	0.011
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.009]	[0.005]	[0.012]	[0.014]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.012]	[0.011]	[0.011]
FR	0.036***	0.012***	-0.036***	0.033***	-0.003	-0.039***	0.073***	0.059***	0.219***	0.008*	0.004	-0.000	-0.018***	-0.010***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
NL	0.028***	0.010***	-0.004	-0.004	-0.012***	-0.022***	0.029***	0.024***	0.128***	-0.001	-0.003	0.002	-0.009***	-0.013***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
ES	0.042***	0.036***	0.024***	-0.015***	-0.006*	-0.018***	0.029***	0.118***	0.190***	0.008	0.006	-0.024***	-0.040***	-0.046***
	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.011]	[0.012]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.005]
IT	0.061***	0.031***	0.010***	0.069***	-0.021***	0.001	0.026***	0.249***	0.205***	0.014***	0.009***	-0.001	-0.014***	-0.021***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.009]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
UK	0.048***	0.016***	-0.025***	0.039***	-0.004	-0.034***	0.045***	0.068***	0.177***	-0.013**	-0.023***	-0.000	-0.019***	-0.015***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]
CZ	0.109***	0.052***	-0.008**	0.028**	0.007**	0.028***	0.010***	0.093***	0.500***	-0.017***	-0.010***	0.001	-0.024***	-0.022***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.014]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.004]
SK	0.085***	0.037***	-0.039***	0.113	0.022***	0.055***	0.037***	0.143***	0.350***	-0.016**	-0.008	-0.006	-0.017**	-0.028***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.081]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.009]	[0.014]	[0.017]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.006]
LV	0.036***	0.011***	-0.022**	-0.020	0.009	0.032**	0.037***	0.012	0.280***	-0.007	0.018	-0.008	-0.055***	-0.050***
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.010]	[0.015]	[0.008]	[0.016]	[0.011]	[0.014]	[0.020]	[0.013]	[0.016]	[0.012]	[0.009]	[0.009]

NEET - Unemployed

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
DK	-0.007***	-0.008***	-0.006*	-0.011***	0.001	0.005		0.017**		-0.003	0.008	0.000	-0.008***	-0.006**
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.004]		[0.007]		[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
DE	-0.020***	-0.027***	-0.023***	-0.016***	-0.005*	0.039***	-0.010***	0.009	0.011*	-0.001	0.005	0.021**	0.006	-0.001
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.009]	[0.008]
FR	-0.015***	-0.018***	-0.036***	-0.014***	0.019***	0.008***	0.032***	0.001	0.014***	-0.001	-0.002	-0.002	-0.013***	-0.008***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
NL	-0.002***	-0.004***	-0.005**	-0.006***	0.003**	-0.002	0.005***	-0.000	0.015***	-0.001	-0.003	-0.004	-0.007***	-0.005**
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]
ES	0.003***	0.004***	0.005	-0.022***	0.011***	0.004	0.004	0.011*	0.033***	0.002	0.008	-0.017***	-0.021***	-0.024***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]
IT	-0.004***	-0.008***	-0.016***	0.016***	0.012***	0.033***	0.001	0.024***	-0.016***	0.003	0.003	0.001	-0.005**	-0.009***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]
UK	-0.023***	-0.022***	-0.034***	0.019***	0.015***	0.010**	0.011***	0.014**	-0.005	0.001	0.000	-0.002	-0.011***	-0.007*
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.004]
CZ	-0.008***	-0.009***	-0.015***	0.015	0.007***	0.014***	0.009***	0.014***	-0.007**	0.002	0.002	-0.001	-0.008***	-0.007***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.011]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]
SK	-0.027***	-0.027***	-0.031***	-	0.022***	0.045***	0.023***	0.031***	-0.044***	-0.010**	-0.008	-0.004	-0.018***	-0.028***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]		[0.004]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]
LV	-0.029***	-0.031***	-0.050***	-0.026***	0.033***	0.069***	0.002	-0.025***	0.051***	0.018	0.002	-0.002	-0.015**	-0.004
	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.014]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.011]	[0.012]	[0.011]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.008]

NEET - Inactive

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
DK	0.013***	0.010***	0.005*	0.004	0.002	0.019***		0.047***		0.017***	0.013**	0.002	-0.003	-0.005*
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.007]		[0.011]		[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]
DE	0.066***	0.030***	-0.007	0.019***	-0.016***	-0.013***	0.012***	0.091***	0.275***	0.007	0.003	0.003	0.005	0.012
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.011]	[0.020]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.008]
FR	0.050***	0.027***	-0.006***	0.016***	-0.006***	-0.024***	0.038***	0.030***	0.200***	0.009***	0.007***	0.001	-0.002	0.000
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.008]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]
NL	0.030***	0.013***	-0.001	-0.003	-0.010***	-0.014***	0.021***	0.021***	0.103***	0.001	0.001	0.004	-0.001	-0.006**
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
ES	0.039***	0.029***	0.015***	0.005	-0.010***	-0.015***	0.029***	0.096***	0.139***	0.004	-0.001	-0.003	-0.011***	-0.015***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.011]	[0.013]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]
IT	0.066***	0.038***	0.020***	0.052***	-0.023***	-0.020***	0.031***	0.209***	0.205***	0.014***	0.008***	-0.001	-0.007***	-0.010***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
UK	0.071***	0.036***	0.004	0.010**	-0.005*	-0.024***	0.026***	0.037***	0.142***	-0.010**	-0.016***	0.002	0.001	-0.003
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]
CZ	0.117***	0.049***	0.002	-0.000	0.009***	0.020***	0.000	0.072***	0.470***	-0.014***	-0.006***	-0.002	-0.008***	-0.006***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.009]	[0.017]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]
SK	0.112***	0.053***	-0.014***	0.035	0.012***	0.046***	-0.003	0.123***	0.365***	0.009**	0.008**	0.001	0.011**	0.020***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.039]	[0.003]	[0.010]	[0.004]	[0.017]	[0.027]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]
LV	0.065***	0.042***	0.004	0.031*	-0.006	0.014	0.042***	0.054***	0.202***	-0.013	0.019	0.003	-0.010	-0.020***
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.016]	[0.006]	[0.014]	[0.010]	[0.016]	[0.021]	[0.008]	[0.012]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.007]

Discouraged

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
DK	0.002	0.006***	0.008	0.030***	0.004	0.010		0.070***		0.017*	0.008	-0.003	-0.011*	-0.017***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.011]	[0.004]	[0.008]		[0.017]		[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.005]
DE	0.009***	0.008***	-0.008*	0.002	-0.001	0.014**	-0.004	0.029***	0.081***	0.010**	0.013*	0.023**	0.015**	0.016*
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.003]	[0.008]	[0.014]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.008]
FR	0.005***	0.003***	-0.004***	-0.002	0.003***	-0.002**	0.008***	-0.001	0.027***	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.001	-0.002
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.001]
NL	0.005***	0.010***	0.009***	0.013**	-0.008***	-0.013***	-0.001	0.002	0.089***	0.002	0.001	0.003	-0.003	-0.006
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]
ES	0.016***	0.018***	0.022***	-0.011***	-0.007***	-0.011***	0.014***	0.064***	0.055***	-0.003	-0.005	-0.008*	-0.015***	-0.013***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]
IT	0.042***	0.039***	0.022***	0.018***	0.016***	-0.010***	0.012***	0.153***	0.086***	0.004	0.003	0.000	-0.003	-0.010***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.010]	[0.009]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
UK	0.014***	0.010***	-0.003	-0.001	0.003	-0.001	0.004	0.007	0.085***	0.004	0.001	-0.000	0.001	-0.001
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]
CZ	0.012***	0.011***	-0.007***	-0.017***	0.019***	0.005	0.002	0.044***	0.059***	0.002	0.006***	-0.002	0.006**	0.003
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]
SK	0.010***	0.007***	-0.003**	0.001	0.005***	-0.001	-0.002	0.055***	-0.001	0.007**	0.005*	0.003	0.010***	0.004
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.010]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.012]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]
LV	0.038***	0.043***	-0.004	0.043**	0.029***	0.023	0.050***	0.078***	0.135***	-0.006	0.003	0.024**	0.013	-0.008
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.008]	[0.021]	[0.008]	[0.018]	[0.011]	[0.021]	[0.021]	[0.011]	[0.012]	[0.012]	[0.011]	[0.010]

Employed

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
DK	0.002	-0.019***	-0.044***	-0.036**	-0.006	0.019		-0.177***		-0.006	0.007	0.009	0.055***	0.067***
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.018]	[0.008]	[0.012]		[0.020]		[0.014]	[0.014]	[0.012]	[0.011]	[0.010]
DE	-0.046***	-0.072***	-0.076***	-0.051***	0.051***	-0.005	0.098***	-0.190***	-0.322***	-0.003	0.005	-0.019	-0.005	-0.019
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.012]	[0.011]	[0.007]	[0.015]	[0.008]	[0.013]	[0.012]	[0.013]	[0.017]	[0.017]	[0.017]	[0.017]
FR	-0.071***	-0.159***	-0.174***	-0.059***	0.002	0.154***	0.027***	-0.127***	-0.210***	-0.008	-0.011*	-0.000	0.028***	0.014**
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]
NL	-0.027***	-0.051***	-0.054***	-0.061***	0.042***	0.075***	-0.014**	-0.083***	-0.323***	0.004	-0.014	0.008	0.023***	0.039***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.013]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.014]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.009]
ES	-0.092***	-0.146***	-0.191***	0.010	0.098***	0.149***	-0.022***	-0.202***	-0.147***	-0.017**	-0.021*	0.017	0.064***	0.078***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.012]	[0.013]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]
IT	-0.121***	-0.173***	-0.191***	-0.103***	0.056***	0.186***	0.028***	-0.246***	-0.158***	-0.004	-0.009**	0.005	0.010**	0.022***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]
UK	-0.041***	-0.070***	-0.064***	-0.016	0.057***	0.091***	-0.017**	-0.142***	-0.321***	-0.005	0.006	0.009	0.041***	0.007
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.011]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.013]	[0.011]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.009]	[0.011]	[0.011]
CZ	-0.147***	-0.208***	-0.071***	0.099***	-0.104***	-0.006	0.021***	-0.168***	-0.390***	0.017**	0.021***	0.001	0.006	0.011
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.022]	[0.005]	[0.009]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.008]
SK	-0.133***	-0.179***	-0.108***	-0.104	-0.022**	0.060***	-0.033***	-0.195***	-0.252***	0.049***	0.026***	-0.020**	-0.004	0.026**
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.011]	[0.074]	[0.009]	[0.013]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.011]
LV	-0.088***	-0.212***	-0.203***	-0.002	-0.001	0.058***	-0.060***	-0.092***	-0.203***	0.017	0.012	0.027	0.100***	0.101***
	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.014]	[0.028]	[0.012]	[0.022]	[0.014]	[0.020]	[0.016]	[0.020]	[0.021]	[0.018]	[0.018]	[0.019]

Temporary Contract

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
DK	0.024***	0.015***	-0.006	-0.003	0.029***	0.034***		0.033***		0.013	0.011	0.010	-0.004	-0.010*
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.011]	[0.006]	[0.008]		[0.013]		[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.006]
DE	-0.002	-0.011***	0.008	-0.024**	-0.024***	0.033***	0.013**	-0.023**	0.043***	-0.019*	-0.004	-0.024*	-0.008	0.001
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.012]	[0.010]	[0.007]	[0.011]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.013]	[0.011]	[0.015]	[0.013]	[0.015]	[0.015]
FR	0.041***	0.063***	0.038***	-0.045***	0.014**	0.006	0.017***	0.012	0.021***	-0.020***	-0.012*	0.006	0.017**	0.015**
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]
NL	0.002	-0.007***	-0.029***	-0.023**	0.022***	0.021***	0.037***	-0.012*	0.007	-0.014**	-0.007	0.000	0.001	-0.012
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]
ES	-0.023***	-0.001	-0.046***	-0.111***	0.035***	0.090***	0.008	0.037***	0.036**	-0.002	0.015	0.005	0.015	0.009
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.012]	[0.013]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.014]	[0.015]	[0.012]	[0.015]	[0.015]	[0.016]	[0.017]
IT	0.030***	0.030***	0.030***	-0.028***	-0.033***	-0.014*	0.025***	0.068***	0.006	0.023***	0.022***	0.006	0.021***	0.003
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.008]
UK	-0.003	-0.002	-0.018***	0.000	0.005	0.021***	0.007	0.007	0.001	0.003	0.008	0.008	-0.003	-0.001
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]
CZ	0.028***	0.035***	-0.010	-0.040***	0.031***	0.039***	-0.009**	0.011	0.062***	0.006	0.007	0.033***	0.017**	0.010
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.004]	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.007]
SK	-0.002	0.008***	-0.008		0.016	0.009	-0.014*	0.043***	-0.025***	-0.012*	0.009	0.013	-0.006	0.016*
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.012]		[0.012]	[0.014]	[0.007]	[0.015]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.010]
LV	-0.035***	-0.015***	-0.013	-0.013	-0.009	0.015	-0.006	0.009	-0.003	0.004	0.000	0.003	0.006	0.009
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.011]	[0.017]	[0.008]	[0.015]	[0.008]	[0.014]	[0.010]	[0.014]	[0.014]	[0.014]	[0.014]	[0.014]

Part-time Contract

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
DK	0.066***	0.059***	0.046***	-0.004	0.039***	0.068***		0.144***		0.007	0.003	-0.011	-0.032***	-0.031***
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.014]	[0.007]	[0.012]		[0.023]		[0.012]	[0.011]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.007]
DE	0.107***	0.093***	0.046***	-0.009	0.040***	0.047***	-0.010*	0.065***	0.310***	-0.015*	-0.009	-0.009	-0.019*	-0.018*
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.010]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.011]	[0.005]	[0.012]	[0.021]	[0.009]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.010]	[0.010]
FR	0.149***	0.155***	0.151***	-0.011	0.002	-0.061***	0.007**	0.033***	0.135***	-0.010**	-0.003	0.004	-0.003	-0.016***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]
NL	0.216***	0.186***	0.068***	-0.098***	0.056***	-0.009	0.111***	0.159***	0.444***	0.013*	-0.005	-0.012	-0.015*	-0.023***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.015]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.009]
ES	0.122***	0.119***	0.138***	-0.001	-0.022***	-0.043***	0.017***	0.058***	0.124***	-0.006	-0.006	-0.019***	-0.026***	-0.033***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.016]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.006]
IT	0.153***	0.148***	0.148***	0.018***	-0.019***	-0.053***	0.016***	0.070***	0.099***	0.006	0.005	-0.002	-0.004	-0.006
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.009]	[0.011]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]
UK	0.118***	0.098***	0.064***	-0.044***	-0.022***	-0.056***	0.047***	0.031***	0.362***	-0.002	0.009	-0.010	-0.008	-0.018**
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.017]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.007]
CZ	0.035***	0.030***	0.001	-0.008***	0.016***	0.009**	-0.003**	0.012***	0.134***	0.015***	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.002
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.018]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]
SK	0.015***	0.016***	0.021***		0.001	0.001	0.001	0.011*	0.000	-0.005**	-0.000	-0.006***	-0.009***	-0.008***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.005]		[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.001]
LV	0.021***	0.023***	0.008	0.008	0.006	0.011	-0.003	-0.004	0.052***	0.046**	0.011	0.002	-0.015**	-0.013
	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.009]	[0.017]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.015]	[0.021]	[0.015]	[0.011]	[0.007]	[0.008]

Notes: female (1), female(2) and female (3) columns report the marginal effect for the female dummy estimated with the three models. The other columns report the marginal effect of the interaction terms of all the Xs with the female dummy from model [3].
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly microdata

ANNEX 1.3

Detailed results on the gender differences estimated with the three models (other European countries)

NEET

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
AT	0.041***	0.014***	-0.004	0.012***	-0.018***	0.008	0.007**	0.042***	0.228***	-0.006	-0.007*	-0.004	-0.016***	-0.014***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.011]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
BE	0.036***	0.020***	-0.008	0.023***	-0.005	-0.036***	0.050***	0.019**	0.232***	-0.006	0.006	0.002	-0.004	-0.012**
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.015]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.006]
BG	0.071***	0.032***	-0.002	-0.097*	-0.040***	0.010	0.117***	0.058***	0.157***	-0.017**	0.004	0.010	0.014	-0.020
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.052]	[0.006]	[0.014]	[0.011]	[0.014]	[0.015]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.014]	[0.014]	[0.013]
CY	0.053***	0.035***	-0.001	0.005	0.003	-0.006	0.041***	0.068***	0.158***	0.012	-0.009	-0.008	0.000	-0.020**
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.017]	[0.024]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.009]
EE	0.036***	0.007*	-0.049***	-0.001	0.033***	0.088***	0.032***	0.005	0.344***	-0.001	0.010	0.016	-0.040***	-0.040***
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.009]	[0.018]	[0.009]	[0.021]	[0.012]	[0.016]	[0.026]	[0.013]	[0.013]	[0.013]	[0.009]	[0.009]
FI	0.030***	0.025***	0.023***	0.002	0.009	0.056***		0.307***		-0.021**	-0.012	-0.024***	-0.033***	-0.035***
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.020]	[0.007]	[0.017]		[0.028]		[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.008]
GR	0.116***	0.080***	0.049***	0.063***	0.006**	-0.032***	0.030***	0.304***	0.170***	-0.012***	0.009*	-0.007	-0.022***	-0.037***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.013]	[0.014]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]
HU	0.080***	0.027***	-0.044***	0.051**	0.013***	0.039***	0.059***	0.087***	0.332***	0.003	-0.003	0.004	-0.018***	-0.014***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.020]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]
IE	0.002	-0.037***	-0.019***	0.057***	-0.010**	-0.013**	0.031***	0.017*	0.196***		-0.003	-0.022***	-0.063***	-0.059***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.011]		[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.006]
LT	-0.008***	-0.030***	-0.034***	0.003	-0.011**	-0.007	0.020***	0.036***	0.168***	0.002	-0.011	-0.012*	-0.041***	-0.040***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.037]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.011]	[0.017]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.005]	[0.005]
LU	0.039***	0.019***	-0.006	0.002	0.003	-0.003	0.017**	0.162***	0.070***	0.005	-0.002	0.019	-0.015	-0.019**
	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.026]	[0.018]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.015]	[0.010]	[0.009]
MT	0.067***	0.032***	0.008	-0.057*	-0.042***	-0.019	-0.043***	0.245***	0.442***					0.019
	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.030]	[0.011]	[0.022]	[0.015]	[0.079]	[0.088]					[0.012]
PL	0.056***	0.026***	-0.037***	0.027	0.012***	-0.006	0.039***	0.084***	0.273***	-0.012***	-0.009**	0.015***	-0.002	-0.015***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.052]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]
PT	0.036***	0.024***	-0.006	0.029***	0.009**	0.019***	0.021***	0.099***	0.109***	-0.003	-0.005	0.011*	-0.014***	-0.008*
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.009]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]
RO	0.067***	0.032***	0.009**	0.072	-0.038***	-0.050***	0.041***	0.156***	0.102***	-0.005	-0.007	0.020***	0.013**	0.020***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.061]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]
SE	0.012***	0.012***	0.005	0.015**	0.015**	[0.006]		0.132***		0.132***	0.132***	0.132***	0.132***	0.132***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.004]		[0.008]		[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]
SI	0.011***	0.000	-0.010*	0.227***	0.015***	0.037***	0.008	-0.009	0.124***	-0.012**	-0.005	-0.010	-0.017***	-0.023***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.044]	[0.005]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.018]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.005]

NEET - Unemployed

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
AT	-0.004***	-0.005***	-0.003	-0.007***	0.001	0.018***	-0.004**	-0.009***	0.020***	-0.001	-0.002	0.000	-0.005**	-0.004
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]		[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.003]
BE	-0.006***	-0.010***	-0.016***	-0.022***	0.012***	0.008*	0.013***	-0.026***	0.106***	-0.013***	-0.001	-0.002	-0.011***	-0.011***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.011]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]
BG	-0.015***	-0.017***	-0.012***	0.006	-0.002	0.014*	0.028***	0.006	-0.029***	-0.007*	0.004	-0.018***	-0.013**	-0.021***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.038]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.005]
CY	-0.001	-0.007***	-0.012*	-0.002	0.002	0.017***	0.017***	-0.008	0.006	0.002	-0.002	-0.006	-0.004	-0.009*
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.005]
EE	-0.028***	-0.027***	-0.032***	-0.000	0.019***	0.036***	0.001	-0.017**	0.018*	0.005	0.003	-0.000	-0.018***	-0.014**
	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.011]	[0.006]	[0.014]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.006]
FI	-0.011***	-0.011***	-0.001	-0.012	-0.002	0.018*		0.034***		-0.011**	-0.009	-0.009	-0.015***	-0.017***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.004]	[0.010]		[0.012]		[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]
GR	0.034***	0.027***	-0.000	-0.020***	0.048***	0.052***	-0.003	0.079***	-0.030***	0.004	0.009**	-0.009**	-0.015***	-0.019***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
HU	-0.021***	-0.024***	-0.037***	0.028**	0.026***	0.040***	0.012***	0.009**	-0.036***	0.005*	0.005	0.005*	-0.008***	-0.006**
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.014]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
IE	-0.054***	-0.061***	-0.060***	0.027***	0.040***	0.071***	-0.005	0.002	-0.036***		0.002	-0.021***	-0.032***	-0.025***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.003]		[0.007]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]
LT	-0.027***	-0.027***	-0.026***	-0.013	0.007**	0.027***	0.009**	-0.000	0.004	-0.005	0.002	-0.007*	-0.018***	-0.013***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.015]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
LU	0.001	-0.001	-0.013**	0.004	0.016***	0.025***	-0.006	0.038***	0.006	-0.001	0.000	0.024*	-0.004	-0.012*
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.005]	[0.014]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.014]	[0.008]	[0.007]
MT	-0.021***	-0.016***	-0.014**		-0.003	0.049*	-0.035***	0.030	0.006					0.000
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.006]		[0.010]	[0.028]	[0.007]	[0.034]	[0.013]					[0.008]
PL	-0.013***	-0.015***	-0.039***	-0.002	0.024***	0.048***	0.008***	0.011***	0.013***	0.001	0.001	0.006	-0.006**	-0.008***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.031]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
PT	0.009***	0.001	-0.007**	0.002	0.017***	0.027***	0.012**	0.010	0.039***	-0.009**	-0.007**	0.004	-0.013***	-0.014***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]
RO	-0.024***	-0.021***	-0.031***	0.096	0.010***	0.037***	0.002	0.016***	-0.023***	0.005	0.001	0.001	-0.001	0.005
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.068]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
SE	-0.011***	-0.010***	-0.005**	-0.013***	0.003	0.007**		0.021***		-0.000	-0.004	-0.003	-0.017***	-0.012***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.003]		[0.004]		[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]
SI	-0.001	-0.006***	-0.022***	0.021	0.028***	0.044***	0.001	-0.013**	0.037***	-0.005	0.003	-0.007	-0.012***	-0.015***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.018]	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.011]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]

NEET - Inactive

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
AT	0.045***	0.017***	-0.003	0.016***	-0.014***	-0.003	0.013***	0.031***	0.199***	-0.003	-0.004	-0.004*	-0.008***	-0.008***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.011]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]
BE	0.041***	0.028***	-0.002	0.030***	-0.003	-0.024***	0.042***	0.050***	0.108***	0.008	0.008*	0.004	0.010**	0.002
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.009]	[0.013]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]
BG	0.086***	0.048***	0.003	-0.101***	-0.026***	0.035**	0.082***	0.067***	0.185***	-0.009	0.001	0.031**	0.028**	0.011
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.035]	[0.005]	[0.015]	[0.010]	[0.014]	[0.016]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.014]	[0.013]	[0.013]
CY	0.054***	0.039***	0.004	0.006	0.005	-0.006	0.023***	0.102***	0.131***	0.006	-0.007	-0.003	0.007	-0.003
	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.020]	[0.027]	[0.009]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.008]
EE	0.064***	0.034***	-0.025***	0.035	0.027***	0.061***	0.033***	0.026	0.311***	-0.002	0.009	0.021**	-0.001	-0.006
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.022]	[0.007]	[0.020]	[0.010]	[0.017]	[0.034]	[0.009]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.008]	[0.008]
FI	0.042***	0.036***	0.016**	0.026	0.024***	0.082***		0.281***		-0.005	-0.001	-0.014**	-0.014**	-0.014**
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.022]	[0.006]	[0.024]		[0.037]		[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]
GR	0.082***	0.045***	0.032***	0.084***	-0.023***	-0.051***	0.045***	0.229***	0.220***	-0.015***	0.001	0.002	-0.003	-0.009***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.015]	[0.023]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
HU	0.101***	0.047***	-0.014***	0.021	0.007***	0.028***	0.037***	0.078***	0.352***	-0.009***	-0.007**	-0.001	-0.004	-0.002
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.015]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.004]
IE	0.056***	0.024***	0.005	0.030***	-0.006**	-0.026***	0.031***	0.003	0.259***		-0.003	0.001	-0.015***	-0.016***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.014]		[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.004]
LT	0.019***	-0.000	-0.021***	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.035***	0.170***	0.012**	-0.009*	-0.003	-0.006	-0.011***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.030]	[0.030]	[0.030]	[0.030]	[0.010]	[0.019]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]
LU	0.038***	0.017***	0.002	0.004	-0.005*	-0.012***	0.025***	0.089***	0.041**	0.007	-0.002	-0.002	-0.008*	-0.006
	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.026]	[0.016]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.005]
MT	0.088***	0.043***	0.019***	-0.006	-0.024***	-0.031***	0.016	0.166*	0.276**					0.016*
	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.031]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.020]	[0.088]	[0.109]					[0.009]
PL	0.069***	0.037***	-0.012***	0.020	0.001	-0.019***	0.024***	0.076***	0.242***	0.003	-0.002	0.005	0.005	-0.002
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.039]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.012]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
PT	0.027***	0.021***	-0.004*	0.031***	0.000	-0.002	0.012***	0.107***	0.049***	0.006*	0.004	0.007*	0.002	0.010**
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.012]	[0.009]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]
RO	0.092***	0.049***	0.023***	0.003	-0.008***	-0.028***	0.023***	0.130***	0.097***	-0.015***	-0.007**	0.025***	0.012***	0.003
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.033]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.003]
SE	0.023***	0.021***	0.009***	0.027***	0.015***	0.026***		0.127***		-0.012***	-0.001	0.003	0.004	-0.003
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.004]		[0.010]		[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]
SI	0.012***	0.005***	0.002	0.169***	-0.001	0.018**	0.005	0.005	0.083***	-0.005	-0.007*	-0.002	-0.003	-0.003
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.044]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.016]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]

Discouraged

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
AT	0.021***	0.023***	0.010***	0.025***	0.004	0.013*	-0.015***	0.036***	0.089***	0.001	0.001	0.007	0.008*	-0.002
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.003]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]
BE	0.006***	0.007***	0.004*	-0.002	0.005**	-0.009***	0.003	0.019***	0.034***	-0.001	-0.002	0.003	-0.003	-0.000
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
BG	-0.003	-0.006***	-0.010**	-0.063***	0.006	0.040***	0.029***	0.016*	-0.033***	-0.002	-0.002	0.016	-0.009	-0.006
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.013]	[0.004]	[0.012]	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.011]	[0.008]	[0.008]
CY	0.005***	0.003*	0.004	-0.013***	-0.005*	-0.002	-0.004	0.032***	0.026**	0.010	0.003	-0.004	0.004	-0.003
	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.010]	[0.012]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]
EE	0.007**	0.011***	-0.010	0.034	0.034***	0.003	0.043***	0.006	0.122***	-0.010	-0.010	0.002	-0.015*	-0.006
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.023]	[0.008]	[0.014]	[0.013]	[0.019]	[0.028]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.010]	[0.009]	[0.009]
FI	-0.005***	-0.001	0.001	0.012	0.002	0.015		0.042***		-0.012***	-0.004	0.001	-0.013***	0.001
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.013]	[0.004]	[0.014]		[0.014]		[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.005]
GR	0.011***	0.006***	0.005***	0.024***	-0.006***	-0.008***	0.005***	0.009***	0.074***	-0.002	0.000	-0.000	-0.001	0.001
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.017]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]
HU	0.003***	-0.001	-0.011***	0.048***	0.016***	0.021***	0.001	0.050***	-0.003	-0.006**	-0.004	0.001	-0.001	-0.004
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.017]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
IE	0.004***	0.003***	0.003	0.007*	0.005**	-0.007**	0.004	-0.017***	0.057***		0.003	-0.003	-0.007**	-0.008***
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.008]		[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]
LT	0.001	0.002	-0.003	0.082	0.009***	0.007	-0.004	0.019*	0.043***	0.000	0.010*	-0.005	-0.010***	-0.007*
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.004]	[0.054]	[0.003]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.010]	[0.013]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]
LU	0.002	0.001	-0.001	-0.000	0.001	-0.000	0.003	0.030	0.009	0.002	0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.018]	[0.008]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]
MT	0.039***	0.041***	0.032***	0.019	0.007	-0.035**	0.045	0.085	0.951***					-0.001
	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.111]	[0.013]	[0.015]	[0.041]	[0.084]	[0.002]					[0.011]
PL	0.029***	0.025***	-0.008***	-0.010	0.025***	0.008**	0.009***	0.069***	0.146***	-0.004	-0.004	-0.007**	-0.002	-0.000
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.003]	[0.026]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.003]
PT	0.007***	0.006***	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.016***	0.012**	-0.000	0.001	0.001	-0.002	-0.001
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]
RO	0.027***	0.024***	0.016***	-0.041***	-0.001	-0.008*	0.004	0.070***	0.017**	-0.008***	0.001	0.011***	0.012***	-0.000
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.007]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.003]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.003]
SE	0.001	0.002***	0.001	0.014***	0.003**	0.000		0.033***		-0.003	-0.001	0.002	-0.001	-0.002
	[0.001]	[0.001]	[0.002]	[0.004]	[0.001]	[0.003]		[0.006]		[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.002]
SI	0.014***	0.018***	0.004	0.125***	0.019***	0.019*	-0.003	0.025	0.065***	0.003	-0.001	-0.007	-0.007	0.002
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.044]	[0.004]	[0.010]	[0.008]	[0.017]	[0.019]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]

Employed

				Interaction terms with the female dummy										
	female(1)	female(2)	female(3)	immigrant	mid-educ	high-educ	emacipated	married	children	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010
AT	-0.091***	-0.124***	-0.145***	-0.044***	0.036***	0.027**	0.079***	-0.176***	-0.254***	0.018**	0.019**	0.013*	0.045***	0.025***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.005]	[0.011]	[0.006]	[0.012]	[0.011]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.008]
BE	-0.054***	-0.168***	-0.170***	-0.056***	-0.025***	0.129***	0.047***	-0.106***	-0.248***	0.011	-0.004	0.004	0.025**	0.027**
	[0.003]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.011]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.008]	[0.013]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]	[0.011]
BG	-0.080***	-0.166***	-0.090***	-0.018	-0.051***	-0.039***	0.008	-0.117***	-0.166***	0.007	0.003	-0.013	-0.008	0.009
	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.009]	[0.092]	[0.008]	[0.014]	[0.011]	[0.014]	[0.013]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.016]	[0.016]	[0.017]
CY	-0.060***	-0.188***	-0.251***	0.212***	-0.009	0.193***	0.047***	-0.213***	-0.269***	-0.016	-0.000	0.025	0.051***	0.053***
	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.015]	[0.013]	[0.013]	[0.014]	[0.015]	[0.022]	[0.025]	[0.019]	[0.019]	[0.018]	[0.018]	[0.018]
EE	-0.106***	-0.215***	-0.191***	-0.051	0.015	0.025	-0.100***	-0.086***	-0.224***	0.010	-0.010	0.001	0.103***	0.104***
	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.015]	[0.032]	[0.013]	[0.024]	[0.015]	[0.026]	[0.015]	[0.022]	[0.020]	[0.019]	[0.022]	[0.022]
FI	-0.026***	-0.072***	-0.024**	0.008	-0.044***	-0.091***		-0.352***		-0.010	-0.014	-0.003	0.030**	0.024*
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.011]	[0.033]	[0.009]	[0.018]		[0.011]		[0.015]	[0.015]	[0.014]	[0.014]	[0.014]
GR	-0.149***	-0.220***	-0.271***	-0.217***	0.136***	0.229***	-0.004	-0.221***	-0.213***	-0.003	-0.007	0.003	0.010	0.021***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.011]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]
HU	-0.111***	-0.177***	-0.130***	-0.028	-0.015***	0.030***	0.024***	-0.135***	-0.274***	0.010*	0.006	0.003	0.026***	0.035***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.021]	[0.004]	[0.007]	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.004]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]	[0.006]
IE	-0.004	-0.048***	-0.151***	-0.045***	0.046***	0.125***	0.007	-0.076***	-0.224***		-0.021*	0.029**	0.123***	0.134***
	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.009]	[0.010]	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.014]	[0.010]		[0.012]	[0.012]	[0.009]	[0.010]
LT	-0.044***	-0.155***	-0.187***	-0.101**	0.014	0.093***	-0.018*	-0.132***	0.002	-0.012	0.016	0.030**	0.109***	0.105***
	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.010]	[0.050]	[0.009]	[0.013]	[0.010]	[0.011]	[0.016]	[0.012]	[0.013]	[0.013]	[0.014]	[0.014]
LU	-0.036***	-0.149***	-0.149***	0.009	0.016	0.134***	-0.033*	-0.255***	-0.073**	0.001	0.002	-0.030	0.047*	0.022
	[0.005]	[0.006]	[0.020]	[0.012]	[0.012]	[0.018]	[0.018]	[0.019]	[0.029]	[0.021]	[0.021]	[0.028]	[0.029]	[0.028]
MT	-0.103***	-0.125***	-0.113***	0.243**	0.027	0.152***	0.095**	-0.405***	-0.345***					-0.018
	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.016]	[0.099]	[0.023]	[0.032]	[0.046]	[0.053]	[0.065]					[0.020]
PL	-0.091***	-0.184***	-0.161***	0.038	0.034***	0.134***	-0.014**	-0.130***	-0.173***	0.007	0.007	-0.009	-0.014**	-0.015**
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.071]	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.006]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.006]
PT	-0.091***	-0.170***	-0.210***	-0.025*	0.118***	0.206***	-0.079***	-0.164***	0.095***	-0.001	-0.002	-0.000	0.043***	0.034***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.013]	[0.006]	[0.009]	[0.010]	[0.013]	[0.014]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.009]	[0.009]
RO	-0.074***	-0.169***	-0.165***	-0.006	0.023***	0.133***	-0.002	-0.085***	-0.055***	-0.008	0.005	-0.010	-0.011	-0.024***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.006]	[0.058]	[0.004]	[0.009]	[0.006]	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]
SE	-0.022***	-0.044***	-0.009*	-0.112***	-0.067***	0.002		-0.229***		0.032***	0.008	-0.007	0.029***	0.017***
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.005]	[0.011]	[0.004]	[0.006]		[0.009]		[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.006]
SI	-0.091***	-0.165***	-0.185***	-0.257***	-0.003	0.060***	-0.004	-0.054**	-0.175***	0.038***	0.019	0.027**	0.036***	0.055***
	[0.003]	[0.004]	[0.011]	[0.038]	[0.009]	[0.015]	[0.016]	[0.026]	[0.021]	[0.012]	[0.013]	[0.013]	[0.013]	[0.013]

Source: calculations based on Eurostat, EU LFS yearly microdata

ANNEX 2.1

Probit regression: Marginal effects on the probability to be in a permanent contract in 2009

Independent variables	Marginal effects	(standard error)
Gender[1] (1=men)	0.1226375***	(0.00817)
Age (reference: 30 to 34 years) [1]		
15 to 19 years	-0.1838759***	(0.04657)
20 to 24 years	-0.0599144**	(0.01948)
25 to 29 years	-0.0081447	(0.01189)
Educational level (reference: high) [1]		
Low educational level	-0.243189***	(0.01937)
Middle educational level	-0.1177512***	(0.01438)
Work experience at graduation[1] (1=had some work experience before graduation)	0.0269652**	(0.00907)
Time between graduation and start of first significant job:	.	
In months	0.0142198***	(0.00132)
Months squared	-0.0003344***	(0.00003)
Type of first job[1] (1=temporary; 0=permanent)	-0.0142546	(0.00995)
Skill mismatch in the first job[1] (1=over-skilled for the first job)	0.0118918	(0.01547)
Number of observed transitions (0 to 3)	-0.01851467***	(0.00995)
Time between graduation and survey participation (in months)	0.0016107***	(0.00014)
Country dummies (reference: France)		
Belgium[1]	0.0946863***	(0.02005)
Bulgaria[1]	0.0804649***	(0.01859)
Czech Republic[1]	-0.0101507	(0.0158)
Denmark[1]	0.1394403***	(0.01977)
Germany[1]	-0.0487113	(0.02501)
Estonia[1]	-0.00541766**	(0.02534)
Ireland[1]	-0.0454369**	(0.01466)
Greece[1]	0.0082076	(0.01785)
Spain[1]	-0.2040609***	(0.01705)
Italy[1]	-0.0140285	(0.01805)
Cyprus[1]	0.027866	(0.02133)
Latvia[1]	-0.1503665***	(0.03272)
Lithuania[1]	0.0102301	(0.02761)
Luxembourg[1]	0.1639466***	(0.01667)
Hungary[1]	-0.062446***	(0.01619)
Malta[1]	0.0635106**	(0.03077)
The Netherlands[1]	0.0793612***	(0.0166)
Austria[1]	0.1303944***	(0.0157)
Poland[1]	-0.01803642***	(0.01706)
Portugal[1]	-0.0797896***	(0.01973)
Romania[1]	0.1434734***	(0.01784)
Slovenia[1]	0.0959529***	(0.02446)
Slovakia[1]	0.0176931	(0.01753)
Finland[1]	-0.0690038***	(0.02105)
Sweden[1]	0.1048358***	(0.01459)
United Kingdom[1]	0.3247653***	(0.01195)
Sample	47124	
Chi^2	3844.92	
Pseudo R^2	0.1613	
Mean dependent variable	0.6201	

[1] marginal effect is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

ANNEX 2.2

Probit regression: Marginal effects on the probability to be unemployed in 2009

Independent variables	Marginal effects	(standard error)
Gender[1] (1=men)	0.0058547	(0.0041)
Age (reference: 30 to 34 years) [1]		
15 to 19 years	-0.0225031	(0. 01166)
20 to 24 years	0.0128707	(0.00962)
25 to 29 years	0.0154067*	(0.00653)
Educational level (reference: high) [1]		
Low educational level	0.2003182***	(0.01721)
Middle educational level	0.0814211***	(0.00699)
Work experience at graduation[1] (1=had some work experience before graduation)	-0.0151947**	(0.0046)
Time between graduation and start of first significant job:	.	
In months	-0.0110374***	(0.00063)
Months squared	0.0002117***	(0.00001)
Type of first job[1] (1=temporary; 0=permanent)	-0.0087358	(0.00488)
Skill mismatch in the first job[1] (1=over-skilled for the first job)	0.0522665***	(0.01084)
Number of observed transitions (0 to 3)	0.1086873 ***	(0.00314)
Time between graduation and survey participation (in months)	-0.0001547*	(0.00006)
Country dummies (reference: France)		
Belgium[1]	-0.012894	(0.01001)
Bulgaria[1]	-0.0219424**	(0.00889)
Czech Republic[1]	0.0055967	(0.00842)
Denmark[1]	-0.00114924	(0.01077)
Germany[1]	-0.006072	(0.01152)
Estonia[1]	0.0892987***	(0.01948)
Ireland[1]	0.0886959***	(0.01084)
Greece[1]	0.0205839*	(0.00977)
Spain[1]	0.00769645***	(0.0111)
Italy[1]	-0.0340305***	(0.0069)
Cyprus[1]	-0.0275605**	(0.00985)
Latvia[1]	0.1415079***	(0.02613)
Lithuania[1]	0.0667854***	(0.01855)
Luxembourg[1]	-0.0341784***	(0.00861)
Hungary[1]	0.0085013	(0.00871)
Malta[1]	-0.0392249**	(0.01189)
The Netherlands[1]	-0.0762969***	(0.00351)
Austria[1]	-0.0366155***	(0.00699)
Poland[1]	-0.006706	(0.00798)
Portugal[1]	-0.0245073**	(0.00758)
Romania[1]	-0.0127223	(0.00936)
Slovenia[1]	-0.00250052*	(0.01082)
Slovakia[1]	0.0343584**	(0.01107)
Finland[1]	0.0300289*	(0.01216)
Sweden[1]	-0.00480805***	(0.00533)
United Kingdom[2]		
Sample	52059	
Chi^2	3805.61	
Pseudo R^2	0.1649	
Mean dependent variable	0.0862	

[1] marginal effect is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

[2] UK is not included in the analysis because respondents who were unemployed at the time of interviewing did not get the question on type of contract in the first job

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01 ;*** p<0.001

ANNEX 3.1

Social assistance and unemployment benefits in the 10 EU Member States: an overview

	Social assistance	Criteria to be entitled to unemployment benefits
CZ	Parents are financially responsible for young people until the age of 18 or 27 (if they are studying). Young persons (until the age of 27) who are not in education or (full-time) employed and who are not entitled to unemployment benefits may apply for social assistance. Before the application, they have to be registered at the employment office. Social assistance consists of living allowance, housing allowance and extraordinary immediate assistance, which are means-tested allowances based on the subsistence amount set by law (about € 136 per month for one person household). The living allowance is paid if after deduction of reasonable housing costs the income of that person, family or household is below the subsistence amount. Young persons without work experience receive a minimum standard per month (about € 80).	One has to have worked at least 12 months in the previous two years to be entitled to unemployment benefits. During the first two months the benefits are 65% of the previous average net monthly earnings, the next two months 50% and the last month 45% (with a cap). If the unemployed goes through a retraining program the benefit increases to 60% (with a cap).
DE	In general, the maintenance obligation (*Unterhaltspflicht*) of parents towards their children ends with their maturity (18th birthday). When children have not finished VET or an academic study, which allows entry into the labour market on reaching the 18th birthday the parents are obliged under given conditions, to continue to support their children financially until finishing successfully VET or an academic study (§ 1610 Abs. 2 BGB). When the Federal education assistance (BAFÖG) is granted, the maintenance obligation of the parents is no longer applicable. Families receive child allowances until their children are 25 years old unless the youngsters are not gainfully employed.	Social security code III: Being employed for at least 12 months before becoming unemployed and having paid contributions to the unemployment insurance system Social security code II: persons of 24 or younger and who apply for unemployment benefits (SGB II) must immediately be placed into employment, vocational training programmes or job-creation schemes
DK	The State provides financial security to young people who are neither in education nor in work. Thus, young Danes can get unemployment benefits (see right column) or they are eligible for means-tested social benefit	Everyone, regardless of age, who becomes unemployed, can apply for unemployment benefits; one must have had a job of at least 52 weeks within the last three years and been a member of an unemployment insurance fund for at least one year or must have finished education. The highest rate is DKK 3.940 per week (DKK 2.625 for part time employed and insured), and unemployment benefit cannot exceed 90 percent of the former salary. The maximum duration period is two years. The newly qualified are faced with a little less restricted demands. They can get unemployment benefit immediately after completion of education provided that they are members of an unemployment insurance fund. The unemployment benefit is this case 82% of the normal unemployment benefit.
ES	Jobseekers can receive non-contributory benefits in two broad cases: 1) those who have family responsibilities, with incomes below 75% of the minimum wage (6,734.70€ per year) and after having exhausted the contributory benefits. The duration of the benefit is 18 to 24 months depending on the previous working career. 2) after working for six months. It is means-tested as the jobseeker must not have incomes above 75% of the IPREM (an income indicator which currently is established at 532.51€/month). The duration of the benefit varies between 6 (without family responsibilities) and 21 months (with family responsibilities). In both cases, the amount is 80% of the IPREM (425.60€). When the non-contributory benefits have ended, there is a additional program which entitles jobseekers with family responsibilities or who have been unemployed for 12 of the previous 18 months to a six-month period of payments (399.38€ monthly). This program is expected to be abolished in 2013.	Jobseekers must have worked and having paid social contributions for, at least, one year to receive contributory benefits. That period entitles jobseekers to 4 months of benefits. For each newly six-month period of contributions the individual is entitled to two additional months of benefits (up to two years). The amount of the benefit depends on the social situation of the jobseeker but it covers 70% of the salary during the first six months of benefits and then 50%. However, these amounts are limited by maximum and minimum tops regarding the IPREM and an additional payment (497€-1,087,20€).
FR	Persons without work or with a low income can be entitled to Active Solidarity Income (revenu de solidarité active, RSA). Young people under 25 used to be excluded but since 2010 they are entitled to RSA if they have worked for at least 2 years in the previous 3 years. RSA only concerns very few young people (about 8,000) for an average allowance of 130€ per month.	Unemployed must have worked for and having paid social contributions about 4 months out of 28 months to receive unemployment benefits

IT	The State has transferred to the regions legislative functions and administrative competences in the field of social services for disabled persons, minors, youngsters, elderly people, poor families. Some of these competences have been delegated to the municipalities and to local entities. Every municipality, acting in accordance with regional legislation and depending on the available budgetary resources, implements its own policies of social intervention on its territory. The law does not provide for general conditions or requirements for entitlement to municipal support.	Unemployment benefit is a compulsory social insurance scheme for employees financed by contributions from employers, providing earnings-related benefits. Unemployed must have worked 52 weeks in the previous two years and have paid social contributions at least two years. Atypical workers can't count on unemployment benefit when fired.
LV	Social assistance is provided to a client (a household or a an individual) on the basis of an evaluation of his or her material resources (i.e. income and property). The client and provider must conclude an agreement about the actions each member of the household must undertake to improve the financial situation (with the exception of children below 18 and youth below 20 in secondary education). Main types of social assistance are: guaranteed minimum income benefit and housing benefit.	People above 15 years old (and not in secondary education) and below official retirement age are eligible for unemployment benefits. One has to be socially insured for at least 9 months in the 12 months preceding unemployment. Replacement rate depends on the social contribution history and ranges between 50%-65% of the gross wage. In addition the amount of the benefit gradually decreases with duration. The maximum duration is 9 months (but can be less depending on the social contribution history). Special program of State Employment Agency for young persons (18-24) without any work experience: work practice for 6-12 months with a stipend (about €170 per month). However, the coverage of the program is limited.
NL	Young persons (until the age of 27) who are not in education or (full-time) employed and who are not entitled to unemployment benefits may apply for social assistance. Before the application, they have to search actively for work or an education during a period of four weeks. In case no employment is found, the guiding principle is that an education or training comes first before social assistance. In case no employment or education is found, the person can apply for social assistance (which starts at the day of searching for a job). Then a plan will be made in order to increase the chances of finding paid employment. As of 21, social assistance is 70% of minimum wage for a single person and 100% for a couple. Amounts provided to the age group 18-21 are lower and not sufficient to be financially independent. Social assistance is means-tested.	Persons are entitled to (partial) unemployment benefits if insured for unemployment. This applies to most employees. The job loss should be at least 5 hours per week and one should be available for paid work. Moreover, in the period before unemployment the employee should have worked 26 of 36 weeks. The duration depends on employment history; minimum is 3 months, maximum 38 months First two months the benefits correspond to 75% of the last earned wage, the other months 70% (with a cap)
SK	There are several instruments of social assistance. There is a basic benefit and additional allowances depending on various conditions relating to involvement in labour market activation programs. The benefits have different levels, based on the structure of household and type of activity.	Unemployed person is entitled for unemployment benefit since the day of his/her registration at the Labour Office under the condition being insured (being employed) at least 730 days in the previous 3 or 4 years. The maximum duration of the benefit is 6 months (insured at least 730 days in the last 3 years) The unemployment benefit cannot be paid simultaneously with other social benefits like maternal or sickness benefit. The height of the allowance is calculated by a special formula, considering the height of the salary 2 years before unemployment and the number of days in the respective month (with a maximum of 1,201.70€ during the months with 31 days). Young persons without work experience are not entitled to unemployment allowance, but those with completed secondary or tertiary education are entitled to "graduate practice" guarantying them 6 months practice rewarded on the level of subsistence minimum(since July 1st, 2012 represents 194,58 €).

UK	As of 2013: both Job seekers allowance and Income Support, along with other means-tested out-of-work benefits and in-work tax credits, are to be combined into one single payment known as the Universal Credit. In principle only for persons 18 or older, but seems mainly aimed at people aged over 25 who work at least 30 hours per week. To receive Universal Credit, most out-of-work claimants, depending on their circumstances, must look for work, or take steps towards this such as attending training courses, applying for suggested vacancies or registering with a recruitment agency for example. Claimants must also be available and willing to take up work immediately and attend periodic interviews to discuss plans and opportunities for returning to work. Claimants must accept a 'claimant commitment'- if refused, they will not be entitled to Universal Credit. Failure to comply with the claimant commitment will lead to penalties, such as the reduction or withdrawal of benefits for up to three years. Universal Credit is made up of a standard allowance and five additional elements, which are dependent on a claimant's personal circumstances. The five elements are: Child Element / Disabled Child Additions, Childcare Element, Carer Element, Limited Capability for Work Element and a Housing Element. The rates are to be set later on this year (Department for Work and Pensions 2012). The majority of young people do not receive financial support when they are unemployed and this is unlikely to change following policy reform next year.	Job seekers allowance (JSA) is the main unemployment benefit for persons as of 18 years old; one has to have earned at least €146 per week to be eligible. Unemployed young people aged 16 or over can apply for Income Support instead, but they are only eligible if they are registered disabled, having responsibility for the care of a relative who is disabled, are a lone parent or a parent who has to stay at home and look after children.

Source: National reports and MISSOC

Leave facilities and child care in the 10 EU Member States

	Maternity and parental leave	Child care
CZ	Maternity leave only accessible for employed persons, who have participated in health insurance for at least 270 days in the last two years; for self-employed the condition is having paid at least 180 days in the last year. Students without a job are not entitled to maternity leave and immediately receive the parental benefit Parental benefit starts 28 weeks after the maternity leave; amount can be changed every 3 months and is dependent on earnings in previous year with a total amount of about € 8.800 until the child is 4. For students, unemployed and those who did not participate in health insurance during 270 days in the previous 2 years are entitled to the lowest benefit of about €304 per month until the child is 9 months old or € 152 until the child is 4 years old	Childcare services often set a prerequisite of employment of both parents. This is problematic for unemployed. In addition, number of places is declining. It is possible to collect parental leave and to participate in paid employment at the same time. However use of collective childcare services is limited for children under two years of age (46 hours per month as a maximum). For those who started to collect their parental benefit before 1.1.2012 and did not switch to the new system (where the amount can be changed every 3 months) the use of childcare services is limited also for children older than two years when the benefit is being collected (maximum of four hours per day).
DE	Maternity leave is 14 weeks, fully paid and available for all female employees, including those employed part time, even if working below the statutory social insurance threshold. Self-employed are not entitled. Parental leave is up to three years after childbirth. An income-related 'parental benefit' (Elterngeld78) is paid for a period of 12 (+2) months, at a replacement rate of 67 per cent of a parent's average earnings during the 12 months preceding childbirth (with a cap). It is paid to all parents who are not employed or who have reduced their employment hours. The minimum payment, which is also available for parents without prior income, is €300. Since 2011 the long-term unemployed are no longer eligible for parental benefits, as it is now credited against social assistance payments. Parents with low average earnings of less than €1,000 per month receive an increased benefit. For parents with high incomes the income replacement rate is reduced. Apprentices have the same rights as employed adult workers; self-employed are not entitled to parental leave, but unemployed and fixed term employees are.	Studying parents or parents in vocational educational training or continuing training programmes are generally entitled to a full time place; fees are income dependent and differ by region

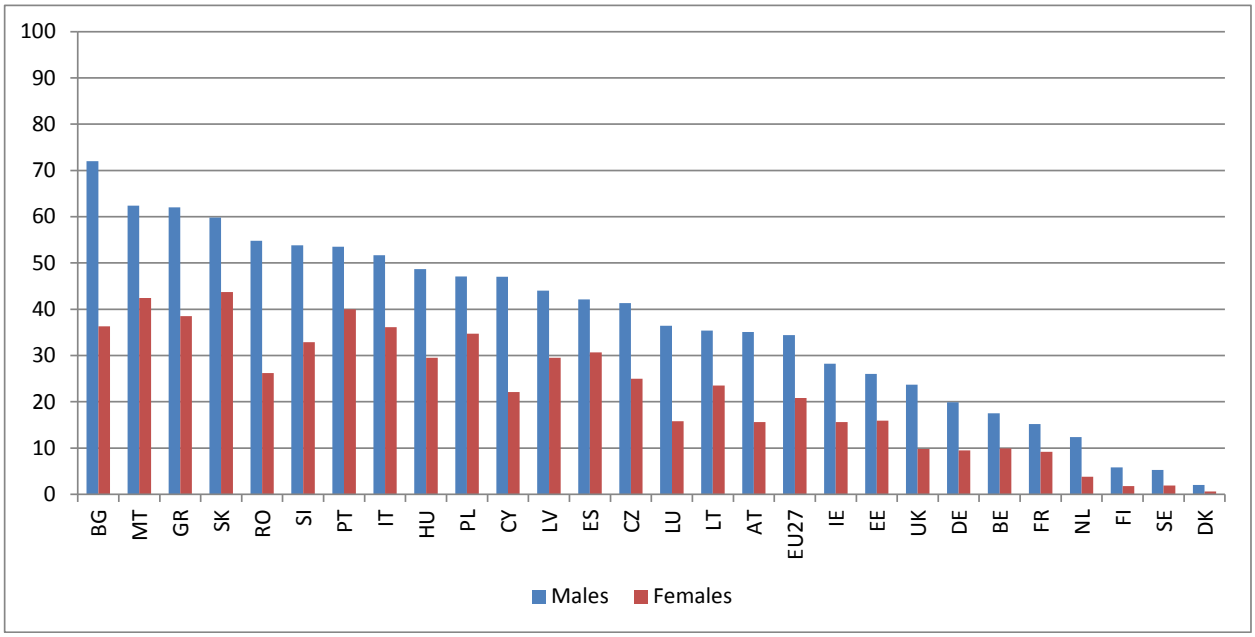
DK	Eligibility for an employee is based on a period of work of at least 120 hours in 13 weeks preceding the paid leave. Workers with temporary contracts are excluded only if they are not eligible for unemployment benefit. Eligibility for self-employed workers (including helping a spouse) based on professional activity on a certain scale for at least six months within the last 12-month period, of which one month immediately precedes the paid leave. People are eligible who have just completed a vocational training course for a period of at least 18 months or who are doing a paid work placement as part of a vocational training course. Unemployed people are entitled to benefits from unemployment insurance or similar benefits (activation measures). Students are entitled to an extra 12 months educational benefit instead of the Maternity leave benefit. The pay during maternity, paternity and parental leave corresponds to unemployment benefit. The mother has the right to absences 14 weeks after the birth, and the father has the right to absences 2 consecutive weeks after the birth or arrival of the child in the home with pay. Each parent is then entitled to 32 weeks of parental leave but the total paid parental leave period for the parents cannot exceed more than 32 weeks. Eligibility and payment is similar as maternity leave.	The local authorities in the municipalities have the general responsibility for day-care facilities and the provision of the necessary number of care facilities. The larger share of the cost of childcare is publicly funded. All parents are guaranteed to have access to care of their children. Payment is dependent on the children's age, the number of children and the parents' income; those with the lowest incomes are entitled to public child care at reduced price (usually at one third of the cost) or free of charge.
ES	All employed women are entitled to 16 weeks maternity leave and can receive a flat-rate payment for 42 days after delivery which is €532.51 per month or €17.75 per day). Under conditions, earnings-related maternity leave benefit is possible. For example, the mother needs to be making social security contributions at the beginning of the leave; or be receiving unemployment contributory benefit; or in the first year of the Parental leave, and have contributed to social security at least 180 days in the previous seven years, or 360 days during working life. Women under 21 years do not need any previous period of social security contribution, and women between 21 and 26 only 90 days, in the last previous seven years, or 180 days during working life. This requirement is more flexible for women working part time. Each parent is entitled to take unpaid parental leave until three years after childbirth.	The Spanish education system encompasses a non-compulsory infant education stage for children aged from 0 to 6 years old, in which services are provided by both the public and the private sector (68% and 32% respectively in 2011/2012 course). The second stage of the infant education (comprising children older than 3 years old) has been established as a guaranteed free service through the provision of public units and the subsidization of costs in the case of private schools. Publicly promoted childcare services are the responsibility of the regional administrations. The coverage varies widely and the high prices of private childcare services make that the role of grandparents become indispensable. This is particularly so for children under 3 (enrolment rates stood at 28% approximately in 2010/2011 course). Recent cutbacks on central and regional education budgets are putting at risk many regional childcare services nets addressed to children under 3. These trends may affect young unemployed while the role of their unpaid grandparents seems to fill the gaps which the state is leaving.
FR	Maternity leave of 16 weeks is available for all employees and self-employed. It is fully paid with a cap. Paid parental leave is only available in case the beneficiary has paid at least 8 quarterly pension contributions (not necessarily continuously) that have been validated via occupational activity in: the two years before the birth of the child in case it is the first child, in the previous four years in case of the second child and in the previous five years in case of the third or additional child.	Access to childcare is available for all parents, without criteria of employment. Since 2009, parents in insecure situation (lone parents, unemployed, low income) have normally a priority in crèches. However, only 4% of children in low income family have a place in crèche (against 16% for children in high income). The cost of crèches depends of the income of parents (with a minimum of 15% of the price).
IT	Employees and self-employed women are entitled to 20 weeks of maternity leave paid at 80%. Also workers in Gestione separata ('separate administration'; workers who do not contribute to other forms of welfare and who do not have any type of pension, e.g. workers on a fixed-term research project.) are entitled to maternity leave though payment depends upon social contributions	Access to childcare is universal and not linked to employment status, even though parents both working have a priority in access; however, it is a very costly service, even when provided by public institutions. In this case it is cheaper than the private one, but it is difficult to access due to a lack of offer.
LV	The maximum duration of maternity benefit is 140 calendar days. Payment is 80% of the wage with a cap (i.e. if the benefit is above a certain threshold only 50% of the sum above the threshold is paid). Every employee has the right to parental leave in connection with the birth of a child. Such leave is granted for a period not exceeding 18 months, up to the day the child reaches eight years of age. There are two types of benefits for people on a childcare leave: Parental benefit (70% with a cap until the child is one year old) and Child care benefit (flat rate, when the child is between one and two years old). Everyone who is socially insured (so including self-employed, part-time workers and workers with a temporary contract) is entitled to parental leave. In case the mother is not employed she is only entitled to the child care benefit, which is paid from the first day of child birth.	Access to childcare is universal and not linked to employment status; however, there is a lack of providers and private providers are costly.

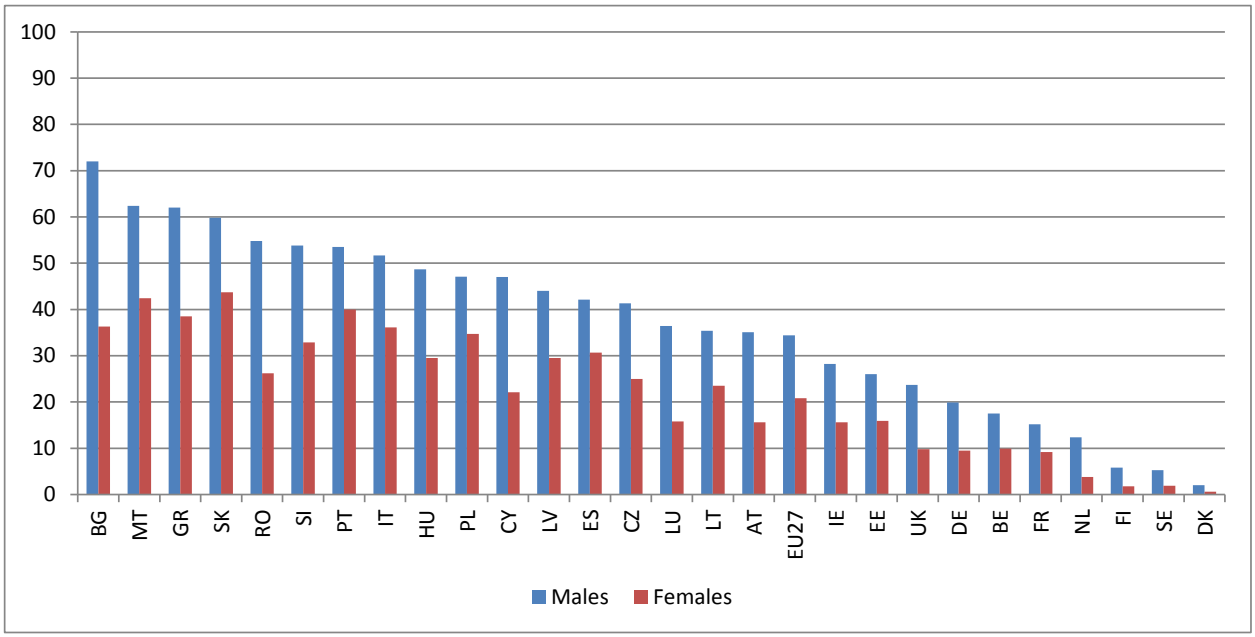
NL	All women with an employment contract, who are self-employed or who are on benefits are entitled to maternity leave of 16 weeks. For employees the leave is paid 100% of earnings (with a cap). Self-employed women are entitled to a 16 weeks payment up to a maximum of 100 per cent of the statutory minimum wage. Employees working at least one year at the employer are entitled to unpaid parental leave for a child up until the age of 8 for a period of 26 times the number of weekly working hours. All parents taking parental leave are entitled to a tax reduction of €712 a month (i.e. half the statutory minimum wage a month in case of full-time leave) or €4.11 an hour for each hour of leave. Additional payment of parental leave may be is regulated in collective agreements (more common in the public sector than in the private sector)	Formal child care is available for all parents. Without an allowance it is however rather costly. Parents using formal childcare are entitled to a childcare allowance if they are in a household where both partners are engaged in a gainful occupation or are studying, and if they have children aged 0 – 12. The allowance is income dependent. The lower income groups may receive additional support from the municipality.
SK	Duration of maternity leave is 34 weeks (37 weeks for single parent, 43 weeks for parent with twins and more children). Women on maternity leave are entitled to maternity allowance under the condition of being health insured at least 270 days during two years before child birth. The allowance represents 65% of the daily assessment basis. Women without health insurance, such as students and unemployed, can apply for social subsidy. After maternity leave parents are eligible for paternal leave up to three years of child age. The parental allowance was (in 2012) 190.10 € monthly, regardless a parent was employed or not. The period of maternity leave counts as pensionable service. Parents during maternity and parental leave are under so called "statutory protection period". Therefore they are fully protected against a possible termination of employment. The key difference between a parent on parental leave and a parent returning back to work is that the working parent is not more protected against termination of employment. A working parent with a child under 3 years can choose between parental subsidy or child care benefit which varies between 41.10 € and maximum 230 € monthly. Parents on parental leave taking all-day care for a child under 6 years can apply social insurance agency to pay their social contributions and so the period counts as the insurance period for pension purpose.	Childcare services are publicly accessible for all parents. Public facilities are managed and partly subsidized by local authorities (self-governments). The problem is a limited and insufficient capacity in public facilities, mainly in the cities. Private child-care facilities are significantly more expensive than public ones.
UK	Maternity leave is 52 weeks. All women employees are eligible for 26 weeks 'Ordinary Maternity Leave' (OML) plus a further 26 weeks of 'Additional Maternity leave' (AML). Women employees who have worked for their employer continuously for 26 weeks, into the fifteenth week before the week the baby is due, and who meet a minimum earnings test, are eligible for 'Statutory Maternity Pay' (SMP) consisting of six weeks' payment at 90 per cent of average gross weekly earnings, with no ceiling, plus 33 weeks of flat-rate payment at £135.45 (€159) a week or 90 per cent of average gross weekly earnings, whichever is the lesser. Women who are not eligible for SMP may be eligible for a Maternity Allowance (MA) of 39 weeks at the flat rate of £135.45 (€159) or 90 per cent of average gross weekly earnings, whichever is the lowest, e.g. if they have recently left work, changed jobs, or are self-employed and have worked for 26 weeks out of the 66 preceding the expected week of childbirth. Parental leave is unpaid, with a maximum of 13 weeks to be taken in block of maximum of 4 weeks per year. There are differences, which are dependent on employment status. For instance, there is no obligation for employers to provide temporary workers with maternity, paternity or parental leave. Given many young people are on temporary contracts, it is likely they will not be eligible.	Access to childcare services is not dependent on employment status or age, but most services are located in the private sector and are costly so would be difficult for many young people to access if they were unemployed or on a low income. Young people aged 16 or over are eligible for Childcare Tax Credits to help with the costs of childcare, but this is to be subsumed by Universal Credit next year (see 'social assistance' box), which will make it harder for young people to access this benefit given eligibility is based on being over 18 years old. Similarly, extra tax credits to help with childcare costs, also to be replaced by Universal Credit, are available but dependent on work hours with eligibility resting on income level and working a minimum of 16 hours per week.

Sources: National reports and Moss (2012)

ANNEX 3.2

Share of young adults, age group 18-24, in EU member states living with their parents, 2010



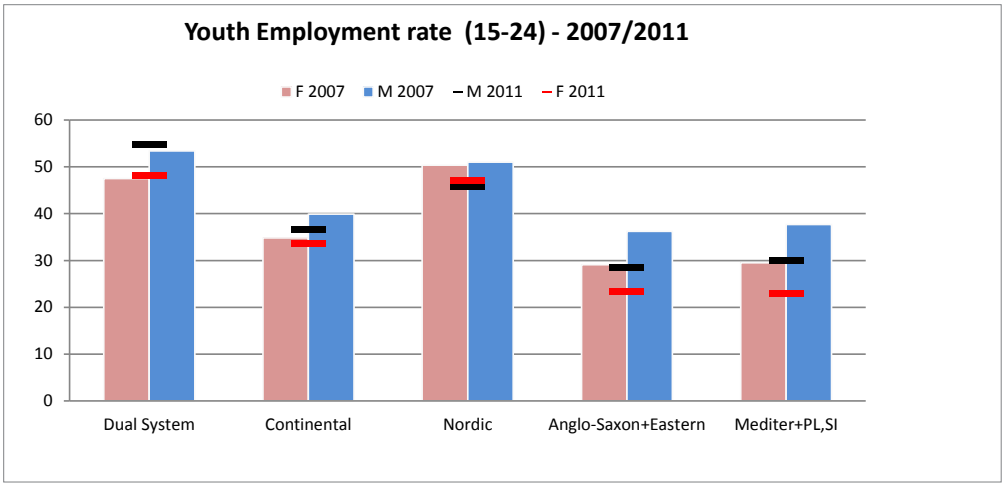


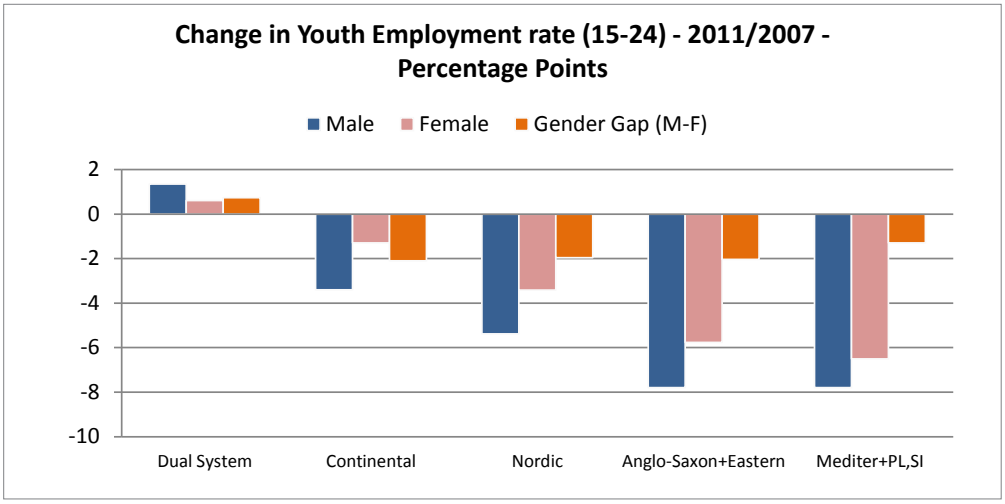
Source: Eurostat EU SILC

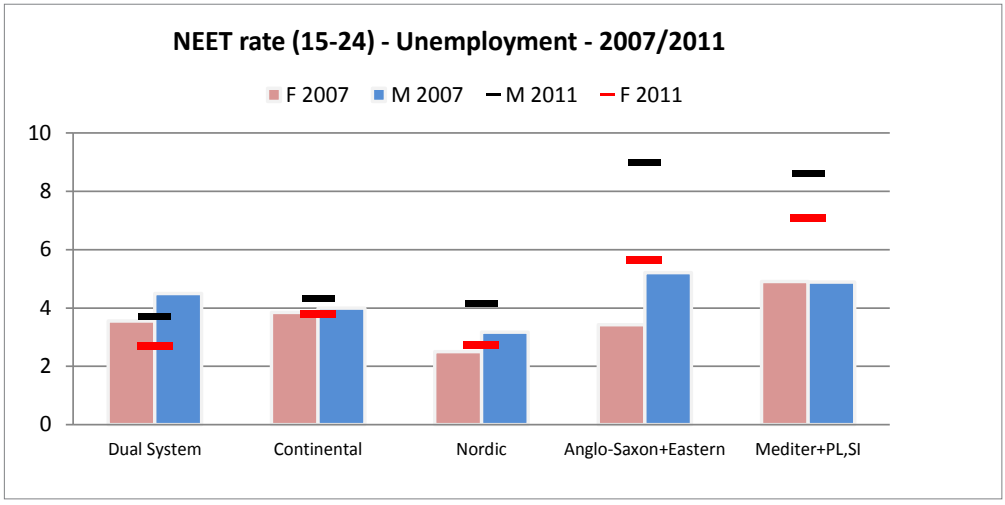
ANNEX 4.1

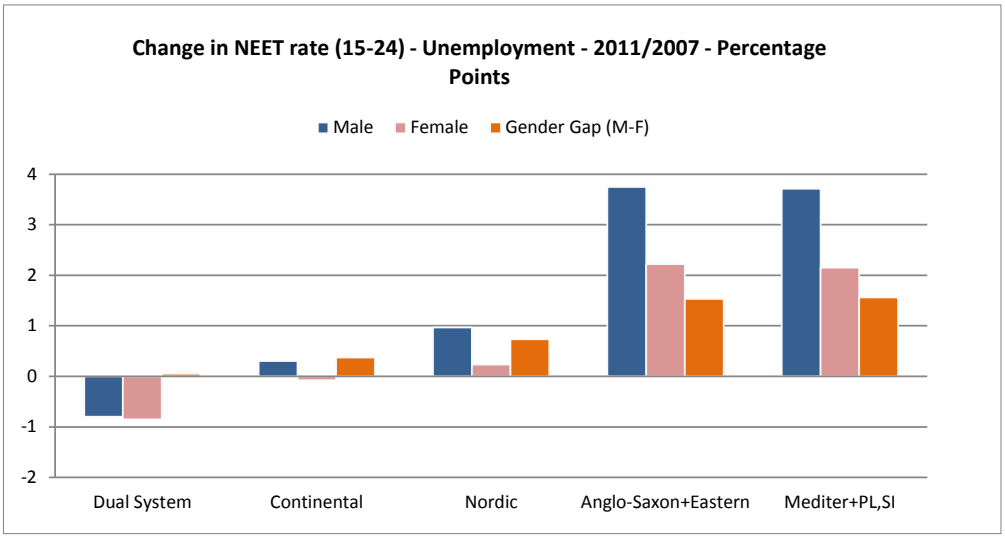
Cluster Analysis

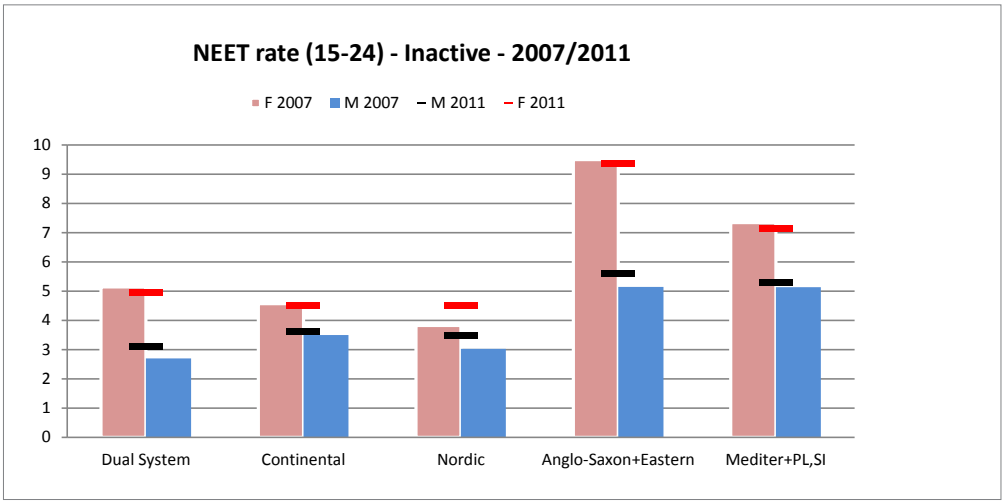
Figure A1a – Gender differences in main youth labour market indicators risk by cluster (15-24)

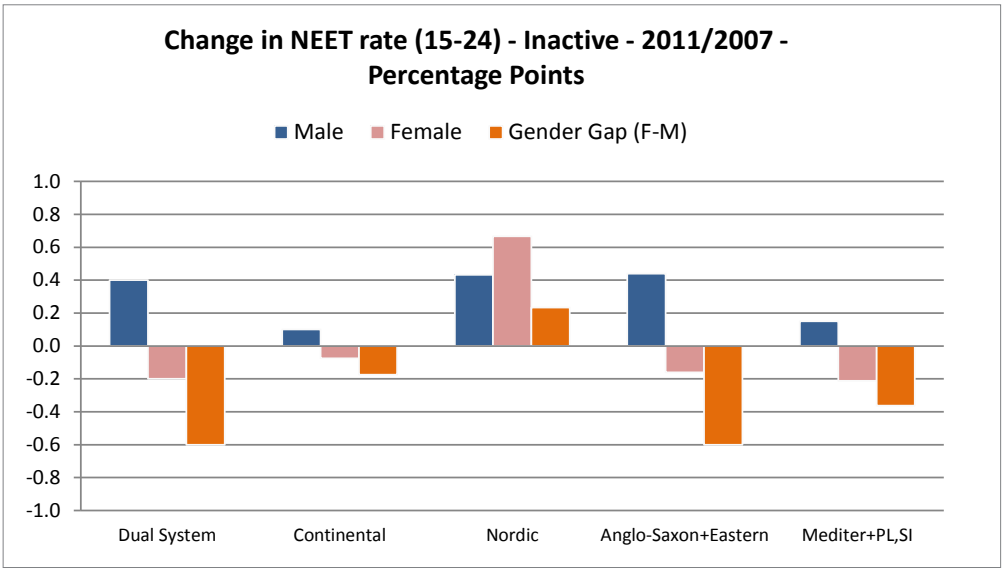






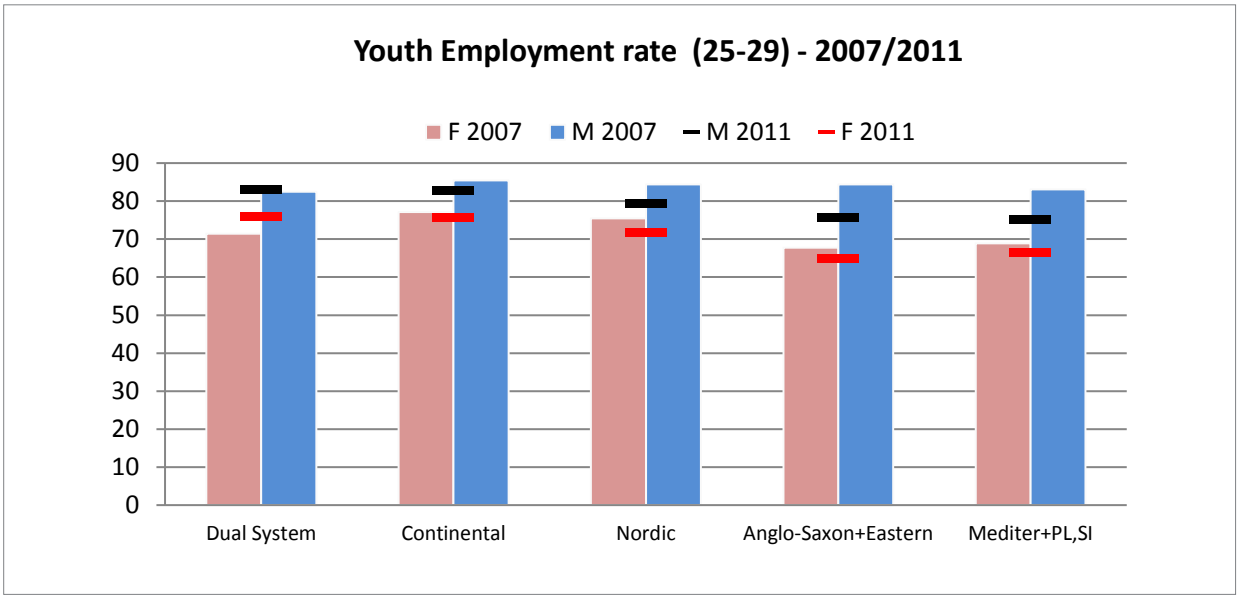


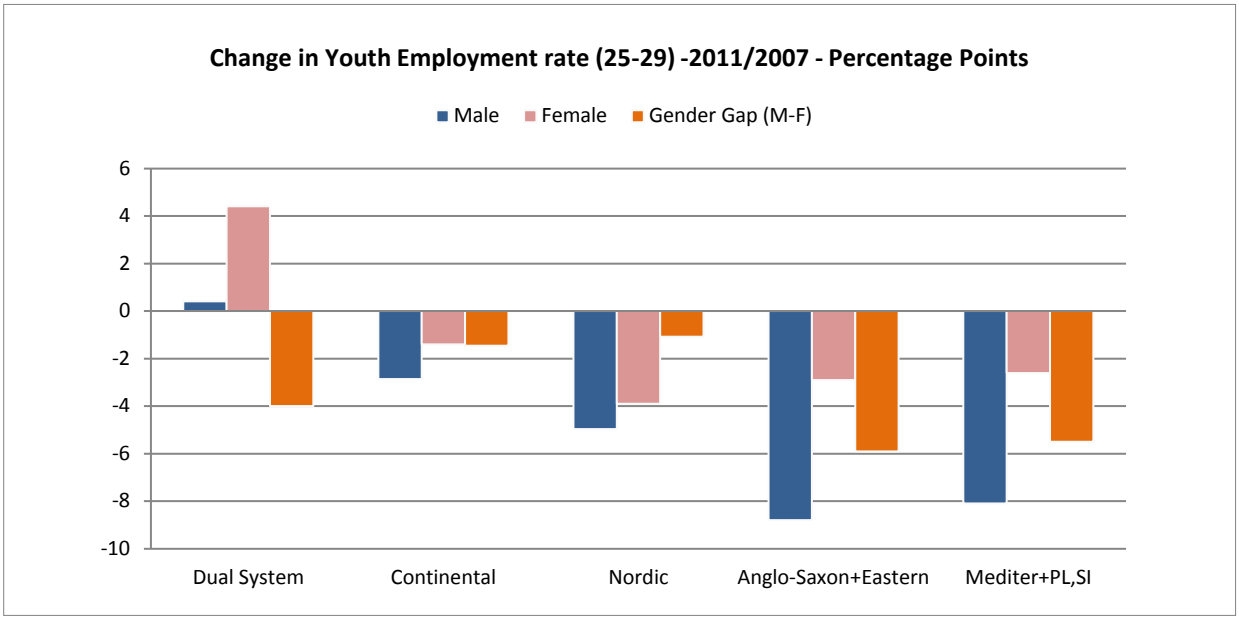


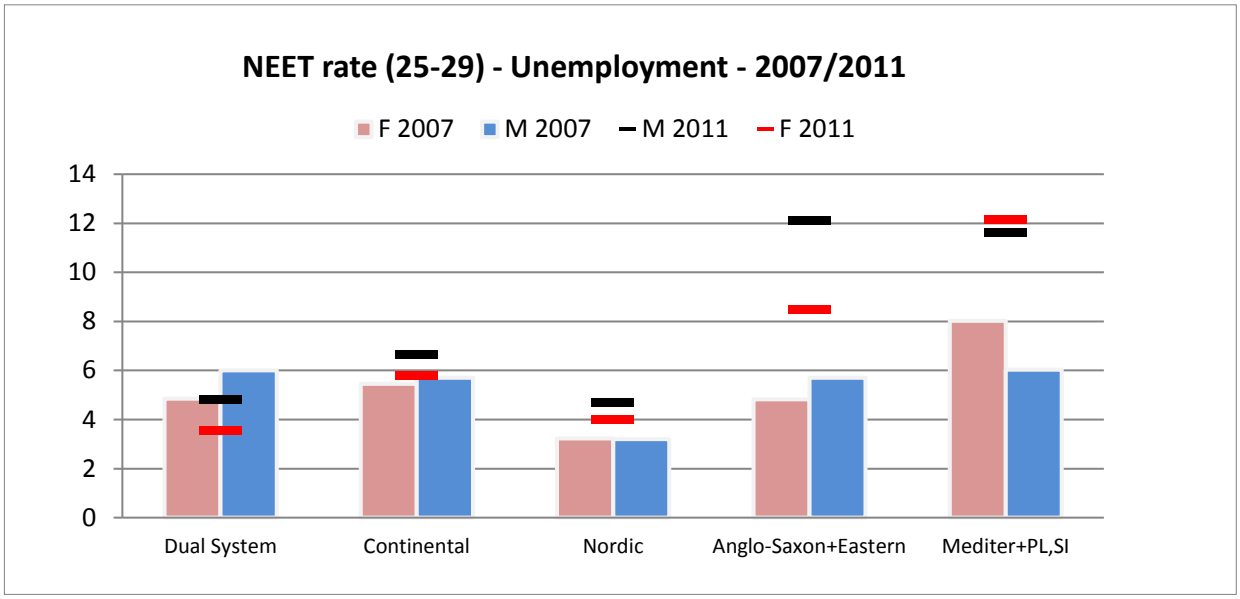


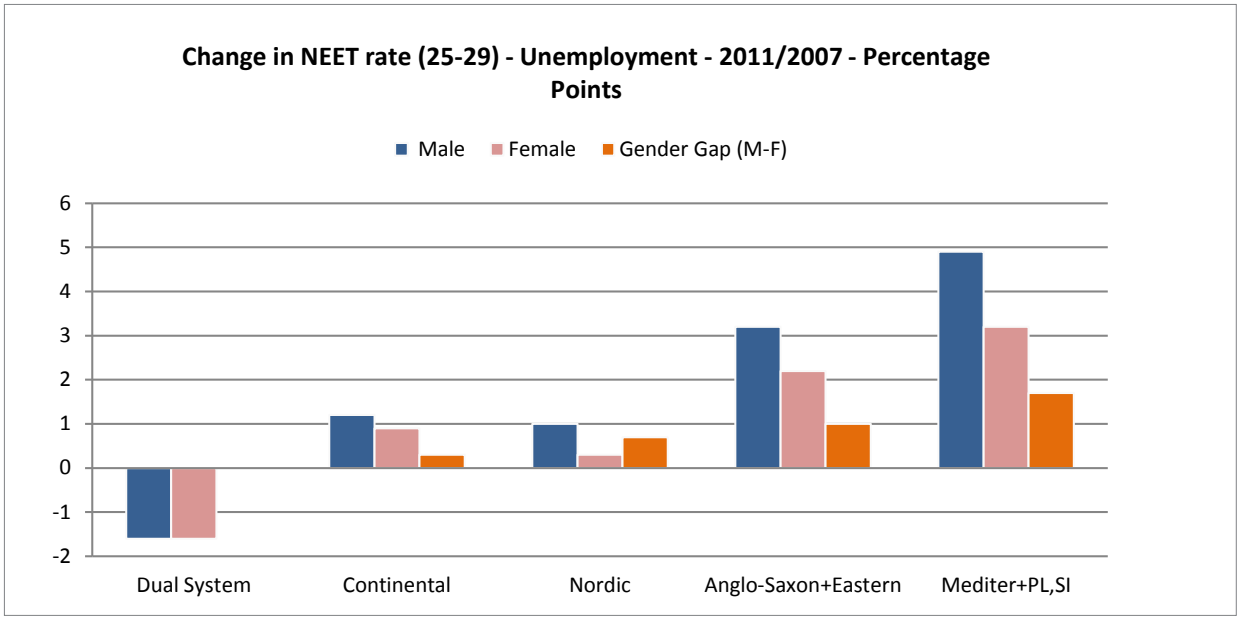
Source: calculations based on various sources (see Data Annex for full details)

Figure A1b – Gender differences in main youth labour market indicators risk by cluster (25-29)







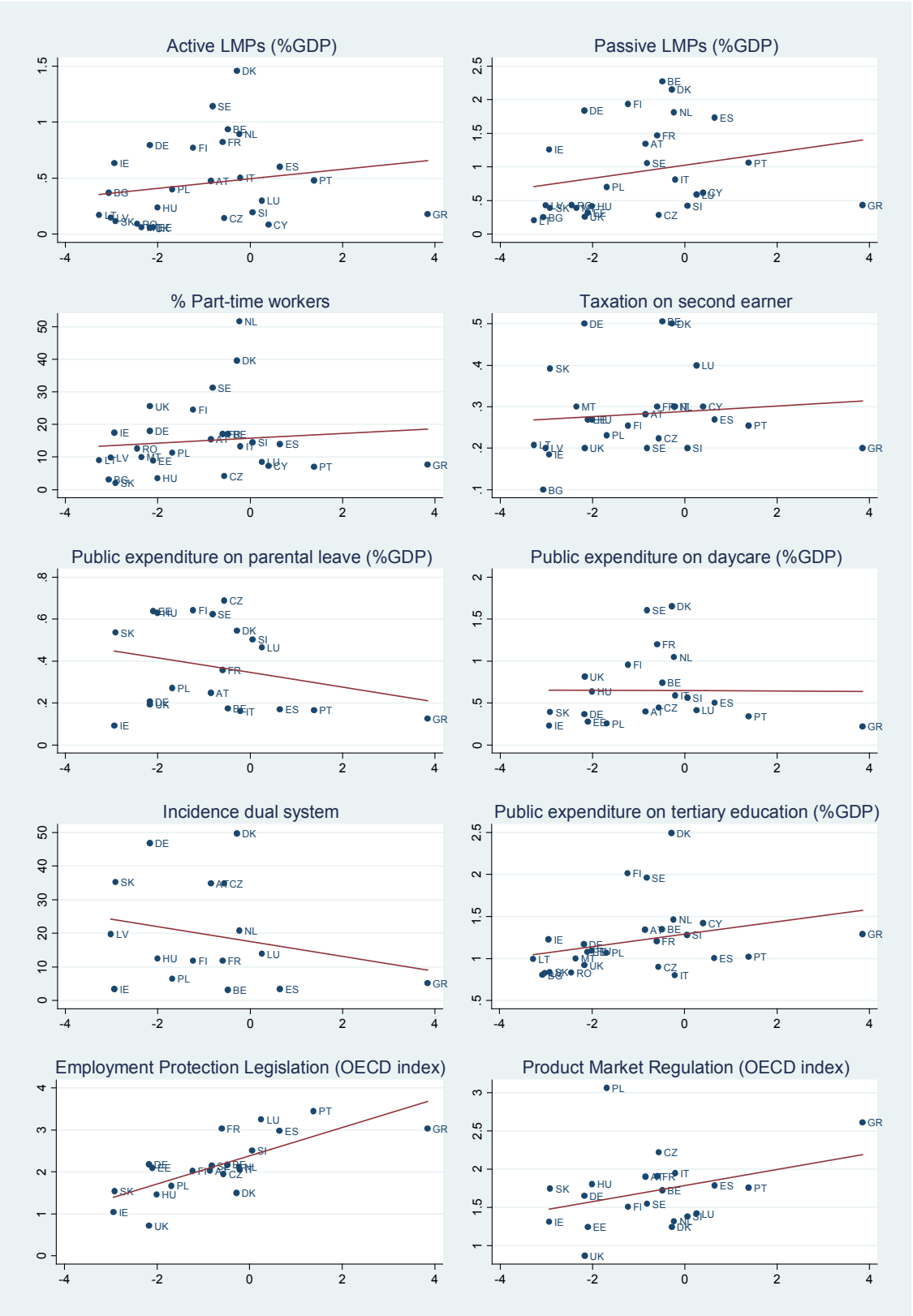


Source: calculations based on various sources (see Data Annex for full details)

ANNEX 4.2

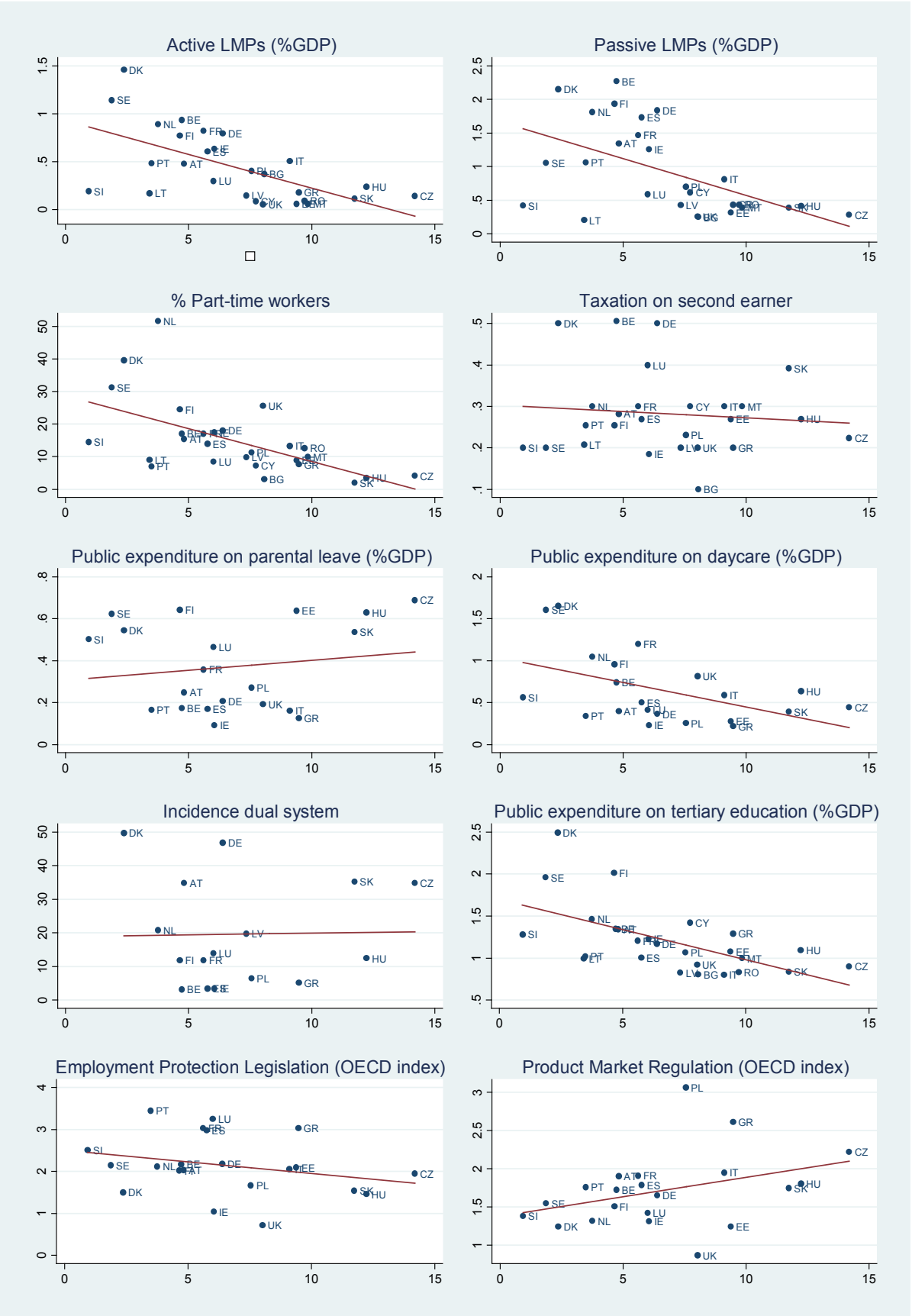
Pairwise correlations

Figure A2: Gender gaps in NEET rates (only unemployed) and institutions, 1998-2010 average



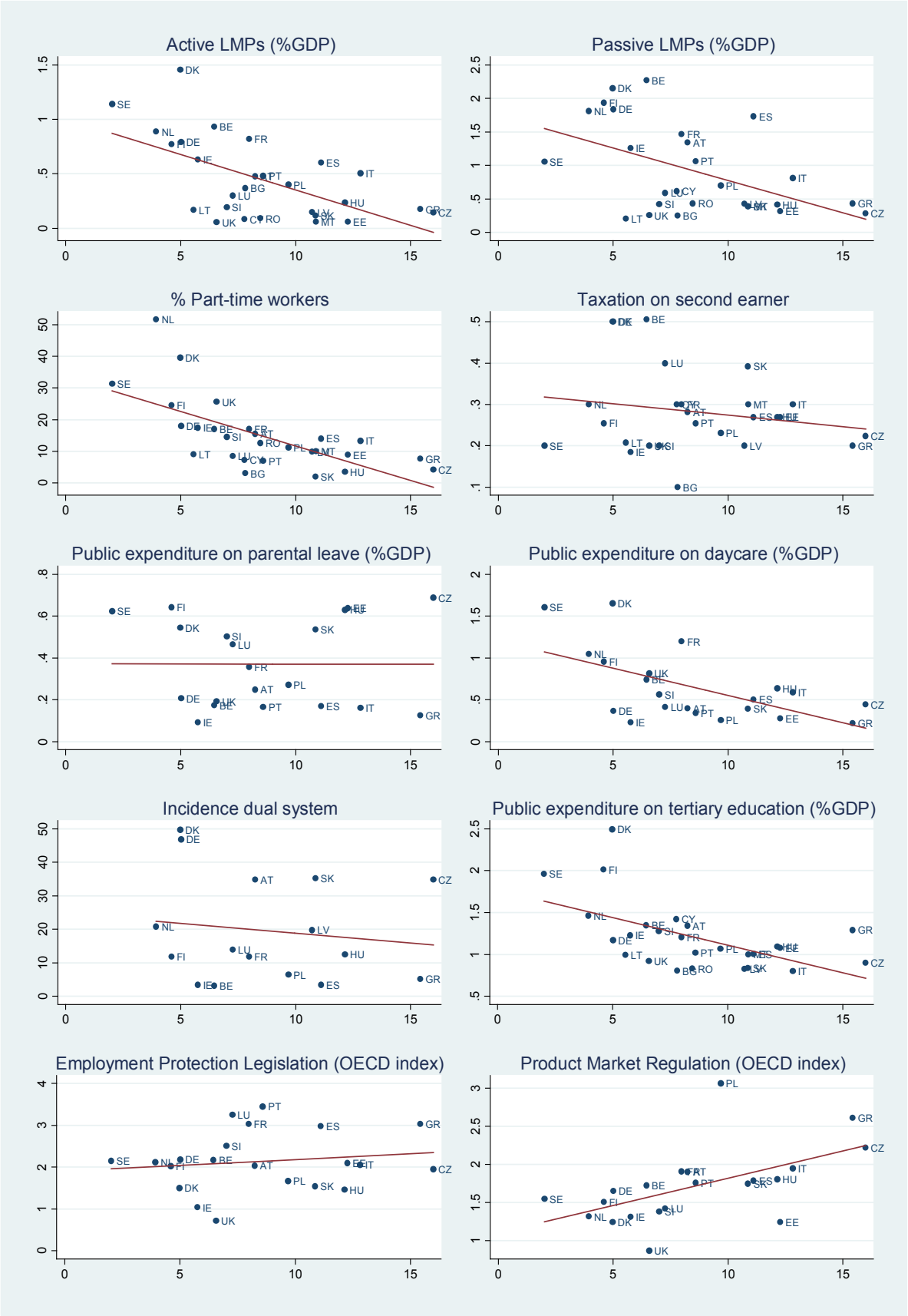
Note: Gender gaps in NEET rates -unemployment and inactivity- are defined as **females- males**.
Source: calculations based on various sources (see Data Annex for full details).

Figure A3: Gender gaps in NEET rates (only inactive) and institutions, 1998-2010 average



Source: calculations based on various sources (see Data Annex for full details).

Figure A4: Gender gaps in employment rates and institutions, 1998-2010 average



Source: calculations based on various sources (see Data Annex for full details).

ANNEX 4.3
Focus on labour market policies

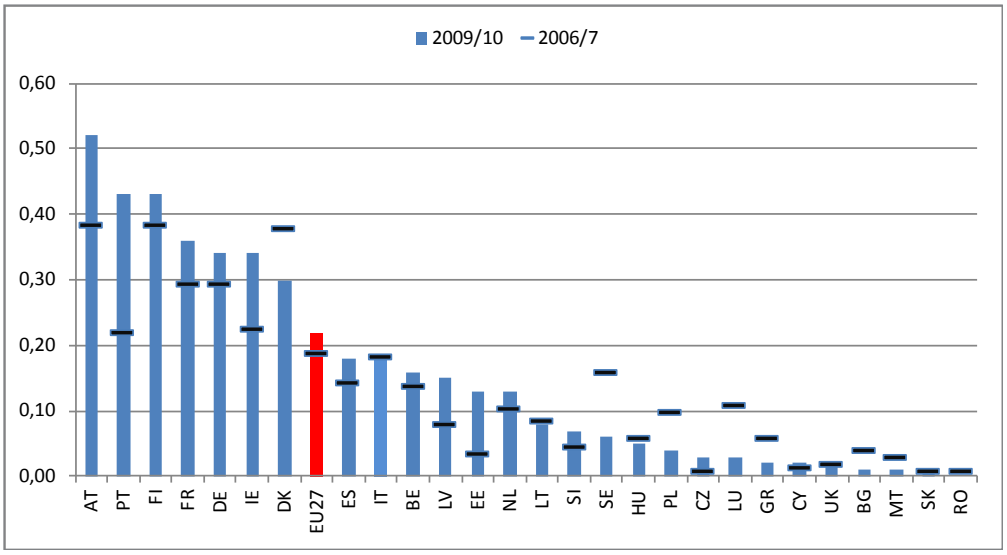
Table A1 - Incidence of young people (less than 25) on participants/beneficiaries of LMP by type of measures (comparison between 2006/07 and 2009/10) in the EU27

Policies	EU27 – 2006/2007	EU27 – 2009/2010	**Change in pp**	**Countries with a positive change in the youth share between 2006/07 and 2009/10**
			2009/10 vs 2006/07	
Training	46.4	45.7	-0.7	Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta
Job rotation and job sharing	23.8	23.4	-0.4	Germany, Italy
Employment incentives	17.4	19.7	2.3	Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Malta, Austria, Poland, Slovenia, Finland
Supported employment and rehabilitation	9.7	7.3	-2.4	Germany, Lithuania, Netherlands, Sweden
Direct job creation	16.8	14.7	-2.1	Belgium, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Hungary, Austria, Portugal, Romania, Finland
Start-up incentives	7	5.9	-1.1	Germany, Ireland, France, Hungary, Slovakia
Out-of-work income maintenance and support	11	10.6	-0.4	Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, France, Italy, Cyprus, Lithuania, Hungary, Austria, Portugal, Romania, Finland

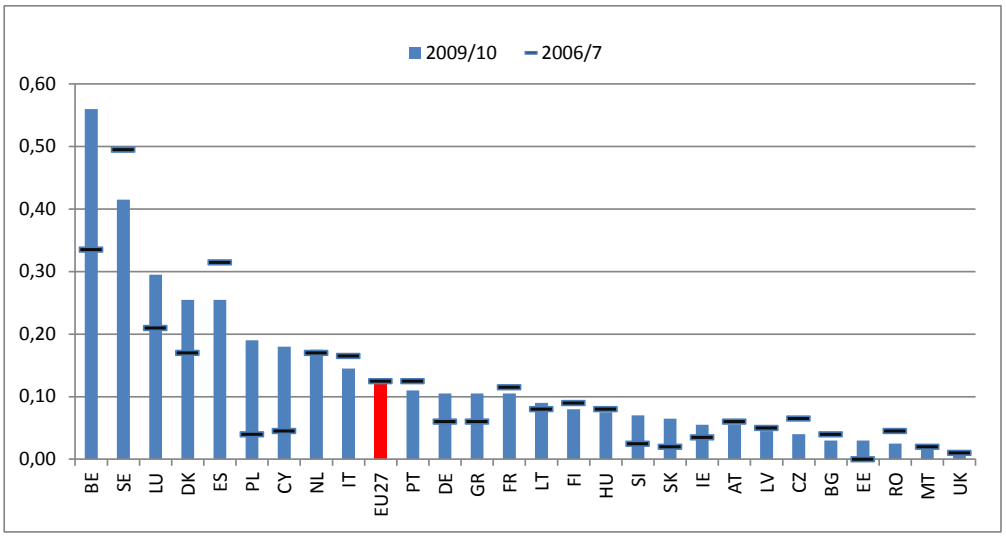
Notes: the EU27 average for the youth share of policy beneficiaries has been computed on the available country data.
Source: calculations based on Eurostat, LMP database

Figure A5: LMP Expenditure as % of GDP by type of measures (2006/07 vs 2009/10)

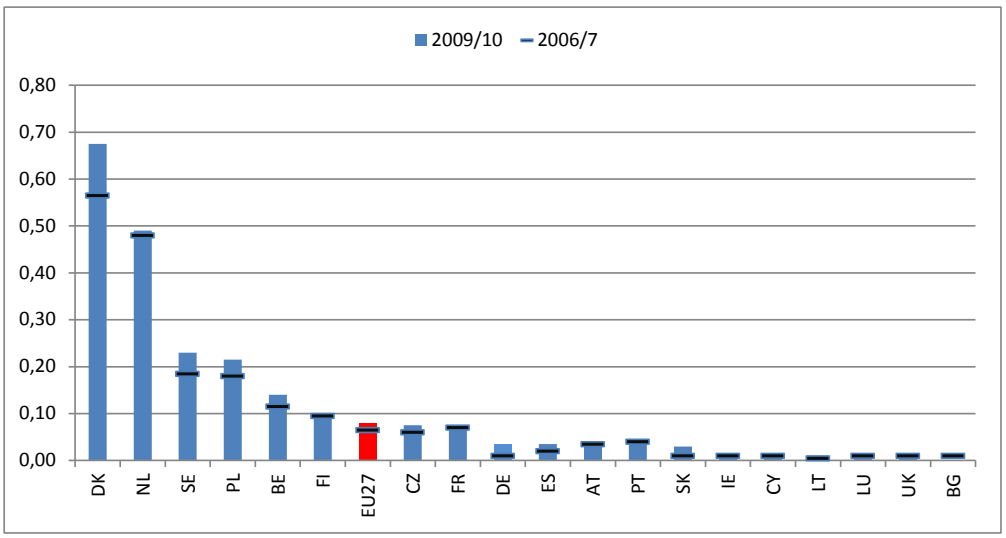
Training



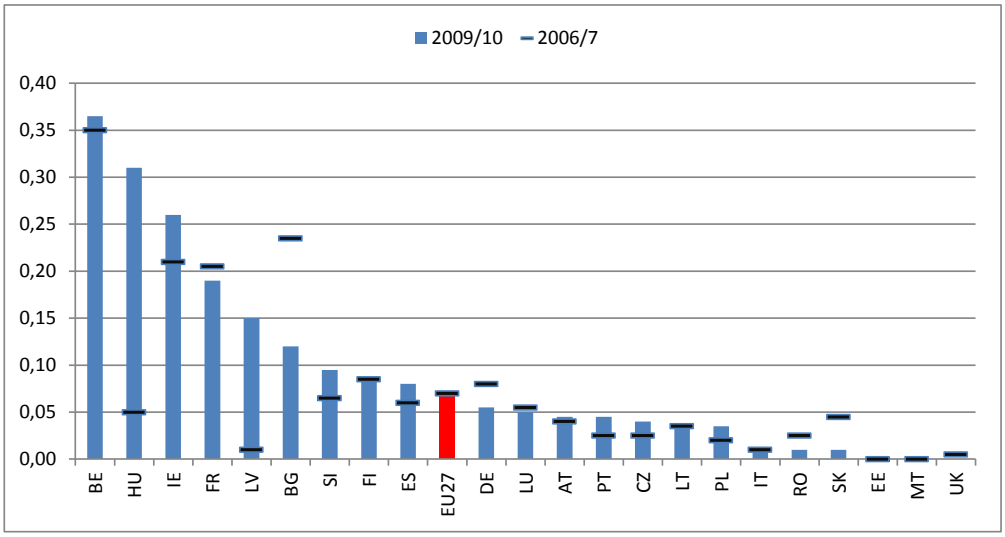
Employment incentives



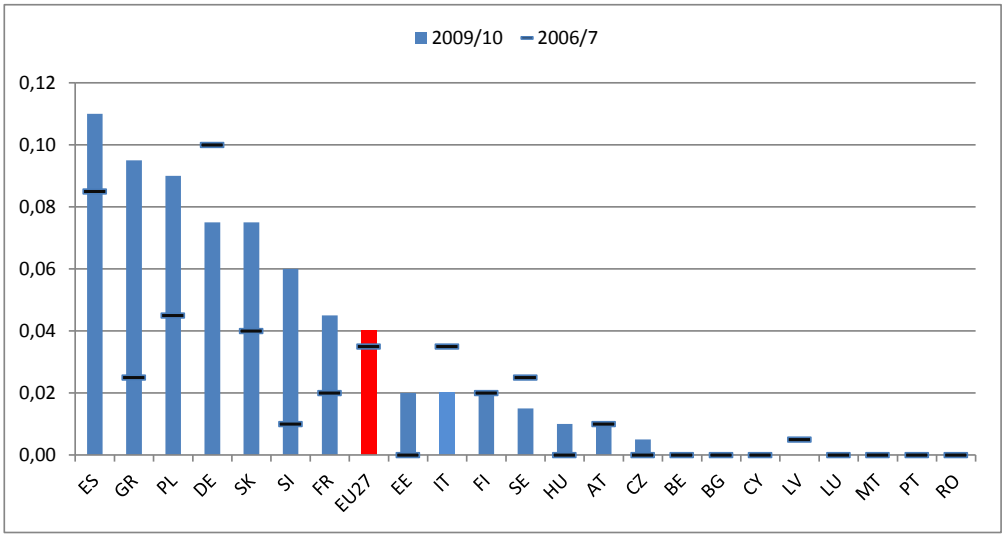
Supported employment and rehabilitation



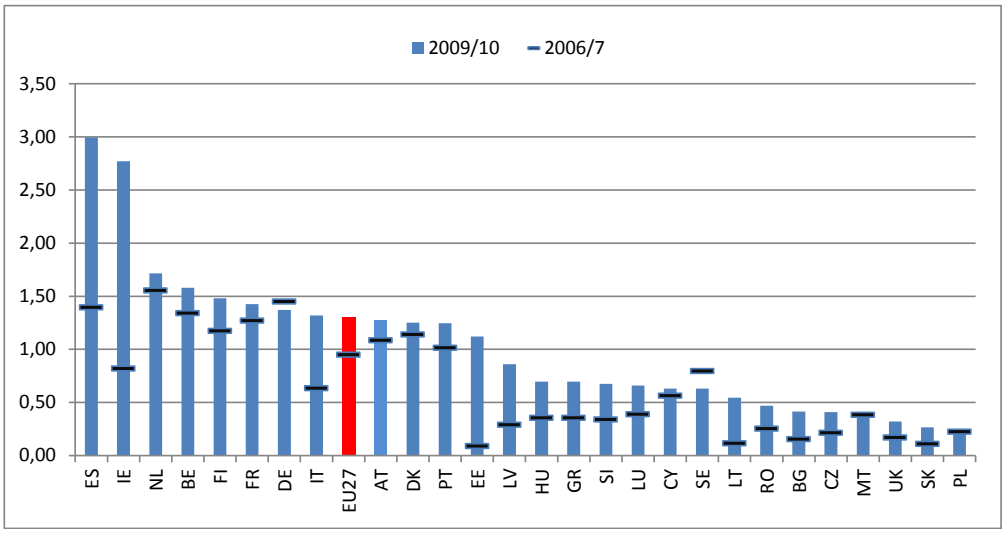
Direct jon creation



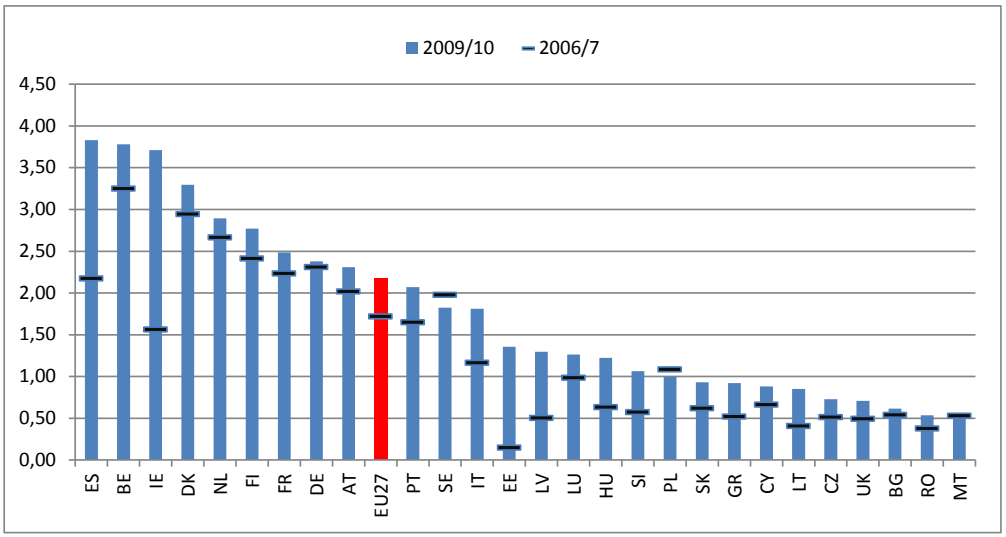
Start-up incentives



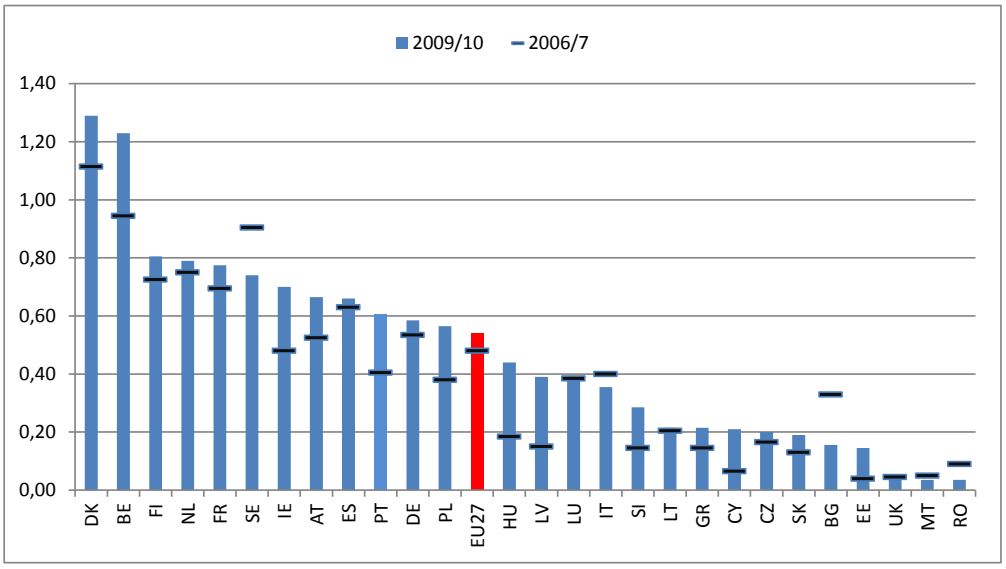
Out-of-work income maintenance and support



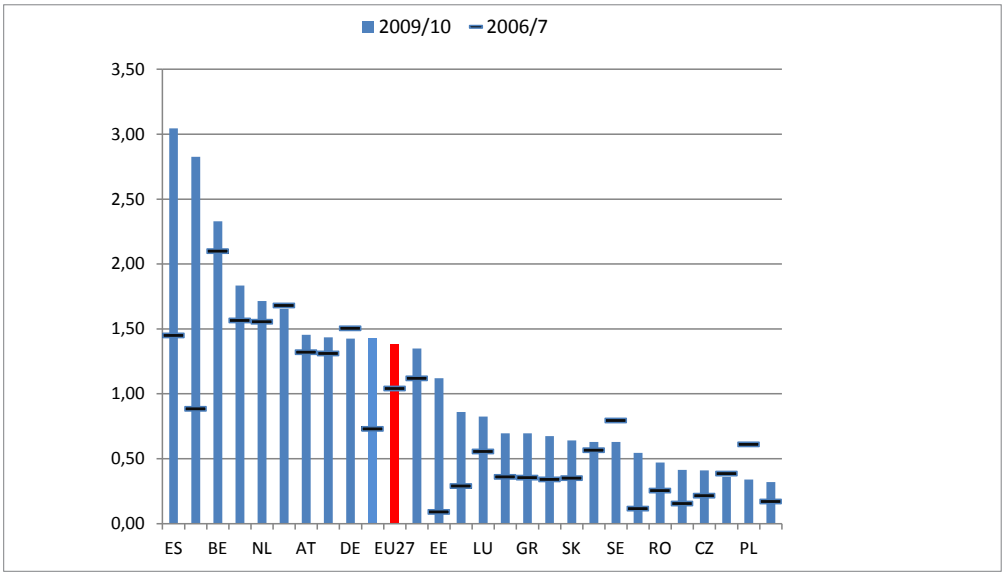
Total LMP (categories 1-9)



Total LMP measures (categories 2-7)



Total LMP supports (categories 8-9)



Source: calculations based on Eurostat, LMP database

DATA ANNEX - SOURCES AND DATASET DESCRIPTION

This section presents descriptions of the data sources used to create our original dataset employed in the quantitative analysis. A detailed description on the variables included in the dataset is provided in Table A2.
Dataset covers 1998-2010 period for all 27 European Countries. To minimize the number of missing observations, when reasonable we use an interpolation technique to fill missing years.

European Labour Force Survey

The European Union Labour Force Survey (EU LFS) is a large sample survey conducted in the 27 Member States of the European Union, 3 candidate countries and 3 countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). It provides quarterly results on labour participation of people aged 15 and over as well as on persons outside the labour force, and it is the main data source for information on employment, unemployment and inactivity across European countries. The data can be broken down along many dimensions including age, sex, educational attainment, and distinctions between permanent/temporary and full-time/part-time employment. All definitions apply to persons aged 15 years and over living in private households.

A significant amount of data from the European Labour Force Survey (EU LFS) is available in Eurostat's online dissemination database, which provides tables on population, employment, working time, permanency of the job, professional status etc. Given the purpose of this study, our targets are males and females in the age groups 15-24, 25-29 and 15-29. The statistics available in the Eurostat database are not broken down for the age group 15-29, therefore we rely on our own elaborations on EU LFS micro-data.
Eurostat micro data cover the period 1998-2010.

Eurostat database

The Eurostat dataset is the most comprehensive data source for European countries. In the context of this study, in addition to the above described ELFS, we rely on the following data: Government Finance statistics and the Labour Market Policy database.

Government finance statistics (GFS) show the economic activities of government, including: government revenue; government expenditure; government deficit; transactions in assets; transactions in liabilities; other economic flows; balance sheets. European GFS are produced in accordance with the European System of Accounts 1995 (ESA 95), the EU manual for national accounts, supplemented by further interpretation and guidance from Eurostat.
In our analysis we include the total public expenditure on tertiary education (ISCED 5-6) as % of GDP. Data are available for the period 1998 – 2010.

Labour market policy (LMP) statistics provide information on labour market interventions, defined as "Public interventions in the labour market aimed at reaching its efficient functioning and correcting disequilibria and which can be distinguished from other general employment policy interventions in that they act selectively to favour particular groups in the labour market". The scope of LMP statistics is limited to public interventions which are explicitly targeted at groups of persons with

difficulties in the labour market: the unemployed, persons employed but at risk of involuntary job loss and inactive persons who would like to enter the labour market. Data on public expenditure and participants (stock and flows) are collected annually from administrative sources, and covers the period 1997-2010. According to the LMP methodology, labour market interventions are classified by type of action: labour market services (category 1), training, job rotation and job sharing, employment incentives, supported employment and rehabilitation, direct job creation, start-up incentives, out-of-work income maintenance and support and early retirement. These categories are further classified in active LMP (categories 2-7) and passive LMP (8 and 9).

OECD database

The OECD database collects a broad set of statistics for member countries and selected non-member countries. In our analysis we exploit the following data sources: OECD indicators of employment protections, the OECD Social expenditure database, the OECD Benefits and Wages database, and the OECD Product Market Regulation database.

The OECD indicators of employment protection measure the procedures and costs involved in dismissing individuals or groups of workers and the procedures involved in hiring workers on fixed-term or temporary work agency contracts. For each country, employment protection is described along 21 basic items which can be classified in three main areas: (i) protection of regular workers against individual dismissal; (ii) regulation of temporary forms of employment; (iii) specific requirements for collective dismissals. The information refers to employment protection provided through legislation and as a result of enforcement processes.
In our analysis we include the overall indicator of employment protection and two sub-indicators measuring the strictness of regulation on regular contracts and on temporary contracts.
The OECD indicators of employment protection are available for the time series 1985-2008.

The OECD Social Expenditure Database (SOCX) includes reliable and internationally comparable statistics on public and mandatory and voluntary private social expenditure at programme level. The main social policy areas are as follows: Old age, Survivors, Incapacity-related benefits, Health, Family, Active labor market programmes, Unemployment, Housing, and Other social policy areas.
From the SOCX database we extract two indicators: public and mandatory private expenditure for maternity and parental leave (per head and as % of GDP) and public and mandatory private expenditure for day care and home-help services (per head and as % of GDP). The OECD Social Expenditure Database (SOCX) covers the period 1980-2007.

The Benefits and Wages series addresses the complicated interactions of tax and benefit systems for different family types and labour market situations. The series is a valuable tool used to compare the different benefits made available to those without work and those with different levels of in-work income for OECD countries and EU countries. The main social policy areas are as follows: taxes and social security contributions due on earnings and benefits, unemployment benefits, social assistance, family benefits, housing benefits, and in-work benefits.

In order to construct the indicators included in our analysis we use the following statistics provided within the Benefits and Wages framework: the net and gross income of married couple with no children (for one-earner couples and for couple with second earner's wage below 67% of the average wage), available for the time series 2001-2010; the average personal income tax rates (exclusive and inclusive of universal family cash transfers) for single persons and one-earner married couples with and without children, calculated at the average wage (100% AW), covering the period 2000-2010.

The OECD Product Market Regulation database provides a range of indicators of product market regulation at both the economy-wide and sectoral levels. These indicators are a comprehensive and internationally-comparable set of indicators that measure the degree to which policies promote or inhibit competition in areas of the product market where competition is viable. They measure the economy-wide regulatory and market environments in 30 OECD countries in (or around) 1998, 2003 and 2008, and in another 4 OECD countries (Chile, Estonia, Israel and Slovenia) as well as in Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Russia and South Africa around 2008; they are consistent across time and countries.
These indicators summarize a wide array of different regulatory provisions across countries, covering formal regulation in the following area: state control of business enterprises; legal and administrative barriers to entrepreneurship; barriers to international trade and investments.
The main sources of information used to construct the PMR indicators are the responses to the Regulatory Indicators Questionnaire provided by national governments in 1998, 2003 and 2008 and data published by the OECD and other international organizations. All these data have been extensively checked by OECD and government experts.

The ICTWSS Database (Database on Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts)

The ICTWSS database covers four key elements of modern political economies in advanced capitalist societies: trade unionism, wage setting, state intervention and social pacts. The database runs from 1960 till 2010.
In our analysis we include two variables: the Union Density rate and the adjusted Bargaining (or Union) Coverage.

World Bank database

The World Bank provides a large set of worldwide indicators covering several topics related with economic and social development. We use the GDP annual growth, defined as the annual percentage growth rate of GDP at market prices based on constant local currency, as a measure of economic growth. The indicator covers the period 1998-2010.

Table A2: Variables description

Variable	Description	Source	Missing counties
LMPs expenditure			
LMP expenditure as % of GDP	% of expenditure in each type of measures and supports; The indicator is also available for overall LMP, total measures LMP (category 2-7); and total supports LMP (category 8-9).	LM Policy, Database	
Expenditure on training	Expenditure on training = percentage of expenditure in training (category 2) over total LMP expenditures.	LM Policy, Database	
Upper education system			
Upper Secondary or tertiary education	% of population with at least upper secondary education on total population. Age group: 15-24, 25-29, 15-29. Disaggregated by gender.	LFS microdata	
Size of Dual System	% of students in upper secondary education enrolled in combined school- and work-based vocational and technical programmes on the total students in upper secondary education	OECD database	BG, CY, EE, IT, LT, LV, MT, PT, RO, SE, SI, UK
Expenditure on tertiary education as % of GDP	Public expenditure on tertiary education (ISCED 5-6) as % of GDP.	Eurostat database	LU
Markets regulation			
Product Market Regulation	Integrated indicator which measures the degree to which policies promote or inhibit competition in areas of the product market where competition is viable. Higher values of PMR are assigned to those countries with a more pervasive state regulation.	OECD database	BG, CY, LT, LV, MT, RO
Employment Protection Legislation	It is a measure of all types of employment protection measures, whether grounded primarily in legislation, court rulings, collectively bargained conditions of employment or customary practice. The indicator ranges from 0 to 6, with higher scores representing stricter regulation.	OECD database	BG, CY, LT, LV, MT, RO
Union density	UD (0-100) = net union membership as a proportion of all wage and salary earners in employment; quadratic form used in regressions	Visser, J. (2011), ICTWSS database, Version 3.0	

Adjusted union coverage	Adjusted union coverage (0-100) = Employees covered by wage bargaining agreements as a % of all wage and salary earners in employment with the right to bargaining, adjusted for the possibility that some sectors or occupations are excluded from the right to bargain	Visser, J. (2011), ICTWSS database, Version 3.0	CY, RO
Min wage	Proportion of minimum relative to median monthly wages of full-time workers.	Visser, J. (2011), ICTWSS database, Version 3.0	BG, MT
Min wage (sector)	Dummy equal to 1 if min wage set by industry collective agreements, 0 otherwise	OECD database	
Min wage (social parties)	Dummy equal to 1 if min wage set by national agreements between unions and employers or by tripartite agreements, 0 otherwise	Visser, J. (2011), ICTWSS database, Version 3.0	
Min wage (government)	Dummy equal to 1 if min wage set by national government or by law, 0 otherwise	Visser, J. (2011), ICTWSS database, Version 3.0	
Family-related taxation			
Tax rate on second earner	Taxation on second earner = $1 - \frac{(Net\ income)_A - (Net\ income)_B}{(Gross\ income)_A - (Gross\ income)_B}$ where A denotes married couples with no children and only one earner (100% or AW), and B refers to two-earners married couples with no children (67% of AW).	OECD database	RO
Family-related tax deduction		OECD database	LT, LV, RO
Work-life balance policies			
Part-time rate	% of employed population working part-time on the total employed ; by sex and age group (15-24, 25-29, 15-29).	LFS microdata	
Flexible hours rate	% of employed population with flexible working hours; by age group (15-24, 25-29, 15-29).	LFS microdata	
Parental leave (% GDP)	Public expenditure in maternity and paternal leave as % of GDP	OECD database	EE, SI

Parental leave (weeks)	Total number of weeks of parental leave	Gauthier, A.H. (2011). Comparative Family Policy Database, Version 3.	
Parental leave (pay)	Cash benefits paid during parental leave (% of female wages in manufacturing)	Gauthier, A.H. (2011). Comparative Family Policy Database, Version 3.	
Day care and home-help services	Public expenditure in day care/home-help services as % of GDP	OECD database	BG, CY, EE, LT, LV, MT, RO, SI
Other county-level controls			
Marriage rate	Married population as % of the total population; by age group (15-24, 25-29, 15-29)	LFS microdata	
GDP annual growth rate	Annual % growth rate of GDP at market prices based on constant local currency. Aggregates are based on constant 2000 U.S. dollars.	World Bank database	
% of employment in services	% of employed in services on the total employed	Eurostat database	
% young cohort	% of young people (15-29) on 15-64 population	OEDC database	BG, CY, EE, LT, LV, MT, RO, SI
Parenthood rate	% of population with children; by age group 1(5-24, 25-29, 15-29)	LFS microdata	SE, DK, FI
LM indicators			
Employment rate rate	$ER = \frac{Employed\ population}{Total\ population}$ By sex and age group (15-24, 25-29, 15-29).	LFS microdata	
NEET rate	% of population not in employment, education or training on the total population By sex, age group (15-24, 25-29, 15-29), education and condition (unemployment or inactivity). N. of NEET lower second. educ. i.e NEET rate low educated = Total population lower second. educ.	LFS microdata	

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