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MAKING WORK MORE EQUAL

**A new labour market
segmentation approach**

**Edited by
Damian Grimshaw, Colette Fagan,
Gail Hebson, Isabel Tavora**

Making work more equal



Manchester University Press

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EDITED BY DAMIAN GRIMSHAW,
COLETTE FAGAN, GAIL HEBSON
AND ISABEL TAVORA

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The social reproduction of youth labour market inequalities: the effects of gender, households and ethnicity

Jacqueline O'Reilly, Mark Smith and Paola Villa

Introduction

Young people have been disproportionately hit by the economic crisis. In many European countries, unemployment rates have increased faster for youth than for prime age groups (O'Reilly *et al.*, 2015). Vulnerability to the risks of poverty and precarious employment has been compounded by increasing economic inequalities and the rise of temporary, part-time and zero-hours contracts. Gender differences between young men and women appear to have converged on several standard labour market indicators (such as employment rate, unemployment rate, share of temporary and part-time work) (Eamets *et al.*, 2015), although young women are still more likely to be 'not in employment education or training' (NEET) than young men. Where there has been a levelling in gender disparities this is largely owing to an overall decline in the male labour market and men's educational outcomes, while girls' performance has improved. Nevertheless, reduced gender inequalities in some cases are the outcome of increased overall precariousness for all young people.

Youth labour market vulnerability extends beyond simple gender differences. The context of vulnerable young women and men in the labour market varies across the European Union (EU), but similarities influencing indicators such as NEET rates, youth employment and unemployment rates, early school-leaving, and gender pay gaps are found across all countries (Gökşen *et al.*, 2016a). Vulnerability to poverty and social exclusion relates to family background, a gender segregated labour market and the role of ethnicity. The economic crisis has exacerbated these disadvantages. The interdependency of

these dimensions subject young people to differing degrees of vulnerability to unemployment and precariousness in the labour market, depending on where they live and with whom.

Surprisingly, little attention has been given to bringing together some of these distinct strands of research on new patterns of vulnerability and labour market segmentation that include an understanding of the impact of different institutional environments, the legacy of parental households and the differentiated experience by gender and ethnicity (Zuccotti and O'Reilly, forthcoming). We are interested in identifying how new patterns of segmentation in youth labour markets are developing. We explore the impact on young people's trajectories, focusing on vulnerability by gender, ethnicity and parental household differences. We examine the extent to which policies for young people recognise gender differences and, ultimately, the extent to which a gender mainstreaming approach has been visible in policies to help young people find paid work.

Our analysis draws on the concept of social reproduction and economic production developed by Humphries and Rubery (1984). We consider youth trajectories in relation to the employment status of their family households across Europe for both young women and young men. Furthermore, we use the example of ethnic differences in the UK to illustrate new lines of segmentation. We then examine the extent to which policy has sought to address these inequalities.

The difficulties faced by young people cannot simply be read off in terms of particular gender, family background or ethnic characteristics. We argue that a more integrated approach can inform policy as well as trace patterns of continuity and change in the differentiated experience of young people in Europe. We draw on the results from a large-scale European research project on strategic transitions for youth labour in Europe (www.style-research.eu) and, in particular, the work of Gökşen *et al.*, 2016a; Berloff *et al.*, 2015; and Zuccotti and O'Reilly (forthcoming). We examine the legacy of parental employment for young Europeans and, in the UK context, how these differences are shaped by ethnicity. We conclude by arguing that in order to understand emerging patterns of segmentation in youth labour markets a more holistic approach is required. This includes an analysis of the legacy of household differences from the sphere of social reproduction to understand how these interact with the sphere of economic production. Our analysis indicates that a more holistic understanding of the differential effects of these dimensions is required if policy initiatives are to be better targeted at making work more equal for young women and men from different family and ethnic backgrounds.

Economic production, social reproduction and youth labour market segmentation

In their seminal article, Humphries and Rubery (1984) argued that the concepts of economic production and social reproduction captured different organising principles, enabling us to understand cross-national differences in female and maternal employment. Humphries and Rubery's (1984) key argument was that the *sphere of economic production* encompassed the interaction between different societal institutions, such as collective bargaining systems, vocational and educational training (VET) systems and employment regulation. The constellation of these institutions established a particular employment logic that varied between countries and between sectors. It differentiated and segmented workers in terms of employment conditions. Employers' preferences and abilities to recruit specific types of labour drew on a range of different employment contracts. For example, while policies to support shorter working times or partial early retirement were more commonly found in traditional, industrial and male-dominated sectors, the use of part-time contracts was predominantly reserved for women in feminised sectors of the economy (O'Reilly and Fagan, 1998). This could explain why, in some countries, employers' preferences were more closely aligned with the production of well-qualified, highly skilled labour. In other countries, and in some sectors where the weakness of the VET institutions resulted in a less well-qualified supply of labour, employers were more likely to design jobs with inferior employment contracts, and for women these were often on a part-time basis. This analysis has been more widely taken up in labour market research with a more '*productivist*' focus, that is, where the attention was purely on the public sphere of economic production, as evidenced by the considerable volume of literature dedicated to discussions of the merits of the varieties of capitalism (VOC) approach. The Humphries and Rubery (1984) approach, in contrast, went beyond this narrower economic focus on 'production regimes' (Rubery, 1992, 1993).

Their innovative and significant contribution was to make a much stronger link to including a parallel analysis of the *sphere of social reproduction* (Picchio, 1992). This referred to institutions supporting the reproduction of labour, including the family as well as other significant institutions, such as school timetables and working-time norms. The organisation of these institutions, essential to the way in which the sphere of social production was structured, affected the forms and levels of female labour market participation and the patterns and organisation of consumption and leisure. Humphries and Rubery argued that we could not assume a symbiotic 'fit' between these two spheres of economic

production and social reproduction. Instead, they argued, a degree of autonomy existed between them. One of the advantages of their analysis was that it could potentially identify contradictions and sources of change, particularly in relation to the forms and levels of female labour market participation.

During the 1980s and 1990s this perspective enabled researchers to go beyond the traditional scope of labour market analysis that was largely centred on the employee–employer relationship, either at the micro- or at the macro-level. Instead, the analytical framework based on economic production and social reproduction provided a conceptual bridge that had links with developing approaches in comparative social policy and welfare state studies. This allowed researchers to make connections between how state policies shaped labour supply through education and training as well as through the provision (or not) of childcare services. It allowed an understanding of how, and on what terms, women’s labour supply was constituted in different societies (O’Reilly, 1994).

The early debate on the role and position of women within the production system put the family at the core of the analysis (Kenrick, 1981; Picchio, 1992). This literature conceptualised the family and the labour market as social institutions, with attention focused on their role in the reproduction of labour power. In this framework, the state plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of labour, its action affecting standards of living (i.e. economic well-being) and shaping the legal structures regulating the reproduction and employment of the labour force. The state’s intervention takes place through the distribution of benefits and the provision of services, but also through legal structures, in the regulation of both the system of social reproduction (i.e. family law) and the labour market system (i.e. employment legislation).

A key tenet of the literature on social reproduction is that the labour force is not homogeneous. Individuals differ substantially, not only in terms of education and skills but also in terms of personal characteristics and the position they occupy in the social structure of the labour market (Villa 1986: 261). Their position in the labour market must therefore be explained with reference to the existing economic and social differences in the system of social reproduction. This implies that differences in the economic and social status of workers (by gender, by age or by ethnic group) are a reflection of (1) the social and economic position of the individual’s family (crucial in determining access to entry jobs, hence occupations and career advancements); and (2) the position workers occupy within the family and how this can affect their transition to adulthood.

Despite the insights this approach has provided to understanding female labour force participation, this kind of analysis has not been applied to youth labour markets. Conventionally, analysis of youth labour markets has given more attention to skill production systems and VET or to the type of labour

market transitions young people can make on entering employment. More conservative-leaning approaches have focused on supply-side characteristics as those requiring a change of attitude on the part of either the young person or their family and peers. Yet Humphries and Rubery's sphere of social reproduction could be extended to encompass the way in which households and gender relations support transitions into employment from the educational system. In fact, very little attention has been given to providing a systematic comparison of how the characteristics of parental households are associated with youth labour market transitions (Berloffia *et al.*, 2015), or the interaction of household characteristics with ethnic differences (Zuccotti and O'Reilly, forthcoming). Yet an adapted framework from that initially proposed by Humphries and Rubery (1984) can provide an innovative insight into the appearance of new forms of inequality in youth labour markets in Europe and its contribution to labour market segmentation theory. This more holistic approach allows us to integrate both the impact of households on youth transitions and the types of segmented labour markets they can access.

The evidence suggests that labour market experience for young people varies greatly across European countries. Moreover, these differences have been on the increase during the economic crisis. School-to-work transitions vary in terms of entry speed into employment, the time required to acquire job stability and the quality of employment. First-time jobs are often rather unstable (e.g. temporary contracts) or characterised by short durations (e.g. training contracts). For some youth, these 'flexible' contracts act as ports of entry into stable jobs, but for others they tend to become traps, leading to frequent spells of unemployment experienced between precarious jobs (Leschke, 2012). Some young people withdraw from the labour market for prolonged periods of time because they are discouraged in their attempts to find work, have caring responsibilities or return to education. NEET status for those who are unemployed or inactive is therefore a frequent phenomenon among some young people, and one that has increased manifold with the Great Recession (Bell and Blanchflower, 2011; Karamessini and Rubery, 2014). These differences in youth school-to-work transitions may be explained by cross-country differences in educational and training systems, employment policy and labour market institutions, and general macro-economic conditions. However, in addition to individual and country characteristics, we argue that family background also plays an important role in determining the type of trajectories experienced by young individuals, especially in Mediterranean and some Eastern European countries.

For some young people, unemployment is a frictional experience; for others, long-term exposure is part of a generational legacy (O'Reilly *et al.*, 2015). The experiences of the parents of today's children shape the opportunities of young

people through the transmission of resources and cultural capital (Warmouth *et al.*, 2014). We know from social mobility research that parental unemployment can become an ‘unintended’ legacy for their own children, depending on where they live and how the economy around them has changed in recent decades (MacDonald *et al.*, 2013; Macmillan, 2014).

The growing polarisation of households between the ‘work-poor’ and the ‘work-rich’ was brought to the attention of policy-makers in the mid-1990s (Anxo and O’Reilly, 2001; Gregg and Wadsworth, 1994, 2001). In the UK, for example, a range of policies during the 1990s sought to address this disparity and reduce the proportion of workless households. However, since the onset of the economic crisis of 2008–09, the proportions of work-poor households have been on the increase, particularly in countries hard-hit by the crisis (Berloff *et al.*, 2015: 8; Gregg *et al.*, 2010).

The growth of jobless households co-existed with an increase in households with two working parents. Many commentators have evidenced the decline of the traditional ‘male breadwinner’ household model (Crompton, 1999), alongside a rise in non-traditional and single-parent families. The unequal distribution of paid work across these different household types not only illustrated growing levels of inequality, but also the potential exacerbation and extension of these inequalities for younger generations (Atkinson, 2015). The inclusion of household effects on labour market outcomes brings together the argument made by Humphries and Rubery (1984), with implications for identifying new lines of labour market segmentation and its inclusion in theoretical approaches.

Gender, youth labour market transitions and parental household characteristics

Gender differences in youth labour markets and school-to-work transitions are frequently under-estimated and it is often implicitly assumed that gender gaps only open up around parenthood so that younger generations are largely unaffected (Plantenga *et al.*, 2013). These gaps reflect segregation of educational and training choices as well as processes in the labour market – including employer behaviour – which serve to reinforce gender roles and stereotypes that subsequently produce occupational gender segregation.

The analysis conducted by Gökşen and colleagues (2016a), based on the European Union – Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) dataset, demonstrate that gender gaps for young people exist across almost all measures of educational and labour market statuses used to assess vulnerable outcomes. Their cross-national evidence suggests that gender differences open up early in the

life course and that the policy environment across European countries is not well adapted to addressing these gender differences in the youth labour market. The extent of these vulnerabilities varies across different school-to-work regimes but is nevertheless present across unemployed and precarious employment statuses. Gökşen and colleagues (2016a) compare five country types: (1) universalistic (Denmark and the Netherlands); (2) liberal (United Kingdom); (3) employment-centred (France and Belgium); (4) sub-protective (Spain, Greece and Turkey); and (5) post-socialist countries (Slovakia). These country types represent different institutional environments and school-to-work transitions regimes for young people (Walther, 2006). They find that transitions are somewhat smoother and more predictable in systems where the education and training system has already differentiated young people both horizontally and vertically into tracks leading to different labour market destinations; but significant gender and country-specific differences remain. Transitions are found to be more fluid where the flows of information between education and labour market are continuous and extensive and gender gaps smaller, as in the case of employment-centred regimes (France and Belgium); yet migrants fair less well (Gökşen *et al.*, 2016a: 35–6). In regimes where education systems are less stratified and where linkages between education and labour market are weaker, transitions seem to be more interrupted and gender gaps larger (for example, in the UK).

Using the lens of social reproduction we are also interested in understanding how households' characteristics affect youth transitions. Using the EU-SILC cross-sectional data, Berloffia and colleagues (2015) focus on mapping the significance of this trend across 29 European countries (27 EU countries, plus Norway and Switzerland) for different categories of youth (aged 16–24) living in the family of origin.¹ They were interested in identifying whether there was a generational legacy of parental worklessness on employment patterns of young people today. Their analysis found that young people growing up in workless households are more likely to be unemployed. Indeed, across all European countries the likelihood of young people being unemployed was much higher if they came from a work-poor household (see Table 13.1). Using data from 2005 and 2011, they show how during the Great Recession this higher likelihood of being unemployed increased across all country groups, apart from in Eastern Europe, albeit this occurred at different rates.

The results in Table 13.1 show how the risk of being unemployed for young people was generally higher in traditional breadwinner and work-poor households, and that these risks increased between 2005 and 2011. In the Nordic countries youth unemployment has increased most among traditional breadwinner families, and remained high among those where no one worked. In English-speaking and Continental countries, while the children of working single parents

Table 13.1 Unemployment rates of young people (16–24) living in the family of origin by the employment status of parents and group of countries, 2005 and 2011

	Year	Two-parent household, both parents work (work-rich)	Two-parent household, only one works	Single-parent household, parent works	One- or two-parent household, none of the parents work (work-poor)
Nordic countries	2005	0.15	0.13	0.29	0.31
	2011	0.34	0.45	0.33	0.49
English-speaking countries	2005	0.06	0.09	0.22	0.18
	2011	0.14	0.16	0.25	0.42
Continental countries	2005	0.14	0.15	0.24	0.28
	2011	0.10	0.17	0.16	0.33
Mediterranean countries	2005	0.21	0.27	0.27	0.33
	2011	0.38	0.44	0.36	0.51
Eastern European countries	2005	0.27	0.35	0.33	0.44
	2011	0.25	0.33	0.24	0.37

Notes: The 29 countries have been grouped as follows: Nordic (DK, FI, NO, SE); English-speaking (UK, IE); Continental (AT, BE, CH, DE, FR, NL); Mediterranean (CY, EL, ES, IT, MT, PT); Eastern European (BG, CZ, EE, HR, HU, LT, LV, PL, RO, SI, SK).

Source: Data drawn from Berloffia *et al.* (2015: table 4.1a) based upon calculation on EU-SILC cross sectional data 2005, 2011.

were most vulnerable in 2005, it is those coming from work-poor households who were subsequently hit hardest. The disparities between household types were less apparent in Mediterranean countries in 2005. But, by 2011, they had increased substantially; the risk of being unemployed for Mediterranean youth had risen more for those from the work-poor households, as well as those from traditional breadwinner households. Despite this aggregate fall in unemployment across Eastern Europe, young people from traditional breadwinner households and the work-poor were at the highest risk of being unemployed in 2011 (Table 13.1).

Further multivariate analysis by Berloffia and colleagues (2015) demonstrates that young people living in households where both parents work generally have a lower probability of unemployment/inactivity, with some differences across country groups and over time. In particular, living with a working father, all

things being equal, reduced the probability of not working in all country groups in 2005. However, six years later, paternal employment plays a significant role only in Continental and Mediterranean countries. Maternal employment has an additional, and often larger, effect in Mediterranean and English-speaking countries on the likelihood of their children also being in employment.

In their analysis of the EU-SILC data Berloffia and colleagues also differentiate between the effects of parental employment status on sons' and daughters' employment probabilities (Berloffia *et al.*, 2015; tables 5.2 and 5.3). Sons' status is significantly affected by both parents working. In particular, in English-speaking countries, living with two working parents has a hugely positive effect on the probability of employment; in Mediterranean countries, parental employment significantly reduces the probability of young people's unemployment and inactivity. In Continental and Nordic countries, the effects were different before and during the crisis. In Continental countries, sons of a working mother are less likely to be unemployed in both years, while the role of the father emerges only for the youngest cohort (i.e. during the crisis), helping to reduce the probability of unemployment and inactivity for their sons. In Nordic countries, sons of a working father were less likely to be unemployed before the crisis (in 2005); and sons of a working mother were more likely to be employed during the crisis (in 2011).

For daughters, both paternal and maternal employment is associated with a lower likelihood of being unemployed or inactive in Mediterranean and Continental countries. In Nordic countries, in 2005, the employment condition of both parents is significantly correlated with their daughters' only, helping to lower the probability of her being unemployed or inactive. On the contrary, in English-speaking countries, young women's employment status depends only on their mother's employment status, and only for 2011.

These results provide empirical evidence of an intergenerational persistence of worklessness. The effects of the crisis show that inequalities in the risk of worklessness associated with the parental occupational structure fell in Nordic countries, remained almost unchanged in Continental countries and rose in English-speaking and Mediterranean countries. The gendered effects are also clear, with a positive intergenerational correlation between fathers and sons but, once controlled for mothers' working conditions, this correlation is small in almost all country groups (the exception being the Mediterranean countries). Similarly, young women with a mother who had been employed were less likely to be inactive. This association is highest in the Nordic countries than elsewhere. It also decreases over time in all countries, apart from the Mediterranean group. These results clearly indicate how family legacies continue to have a long-term impact on the early labour market outcomes for young people. These findings

also illustrate the value of examining youth transitions using an adapted approach proposed by Humphries and Rubery (1984). This approach goes beyond examining the trajectories of isolated individuals, but links their outcomes to the household and employment opportunities of their parents, within the institutional settings set up by the state that shape the legal structures regulating the social reproduction and employment of the labour force (Humphries and Rubery, 1984; Villa, 1986). Taking this approach a step further, we were also interested in examining how these effects vary by household characteristics as a vector for reinforcing segmentation or protecting young people against the risk of poor employment prospects.

Ethnicity, gender and work-poor households

These differential experiences of young people in terms of gender and household effects identified above can also vary by ethnicity. The examination of ethnic groups across the EU is frequently framed in terms of migration, rather than an analysis of native-born, non-white population. Such cross-national comparisons of native ethnic differences are complex because of the varied ethnic composition of national populations, as well as the limited availability of substantial comparable data. For example, Gökşen and colleagues (2016b) had to rely on county of birth in order to identify ethnic variations using the EU-SILC data; second-generation youth were not identifiable and migrants from a variety of national origins were amalgamated. Nevertheless, they found strong evidence of disadvantage by comparing the intersectionality of youth, gender and 'migrant' status. A summary of their results for unemployment and NEET status is presented in Table 13.2. Here we see the gender and ethnicity gaps in relation to EU-born young men are evident in all countries, and these gaps have been exacerbated, in most cases, by the onset of the economic crisis. Exceptions include the case of the Netherlands where the situation of non-EU youth improved over time and in the UK where non-EU-born youth tended to fair better than men born in the EU. The same was not true for young women who were more likely to be NEET. Similarly, NEET rates for non-EU-born women improved in France and Belgium but remained much higher than for EU-born men.

Here we extend the analysis of Gökşen and colleagues (2016a) for ethnicity and Berloff and colleagues (2015) for household impacts on youth transitions using the UK as an example case based on the work of Zuccotti and O'Reilly (forthcoming). The UK data have the advantage of including more nuanced detail around ethnic minority groups that is not available in other EU countries, as well as allowing us to include more detailed evidence related to parental

Table 13.2 Ratio of unemployment and NEET rates in eight European countries, broken down by EU/non-EU country of birth and gender (youth 16–29 years)

	Pre-crisis, 2005–08				Crisis/austerity, 2011–13			
	EU-born men	EU-born women	Non-EU-born men	Non-EU-born women	EU-born men	EU-born women	Non-EU-born men	Non-EU-born women
Unemployment								
DK	1.00	1.41	2.08	1.08	1.00	0.93	n/a	0.80
NL	1.00	1.45	5.91	7.86	1.00	0.74	2.34	2.32
FR	1.00	1.08	1.51	1.56	1.00	0.90	1.23	2.14
BE	1.00	1.13	2.36	2.72	1.00	0.92	3.23	2.33
SK	1.00	1.07	n/a	n/a	1.00	0.97	n/a	n/a
UK	1.00	0.63	0.62	0.80	1.00	0.69	0.78	0.90
ES	1.00	1.32	1.37	1.86	1.00	1.02	1.43	1.10
EL	1.00	1.57	0.51	1.60	1.00	1.04	1.07	0.94
NEET								
DK	1.00	1.52	1.57	2.82	1.00	1.18	0.05	2.64
NL	1.00	2.07	3.73	6.32	1.00	1.20	1.06	1.80
FR	1.00	1.51	1.51	3.91	1.00	1.01	1.04	3.57
BE	1.00	1.42	2.47	4.55	1.00	1.12	3.13	3.69
SK	1.00	1.50	n/a	n/a	1.00	1.30	n/a	n/a
UK	1.00	1.73	0.85	2.20	1.00	1.33	0.89	1.72
ES	1.00	1.39	1.45	2.72	1.00	0.99	1.48	1.56
EL	1.00	1.51	0.62	2.78	1.00	1.01	1.49	1.66

Source: Data drawn from Gökşen *et al.* (2015: tables 3.3 & 3.5) based upon calculation on EU-SILC cross sectional data 2005, 2011.

households and their employment levels. For example, the analysis developed allows us to distinguish between ethnic minorities who were born in the UK or came here when they were very young and more recent adult migrants to the UK.

By using a multi-dimensional, intersectional approach combining household and personal characteristics with labour market outcomes, together with the inclusion of ethnic minority status, we can develop a more holistic analysis as proposed by Humphries and Rubery. It also moves this approach towards a more intersectional analysis. Intersectionality stemming from the critical standpoint of African-American feminists has been advocated to examine multiple disadvantages and inequality (Cho *et al.*, 2013; Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1991). Rather than focusing on one dimension or comparing bimodal inequalities of race,

gender or class separately, the concept of intersectionality captures discrete combinations of multiple sources of disadvantage, which themselves reflect differentiated locations of power, domination and discrimination. Applied intersectional analysis focuses on differences *between* categories, such as between ethnic groups, as well as *within* categories of class, gender and ethnicity. While this concept has been extensively discussed in radical feminist forums, McBride and colleagues (2015) and Mooney (2016) suggest the application of an intersectional approach to empirical examination in the field of labour studies is well overdue. An intersectional approach also brings to the fore new sets of inequalities and how the effects of disadvantage translate for young men and women of different ethnic groups (Crawford and Greaves, 2015). This approach generates a more differentiated reading of the effects of labour market segmentation and the interaction of ethnicity, gender and parental household employment status associated with the likelihood of young people becoming NEETs.

The cross-European analysis of households from Berloffà and colleagues (2015) shows that the legacy of parental worklessness continues to touch young people. This pattern is also found in the UK; young people who come from a work-poor household where no adults in their household were working when they were aged 14 have a much higher rate of being NEETs today compared to those coming from any other family type. However, this effect varies in its intensity in terms of both gender and ethnicity.

When comparing Indian and Bangladeshi young men raised in workless households, Zuccotti and O'Reilly's (forthcoming) analysis of UK data reveal that they do noticeably better than their equivalent white British counterparts: they are much less likely to become NEET. Adult Indian and Bangladeshi men having parents with a low occupational status still have a higher chance of acquiring a service-class position than their white British counterparts (Zuccotti, 2015), even after controlling for education and other social background characteristics.

African men raised in single-parent households where that parent is working had more chance of being in either education or in employment compared to their white British male counterparts coming from a similar household. For young women, a different pattern revealed itself: white British and Caribbean young women were more successful at finding work than was the case for young white British and Caribbean men – they were the least successful at integrating into employment in the UK.

Young Caribbean men raised in two-earner households were more likely to be NEET compared to their white British counterparts. Young Caribbean men do not gain from the advantage of having both parents in employment. This may in part be due to difficulties in transferring dominant cultural capital

in terms of social networks and habitus to enable them to find formal employment (Rafferty, 2012), which in turn affects educational and labour market opportunities. In contrast, the very low NEET rates found among young Indian and Bangladeshi men show that having had workless parents does not necessarily have the same expected negative effect for these young people.

By examining gender differences, Zuccotti and O'Reilly (forthcoming) do not find evidence that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women were less likely to be NEET than white British women among those raised in one-earner households. Knowing, however, the very high levels of unemployment and inactivity of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, Zuccotti and O'Reilly (forthcoming) estimated a model excluding full-time students from the analysis finding that for young Pakistani women the penalty for those raised in one-earner households became more evident than for other ethnic groups. For those who do not manage to continue in further education, employment opportunities are reduced. For those who studied, the chances of obtaining employment and a higher occupational status are greater, although not necessarily equivalent to those of their white British counterparts. Educational attainment clearly makes a bigger difference for some non-white ethnic groups than appears to be the case for white British boys.

Zuccotti and O'Reilly (forthcoming) argue that we cannot simply read off from a selection of disadvantaged categories that these automatically determine the likelihood of being NEETs. Labour market segmentation for young people involves a complex set of mechanisms related not only to patterns of employer discrimination, the organisation of the VET system, but also to family characteristics and clearly some of the effects through the education system. Some of the explanation for the effect of parental worklessness on young generations has focused on (1) the transmission of attitudinal differences; (2) regional disparities in available jobs; (3) the effects of the benefits system generating a culture of dependency; and (4) differences in the cultural and social capital of parents. High parental expectations among ethnic minorities might lead to a direct motivation to participate in education and/or employment, which can counterbalance the disadvantages of their social origins.

Taken together these findings from our European comparison of the household effects on the labour market opportunities for young men and women, and how these pan out in different trajectories for young people from different ethnic backgrounds in the UK, illustrate new lines of labour market segmentation that have received negligible attention using an intersectional approach to date. They also illustrate how the effects of families vary between different communities of young people. There are universally comparable outcomes for young people coming from disadvantaged, work-poor families in that their entry

into the labour market is more difficult. However, when we compare these for different ethnic groups and for young women and men, we can observe that transitions into employment are shaped by a complex system of mechanisms. For these reasons, policy interventions need to be more clearly targeted for the vulnerable groups that this analysis identifies.

Conclusions

This chapter demonstrates the interaction of the gendered dynamics of the youth labour market and the interrelationship with ethnicity and the sphere of social reproduction. Segmentation remains a powerful tool for understanding the challenges that young people face in the labour market. Here the interaction between gender, ethnicity and parental households shed light on new contours of segmentation that are often overlooked by researchers and policy-makers. By integrating the role of parental household into the early labour market experiences of young people, particularly during a crisis, we illustrate how an extension of the Humphries and Rubery (1984) framework of social reproduction acts in the dynamics of segmentation of the youth labour market with variable consequences by gender and ethnicity.

The evidence we bring together here from a large-scale European project² highlights the emergence of gender gaps in labour market experiences early on in the economic lives of young people, in line with other studies that consider gender differences, confirming the higher rates of NEET (Berg, 2015; McDowell, 2002) or extended periods of precariousness experienced by young women (Anxo *et al.*, 2005). We also show how similar household effects have differential outcomes for different ethnic groups in the UK. However, there are a wider range of factors that shape outcomes for young people in the labour market (Reinecke and Grimshaw, 2015) and the studies briefly reported in this chapter demonstrate how the characteristics of the household provides yet another influence extending Humphries and Rubery's sphere of social reproduction to their influence on the youth labour market.

The analysis of the policy environment towards young people underlines that policy towards youth labour markets is often gender blind and there is limited evidence of consistent gender mainstreaming. Gökşen and colleagues (2016b) found that although the typologies of different welfare and school-to-work regimes captured some of the variation in national transitional systems, they also leave substantial variation unaccounted for. This partly relates to the absence of a comprehensive categorisation of school-to-work transitions, but also specific role of gender differences within these institutional environments.

Studies that consider ethnic comparisons are even slimmer on the ground. The analysis of the policy environment towards young people demonstrates the importance of considering the country-specific institutional environment when analysing youth labour markets.

Given the gender gaps identified in the labour market data, policies could be more efficient if they recognised gender and ethnic differences in youth labour markets. For example, school dropout rates for boys, segregation of training opportunities for girls and the interaction of gender and ethnicity in educational choices do not receive sufficient attention in more aggregate analysis. Although there is some evidence of good practice that recognises gender differences at the margins and indeed the intersectionality of youth, gender, ethnicity and other forms of vulnerability these policies are very much the exceptions (Knijn and Smith, 2012).

It is perhaps not surprising that policy towards youth has a small gender-sensitive component given the low level of gender mainstreaming in policy-making more generally (Smith and Villa, 2012). Long-term gender inequalities need to be addressed earlier, as once they emerge they tend to grow and become entrenched. The role of households in perpetuating, or protecting against, the consequences of segmentation requires a comprehensive policy approach addressing the multitude of factors that affect youth labour market access.³ Our analysis illustrates new lines and trajectories in the segmentation of youth labour markets along the lines of gender, household and ethnic. These new forms of segmentation can, in part, be traced back to some of the effects of household patterns of employment and how these affect young people's opportunities in contemporary labour markets. As Rubery (2015) notes, the main thrust of labour market policy has failed to recognise the impact upon increasing segmentation of youth, largely by deregulation at the margins of the labour market. Unfortunately, the Great Recession has only served to exacerbate these gendered and ethnic lines of segmentation.

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Notes

- 1 The 29 countries have been grouped as follows: Nordic (DK, FI, NO, SE); English-speaking (UK, IE); Continental (AT, BE, CH, DE, FR, NL); Mediterranean (CY, EL, ES, IT, MT, PT); Eastern European (BG, CZ, EE, HR, HU, LT, LV, PL, RO, SI, SK).
- 2 STYLE: Strategic Transitions for Youth Labour in Europe (www.style-research.eu).
- 3 To some extent the UK policy on 'Troubled Families' could be seen as an example of such a 'linked-up' approach. This programme, introduced in the UK after the summer riots in 2011, attempts to address families facing multiple disadvantages and helps ensure that young people from these backgrounds are not 'left behind'. However, the reputed success of this programme has been questioned as being 'too good to be true' (Crossley 2015); and Bawden (2016) claims that 'cash-strapped councils' have had an incentive to manipulate the evidence to prove their success. Nevertheless, this kind of policy illustrates attempts to move towards more targeted approaches to address multiple lines of segmentation.

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