Contents

Preface ........................................................................................................................................... 9

I Introduction: Young Adults in Europe – Transitions, Policies and Social Change .................. 11
Barbara Stauder & Andreas Walther

1. Misleading Trajectories as Transition Dilemmas
   of Young Adults ......................................................... 11
   Overview over the Book ........................................ 17
2. The Context of Comparative Transition Research in Europe ................................. 18
3. The Methodological Procedure .................................................. 22

II Synopsis: The Diversity of National Transition Systems ........................................ 27
Andreas Walther

1. Unemployment of Young People ........................................... 27
2. Trajectories between School and Work ................................ 30
3. Labour Market Demands and Labour Market Integration Policies .......... 35
4. Sources of Support for Young Adults in Transition .................................. 37
5. From Linear to ‘Yo-yo’-Transitions ............................................ 38

III Comparative Analysis of Misleading Trajectories ................................................. 43

1. Misleading Trajectories between Standardisation and Flexibility – Great Britain, Italy and West Germany ............................................................... 44
   Andy Biggart, Morena Cucinato, Andy Furlong, Gabriele Lenzi,
   Barbara Stauder, Mariateresa Tagliaventi & Andreas Walther

1.1 Institutional and Structural Differences ........................................ 44
   Education, Training and the Labour Market .................................. 44
The Impact of Welfare Systems on Youth Transitions ........................................... 50
The Role of the Family in Supporting Transitions ................................................. 53

1.2 Young People's Subjective Perspectives on Transitions ...................................... 56
1.3 Integrating Structural and Subjective Dimensions of Misleading Trajectories .......... 59
1.4 Conclusion ........................................................................................................... 65

2. Educational Plans in Segmented Societies: Misleading Trajectories in Denmark, East Germany and Spain ................................................................. 66
Lothar Böhnsch, Andreu López Blasco, Mathilde March, Sven Mørch, Joseko Errea Rodríguez & Holger Seifert

2.1 Youth and Change .............................................................................................. 66
2.2 Segmented Societies: the Logic of Segregation and Occupation ......................... 69
Educational Plans for Individual Trajectories ......................................................... 70
2.3 The Labour Market and the Education System in the Three Contexts .................. 71
Spain ......................................................................................................................... 71
East Germany ......................................................................................................... 73
Denmark ................................................................................................................. 75
2.4 Education Systems in Comparison ..................................................................... 77
Models of Education Systems ................................................................................ 79
Differentiated Qualification ..................................................................................... 80
Educational Differentiation ...................................................................................... 81
Qualified Differentiation ......................................................................................... 82
Labour Market Governed Education Systems .......................................................... 83
The Orientation of Education .................................................................................. 84
Education and Social Integration .......................................................................... 85
2.5 Synopsis ............................................................................................................. 86

3. Modernised Transitions and Disadvantage Policies: Netherlands, Portugal, Ireland and Migrant Youth in Germany ................................................................. 94
Wim Plug, Elizabeth Kiley, Kerstin Hein, Vitor Sergio Ferreira, René Bendit, Manuela du Bois-Reymond & José Machado Pais

3.1 Introduction ......................................................................................................... 94
3.2 Education Systems ............................................................................................ 94
3.3 Childhood and Youth: Definitions and Perspectives .......................................... 97
3.4 The Transition from School to Work .................................................................. 99

3.5 Disadvantage and State Interventions in Education and the Labour Market .............. 102
   Discriminatory and Regulatory Legislation, Policies and Practices ...................... 102
   Disadvantaged Groups ......................................................................................... 104
   Policies for Disadvantaged Groups in Education and the Labour Market .......... 107
3.6 Discussion .......................................................................................................... 110
   Types of Trajectories ......................................................................................... 110
   State Measures and the Demands of the Labour Markets .................................. 113
   Family and Welfare Support ............................................................................. 114
   Concluding Remarks .......................................................................................... 115

IV Leading or Misleading Trajectories?
Concepts and Perspectives ...................................................................................... 117
European Group for Integrated Social Research (TEGRIS)

1. Contextualisation ............................................................................................... 117
1.1 Dimensions of Contextualisation ..................................................................... 118
1.2 Transitions through Interlinked Contexts of Everyday Life .................................. 118
1.3 Conclusion Leading or Misleading I: Cases Differ, Context Matters ................. 120
2. Youth and Transitions Have Changed ................................................................ 120
2.1 From Social Reproduction in Youth Life towards Individualised Transitions? .... 121
2.2 Structure and Agency ....................................................................................... 125
2.3 Autonomy and Dependency ............................................................................. 127
2.4 Conclusion Leading or Misleading II: Subjective and Systemic Risks of Social Exclusion ........................................................................................................ 129
3. Modernisation and Flexibilisation .................................................................... 131
3.1 Structures of Labour Market Entrance ............................................................. 132
3.2 Disadvantage Policies ...................................................................................... 136
3.3 Education: From Qualifications to Competencies? .......................................... 142
3.4 Conclusion Leading or Misleading III: 'Leading' Trajectories through Participation ................................................................. 149
Preface

It is commonly acknowledged that the risk of social exclusion has increased over the last few decades and that young people in particular are one of the most vulnerable groups, especially if they have not yet achieved a stable social position. In this context a stable position is interpreted as having obtained a stable position within the labour market. Across Europe it has also become commonly acknowledged that policies have to do 'something' for young people as they represent the future of present societies. In fact, among politicians and policy administrators there is a broadly shared myth that it is enough doing 'anything' for young people. The thematic network 'Misleading Trajectories' which is documented in the following chapters was concerned with examining these myths and highlighting the traps of social exclusion that are inherent in policies focusing on youth transitions (school, vocational training, careers advice, social security, labour market programmes). The network was funded by the European Commission under the 4th Framework Programme for Research, Technology and Demonstration, under the strand "Targeted Socio-Economic Research" from 1998 to 2001. It involved teams from eight countries, which were Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom.

The network began from the observation that many policies on the local, regional, national and European level that are intended to 'lead' young adults' towards gainful employment, adult status and social integration, are in fact 'misleading'. The project therefore analysed the structures of such misleading trajectories in each of the partner countries and developed suggestions for an integrated approach to transition policy, an approach that is intended to be more suitable to modern youth transitions in the light of social change and therefore more likely to avoid misleading trajectories. As 'misleading trajectories' represented quite a new perspective the comparative analysis was an additional challenge to this endeavour and a necessary evil at the same time. On the one hand, in all contexts there was a lack of empirical data and of public debate in this regard. On the other hand the implicit reciprocal communication about 'normality' and 'success' in youth transitions enabled all partners to gain a sharper and more holistic view of their 'own' national transition system. Thus, comparative analysis served to develop 'misleading trajectories' from a hypothetical and phenomenological concept into a critical
3. Modernised Transitions and Disadvantage Policies: Netherlands, Portugal, Ireland and Migrant Youth in Germany

Wim Plug, Elizabeth Kiely, Kerstin Hein, Vitor Sergio Ferreira, René Bendit, Manuela du Bois-Reymond & José Machado Pais

3.1 Introduction

The comparative analysis of misleading trajectories carried out by the teams from the Netherlands, Portugal, Ireland and Germany (focusing on the situation of young people with a migration background) followed an intermediate approach between the inductive one in the first and the deductive one in the second section of this chapter. From the national reports seven ‘sensitising concepts’ were derived and put forward to produce an integrated report. These concepts were

1. organisation and data on education and training systems,
2. specific disadvantaged groups and special disadvantaged,
3. discrimination of culture - social and economic integration,
4. economic, social and legal status / definitions of youth and childhood and its impact on transitions,
5. strategies used by states and administrations to cope with target groups,
6. life-courses and youth biographies: implications for (misleading) trajectories,
7. significance of the level of qualifications in different spatial contexts.

This process was further refined so that specific concepts could be grouped together under a number of smaller umbrella concepts in order to avoid overlap and to arrive at a sharper and more succinct group report. Therefore, the structure is as follows: the second section describes the various educational systems of the countries, in section three different definitions and perspectives on childhood and youth are assessed, the fourth section discusses patterns of transitions to work, in section five the concepts of disadvantage and the related policies in the different countries are analysed, and the final section presents a concluding discussion.

3.2 Education Systems

For the distinction between, and classification of different educational systems, we have used Allmendinger’s (1989) two criteria of standardisation and stratification. ‘Standardisation’ relates to the degree to which (the quality of) education meets the same standards nation-wide. The degree of ‘stratification’ refers to the proportion of a cohort that attains the maximum number of school years provided by an educational system, coupled with the degree of differentiation within given educational levels.

Within these dimensions, the levels of schooling (i.e. primary, secondary or tertiary levels) may differ according to a ‘low’ or a ‘high’ rate. Please, note that the following comparisons are made not in absolute terms, but in relation to each other.

With regard to the criterion of standardisation, the countries in question, generally exhibit highly standardised features: in the Netherlands, Portugal and Ireland, the curricula and exams for all levels of schooling are essentially determined by the national government. The German system, because of its federal structure and the decentralised responsibility of the Länder (regions) for education, might appear different in this regard. However, a national agency ensures that the structures, institutions, curricula and leaving certificates are comparable and valid in all states, which makes the degree of standardisation in the end still relatively high.

A number of developments may put this formal equality under pressure. In the Netherlands and Germany for instance, a number of schools (most of them in the major cities) have a high proportion of ethnic minorities from a low socio-economic position enrolled. Not only do these schools in general perform less well in relation to national scoring tests, but there is also a tendency among parents of white children from different socio-economic positions to avoid these particular schools because of fear of poor educational standards. This process might lead to an even further concentration of low performance rates, ‘anti-education’ behaviour (for example early school leaving) and, consequently, reduce the future chances of these young people (Ministerie van OC&W, 2000). Another example of inequality in education relates to the differences that exist between urban and rural educational experiences, as would appear to be the case in Portugal. When there are relatively large differences between rural and urban areas, children may roughly have had the same years of primary schooling, but still lack basic qualifications, participating instead in the local economy. Finally, the growing number of private third-level schools and ‘pen and paper’ courses could undermine equal education opportunities. If these courses would achieve a qualitatively higher level than public education, they might set a new, but especially costly education standard because of their private nature.

With regard to the criterion of stratification, the educational systems are even more diverse. At the primary level of schooling, all countries display low stratification and limited selection. In the Netherlands however, there has occurred a considerable growth in the number of children who attend special primary and secondary education (SCP, 1998a). Furthermore, research shows that children who enter special education rarely pass on to mainstream education. While the absolute number of pupils has steadily decreased in recent
decades, the number of pupils in special education has risen by some 15 per cent in the last ten years (especially in secondary and other forms of special education; both about 25%) (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, 1998).

In terms of secondary education, the German structure shows the earliest and strongest signs of stratification, beginning at the age of 10 (see also Chapter III.1). In the Netherlands and Ireland, initial selection takes place at the age of 12. In the Dutch case, stratification effects are somewhat delayed because most secondary schools offer a one or two-year 'bridging class' before a decision is made as to what level of schooling the pupil should pursue. Recently, the Basic Education Act, has been implemented to replace the old system of the 'bridging class'. It is directed at realising a uniform, basic package of knowledge and skills for all pupils between the ages of 12 and 15. This means that all pupils, regardless of the type of secondary school, are taught a compulsory core curriculum of subjects during the first three years of their secondary education. Another important reform that has been introduced in the Netherlands in recent years is the 'Study House', a consequence of the continuing debate on the perceived importance of 'Lifelong Learning'. This means that pupils in the senior cycle of secondary education are to become much more independent in planning their educational activities and in working on specific projects. Another 'way out' of early stratification exists through the possibilities of horizontal or vertical movement from one school-type to another (the 'stacking-up' of diplomas) during the education career. Still, in spite of these possibilities, the Dutch system still often tends to sort out pupils at an early stage of secondary education, in a way that strongly correlates with their respective social backgrounds (Koers, 1995; Meijers, 1995). Formally, the first few years of secondary education in the Netherlands seems to resemble the situation that exists in both Ireland and Portugal. In the latter case, selection takes place at the beginning of upper-secondary education (or senior cycle), around the age of 15. In Ireland, stratification occurs between the ages of 15 and 18. Pais and Cabral (1998) observe a clear split in Portugal between the 'youth universes', between those who are trained for the labour market and those who are trained for post-secondary education. Despite successive Portuguese governments' introduction of flexibilisation and diversification measures from the 1970s onwards – for example, the expanded possibilities for enrolling into university – these actions still have not overcome this problem fully.

Finally, the stratification with regard to third level education is of little significance in all four countries: the selection of students according to qualification type and level has taken place already either during or at the end of secondary education. Within tertiary education, no further important major stratification takes place. Different qualifications depend on previous performances, however these do not compare to the level of stratification that takes place at earlier stages of education.

3.3 Childhood and Youth: Definitions and Perspectives

Both childhood and youth can be considered life phases within the individual's life-course (Jones and Wallace, 1992). At the same time, to be a child or to be young is a construction that tends to have different meanings according to social, cultural, political and legal contexts that exist in each of the countries under discussion. The historically developed 'standard youth phase', in which a more or less clear-cut definition of youth could be made, according to the passing of a certain age, has become too simplistic to encapsulate the modern youth phase. In contemporary societies, albeit with their own specific cultural contexts, the process of individualisation, has caused the status of youth, or youth as a life stage to become more flexible and elusive thus adding to the difficulty of providing a clear definition (Cavalli & Gall, 1995; Pais, 1996a; 1996b). Age-intervals, traditionally used to define the life-stages of individuals, have changed over time and have become less important indicators. This has lead commentators to highlight the limitations of defining the youth phase in terms of only chronological age (Pitcher, 1995). However, age-intervals do still impact on the trajectories and transition processes of the individual. With each boundary crossed, increasing cultural, political and legal responsibilities and rights are assigned to the individual (or in some contexts have been withdrawn from the individual in recent years) and affect the individual's life trajectory positively or negatively.

Table 10 outlines key political and legal definitions of young people in the countries under discussion. As the table shows, for each country, different age-intervals or passages to rights and duties exist; to be 'young' or to be an 'adult' may vary according to education, work, relationships, criminal responsibility, etc. The incoherent patchwork of legislative measures reflects the specific cultural traditions of each country, but also the relative socio-economic circumstances or the political will that exists to address problematic issues within each state. Furthermore, national governments are obliged to respond to EU regulations and international conventions, designed to promote developments in the rights accorded to children and young people (e.g. the UN Convention on The Rights of The Child, 1989).

In many countries, legislation is focused on children's and young people's needs in relation to care and protection from exploitation on the basis of their position in society (for example employment protection legislation or legislation governing the age of sexual consent).

It has only been in recent years that a more active, participatory and individualistic status has been ascribed to children and young people, particularly in relation to decisions that affect their lives. The degree to which legislative measures are enforced and how much they move beyond a narrow protectionist view of young people, provides an operational measure of the status positions of children and young people in European contexts.
At least, it highlights fragmentation and inconsistencies that exist in relation to children's and young people's rights in different contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10: Legal and political definitions of childhood and youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age interval</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal age of majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal definition of child/young person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual consent or marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of criminal liability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditionally, adulthood used to be defined by two important transitions: the transition from education (while dependent on family for economic support) to the labour market which brought economic independence (Cavalli & Golland, 1995), and the transition into a marital relationship which often meant the creation of an independent household. However, in post-modern society such clear distinctions between youth and adulthood are becoming increasingly obscure, within a climate of mass educational participation and lifelong learning.

3.4 The Transition from School to Work

The transition from school into working life is undergoing changes in the countries under analysis, for example, the later age of entry into the labour market. The first experience of post-educational and full-time employment therefore tends to happen at a later age in all the countries. This is induced by extended periods of compulsory education, the perception that investment in qualifications may be the best strategy to counteract unemployment and labour market precariousness, or by delaying the entrance in a less receptive labour market during economic recession (Correia, 1992; Stoer & Araújo, 1992; Pais & Cabral, 1998; Ferreira et al., 1999).

In the Netherlands, apart from the prolongation of the school-going period in general – at present, the average age of school-leavers is about 21 years – another process has occurred recently, namely that of young people having substantial part-time jobs at earlier ages whilst still attending school. Employment is therefore being experienced at earlier ages, while, at the same time, young people are staying on longer in education. This combination of both school and work seems to lead to a more gradual and parallel school-to-work transition. In the Netherlands, the labour market for school-leavers has become much more receptive in recent years. Because of the economic upswing since 1995, the search-time has decreased for the whole range of qualification levels and differences in search-time between men and women are in general small. However, the chances of young people finding their first job still relates to ethnic background, educational attainment (in particular as to whether someone has obtained a diploma or not) and according to their place of residence (SEO 1996).

Unemployment however, is no longer not only restricted to these young people. Since the late 1980s, the proportion of non and low-skilled people has fallen in relation to the share of higher educated and skilled. This has led to the 'inflation' of formal certifications and therefore, if economic circumstances get worse, the higher educated will also be confronted with greater risks. Furthermore, there has been a significant change in the qualitative structure of the Dutch labour market, with parallels that will lead to the pushing out of the lower educated from their original functions (Wolbers, 1998; also see cooling out in Chapter IV.3). The pressure to educate oneself to a higher level has and will therefore become more intense, resulting in a dilemma: because of the abundant supply of higher educated young people, a large number of them cannot attain the position for which they have the qualifications. Acting rationally, these school-leavers will decide to pursue additional education to secure the position they aspire to and thus lowering the relative educational levels of those that are already on that level. Consequently, these persons are also forced to pursue further schooling. This means that the expansion of the educational system is sustained and collective measures
such as smaller scholarships, stronger selection criteria and shorter studies will probably not lower the demand for higher education. Likewise, extended schooling will not be a useful strategy to lower unemployment among the lower educated. At an individual level it is of course useful to have more education so as to secure a relatively better position within the queue at the entrance to the labour market. For the labour market as a whole however, this will lead only to further 'cooling out' and unemployment redistribution: by re-training the least qualified, those marginally above them will be threatened with unemployment again. A final development, which has occurred during the last decade, has had a further 'cooling-out' effect with regard to the lower-educated workers: the surge in part-time jobs among day-time students of secondary and tertiary education (Steijn & Hofman, 1999).

Although in Portugal the modal age of entering the labour market continues to be between 15 and 17 years (41%), between 1987 and 1997 there occurred a substantial decrease of young people who had their first paid job experience before reaching the age of 16 (30%) (Paix & Cabral, 1998). Although there is now less child labour than before, some still remains, which continues to resist the 'tide of modernisation'. It reflects the still old-fashioned employment structure in this country, where children from some social-economic backgrounds still enter employment at a very early age (Pinto, 1998). Working life itself in Portugal is characterised by high rates of mobility that alternate with periods of unemployment. Even those young people with higher qualifications (often from higher social origins) frequently choose a situation of temporary unemployment to avoid situations of over-qualification and frustration. High unemployment rates may therefore be not necessarily due to a lack of jobs, but to a lack of specific 'good' jobs. In a survey that offered an option of hypothetical employment, young Portuguese people with higher qualifications preferred to "wait for a job that meets expectations", whereas over 80 per cent of those with lower qualifications chose "taking the first opportunity to get a job and earn some money" (Paix & Cabral, 1998). A significant share of the least educated (and in general lower-class) young people facing unemployment, solve this problem by underemployment: i.e. work in the informal sector or in highly precarious jobs, without a work contract and welfare rights, at extremely low wages (Paix, 1991; Vaz, 1997; Paix & Cabral, 1998).

In Ireland too, there is the danger of entering the poorly paid, insecure and exploitative secondary segment of the labour market at a too young an age, but paradoxically, in this case because of a flourishing economy (Canny & Hughes, 1996). Although in the Irish context young people can only legally enter the labour market once they reach 16, at this stage some of them are likely to be in part-time jobs which are either family run businesses, or in the formal/informal labour market.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>NETHERLANDS</th>
<th>IRELAND</th>
<th>PORTUGAL</th>
<th>MIGRANTS IN GERMANY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trends of school participation</td>
<td>Higher rates since 1960s</td>
<td>Higher rates since 1970s</td>
<td>Higher rates since 1970s</td>
<td>Higher rates since 1960s, since mid 70s for migrant youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trends of participation in vocational training</td>
<td>General movement from vocational to general education</td>
<td>School leavers with certificates crowd out original target group</td>
<td>Vocational training less attractive in relation to higher education</td>
<td>Higher demand for vocational training places but lower supply by companies -&gt; crowding out of original target group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social groups in educational participation</td>
<td>Decrease of gender difference since the 1970s. Low rates among ethnic minorities – concentration at lower education levels.</td>
<td>Young women's participation and achievement higher than of young men. Very low among Traveller children.</td>
<td>'Feminisation' in education, esp. university. Educational expectations lower among rural working-class youth.</td>
<td>Concentration at lower levels of education. Training supply affected by regional differences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age of transition from school to work</td>
<td>21 years</td>
<td>18-21 years</td>
<td>15-17 years</td>
<td>German youth: 20-22; migrant youth 15-19 (due to shorter education/training)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups at risk of early school leaving</td>
<td>Lower-class Dutch and non-Dutch youth over-represented. Declining drop-out rates but still high in pre-vocational and pre-university sectors</td>
<td>Traveller children over-represented in dropping out after completing primary schooling.</td>
<td>Peasant and rural working class over-represented in early school leaving and repeating classes</td>
<td>Young migrants over-represented among early school-leavers (all secondary school levels, including vocational training)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of transition from school to work</td>
<td>Employment experienced at earlier ages. Combination of full-time secondary/tertiary education with part-time job.</td>
<td>Some youth under 16 active in family and informal economy. High rates of in-and-out between job and unemployment among early school-leavers and travellers. Increased risk of early entrance into unskilled employment due to high demand for labour.</td>
<td>High rates of in-and-out between job and unemployment. Temporary unemployment to avoid over-qualification and professional frustration by the higher qualified. Low-qualified use under-employment as solution to unemployment.</td>
<td>Unemployment rates among migrant youth remain high and light labour market hampers integration. Concentration in lower segments of labour market (unskilled, temporary and insecure jobs). Holders of higher diplomas tend to be over-qualified for labour market positions to which they have access in practice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At the same time, there exists a close relationship between early school leaving and long term unemployment. In 1996, the unemployment rate among unqualified school leavers was approximately 61 per cent one year after leaving school, a particularly high figure if the unemployment rates among those leaving at the Junior Cycle (26%) and those with a Leaving Certificate (8%) are considered (Williams & Collins, 1997). Both early school-leavers between the ages of 18 and 20 (with no educational qualifications and not targeted by any education or training measures) and Travellers’ children (an ethnic minority group in Ireland, see below) are considered as highly vulnerable target groups. In the former group, substantial job mobility alternates with periods of unemployment. To thwart this process, and in the event that minimum norms of education have shifted upward, ‘Youthreach’ programmes and community training workshops try to delay labour market entrance. Young people who leave school early, tend to return to compensatory education provisions once they become aware of the lack of mobility associated with the section of the labour market in which they are concentrated.

Similarly, in Germany the relevance of the level of schooling and the type of diploma achieved is fundamental in labour market transitions, this also applies to migrants. Despite measures and programmes that have had some positive effects on the schooling situation of migrant youth, unemployment rates among young migrants remain high and the tight labour market situation renders integration impossible for a significant number of them. Those without a school certificate or those with only a qualification of a low status, tend to remain in the lower segments of the labour market. Consequently, their chances in the primary job market are poor and they tend to rely on the ‘grey’ market of occasional and insecure jobs and unskilled labour, on pre-vocational, training and employment schemes or they risk remaining unemployed. Having a qualification facilitates labour market entrance, although sometimes the obtained job does not correspond to what the person was trained for. In some cases the person is over-qualified for the position he/she holds. An additional perspective arises from the internal migration from Eastern to Western Germany due the lack of jobs and apprenticeships, which act as push-factors from those areas (see Chapter III.2).

3.5 Disadvantage and State Interventions in Education and the Labour Market

Discriminatory and Regulatory Legislation, Policies and Practices

In Germany, the mandatory work permit, coupled with the determination of status of residence, is used to exploit the labour of non-EU workers for economic interests and privileges German and EU-workers in times of labour shortages. Failures of housing policies are evident in both Germany and Ireland with reference to migrant families and Travellers. In Ireland, local authorities pursue assimilation policies that aim to undermine the nomadic lifestyle inherent in the Travellers’ culture. In Germany, poor housing conditions of migrant families can jeopardise their residency status: high rents coupled with a low income can push migrant families into very poor living conditions.

The legislation that governs compulsory education seems also to be applied differentially. In Ireland for instance, Travelling children continue to leave school after primary education at the age of twelve although the legal school leaving age is fifteen. School admission practices have undoubtedly contributed to this exclusion of Travellers from attending secondary education. At the moment, higher capitation grants are issued by the state as an indication of the fact that incentives are needed to enable Travellers to exercise their basic educational rights. Similarly, in Germany, there are groups of young people, in particular refugees and asylum seekers, who are exempt from compulsory school education. To receive social welfare payments in Ireland, an individual has to have a permanent address, which in effect discriminates against Travellers who wish to maintain their nomadic lifestyle and rely on welfare for a basic standard of living.

Penalties incurred by people who refuse to participate in training programmes further enhance the construction of disadvantage as it aims to force young people along particular trajectories and takes away the right of individual choice. For example, in the former Dutch JWG programme – now replaced by the WIT (Wet Inschakeling Werklozen/Act on the Mobilisation of the Unemployed) since the beginning of 1998 – a third refusal to an offer of education or work results in a person’s benefit being suspended for up to 13 weeks. If confronted by repressive social welfare regimes, some young people will actively marginalize themselves in an effort to avoid punishment and consequently risk extreme social exclusion, as for example with JWG drop-outs in the Netherlands (cf. Spies, 1998). In Ireland, the cohabitation rule means that state assistance is only given to a lone mother if she is living independently, and evidence of this has to be shown to welfare officials. This approach of penalising young people embodies the de-legitimation of the discourse of the rights of young people as citizens to the most basic of protections provided by the state. Their citizenship is thus contingent on their connection with the institutions of the state or the labour market. In various ways and to different degrees of intensity young people in most EU states are indeed being expected to demonstrate that they are exercising their abilities in the best possible ways in the pursuit of industrious activity.
Disadvantaged Groups

Early school leavers

In all the countries studied, early school leaving and the attainment of a few formal educational qualifications place young people at a severe risk of disadvantage and social exclusion. The Portuguese Youth Survey of 1997 showed that more than 20 per cent of young people leave school without completing compulsory minimum education (Pais & Cabral, 1998). In Ireland, despite greater participation rates in education at all levels, nearly 15 per cent (13,000) leave school each year immediately after the junior cycle. In the Netherlands, the SPVA survey (1994) found that around 5 per cent of those pupils who participated in the survey left secondary education without a diploma. Hövels (1996) estimates that about 3 per cent of Dutch young people leave full-time education shortly before the end of compulsory education. In Germany this rate has risen to 9 per cent until the end of the 1990s (Statistisches Bundesamt 2001). Early school leavers are in general almost drawn exclusively from lower working class and ethnic minority/migration backgrounds. In Portugal, they stem largely from the peasant and rural working class. In Ireland and Portugal, it appears that these early labour market entrants place them at risk of being exploited in insecure, poorly paid jobs in the secondary and informal labour markets with few prospects for promotion. This situation is further aggravated by the process of credentialism across Europe. In the ‘certificate society’, the education level rises more rapidly than necessary and the drive for qualifications means that the distribution of education is not being increasingly equalised but merely shifting upwards.

Ethnic and cultural minorities

Ethnic and cultural minorities are often perceived as a heterogeneous group of ‘foreigners’ without taking account of their origins and in some cases they are not even considered as citizens as they do not share the dominant cultural values. This is the case for example with Travellers in Ireland, whose nomadic lifestyle/culture distinguishes them from the dominant ‘settled’ culture.

In all the countries under discussion, ethnic and cultural minorities are over-represented in the group of early school leavers and the less educated. In the Netherlands, those of Turkish and Moroccan origins, females in particular, tend to end the school career after obtaining a secondary diploma. A study of ethnic minorities in Lisbon in Portugal by Da Costa & Pimentel (1991), showed that among those who were older than 15 years, 75 per cent possessed qualifications of primary education or below. The majority of those who had left school had not achieved the compulsory minimum level of education (54%), and if they continued studying, they were more likely to qualify with ‘low prestige certificates’ and participate in vocational training or apprenticeships. This is also the case with migrant youth in Germany. This group comprises mainly those of Turkish origin, and smaller groups from Croatia, Bosnia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece and since the 1980’s, a large group of immigrants from Eastern Europe (mainly Russia) who have German citizenship, as they descended from German origins. The high rates of school failure that are recorded among migrant youth in Germany extend also to the second generation migrants, and unemployment, occasional or precarious employment is a common experience as well. In Ireland, young Travellers are virtually absent at the highest level of education. Their nomadic lifestyle and school admission policies have a direct impact on the opportunities for Travelling children to attend mainstream education. The level of literacy among them is very low and discrimination by school staff, other pupils and school-related organisational practices and policies militates against Travellers exercising their basic rights to education.

Finally, ethnic groups tend to be concentrated in certain sectors of the labour market, such as the construction industry or the agricultural sector. The main characteristic of these sectors is that they require minimal or no qualifications, which in turn contributes to the perception of migrants as being ‘under-educated’ and ‘unskilled.’ In Ireland, the traditional Traveller economy has become obsolete as a result of socio-economic changes and this has forced many Travellers to resort to welfare in order to survive.

Women and single mothers

Evidence from the different countries suggests that the integration and the career trajectories of women within the labour market are highly dependent on care obligations, individual family circumstances and the presence or absence of male breadwinners. To a greater or lesser extent, women’s paid employment trajectories are disrupted due to the presence of children. In general, the main cause for this may be attributed to the limited access to, or lack of childcare facilities and the tendency of women to assume a greater share of responsibilities towards childcare. The birth of a child therefore increases the probability of having to leave the labour market if other social support networks, for example the extended family, are not involved. The proportion of lone mothers engaged in paid employment varies substantially between countries: 23 per cent in Ireland, 40 per cent in the Netherlands, 40 per cent in Germany, and 50 per cent in Portugal. The Netherlands have a very low rate of lone mothers working full-time (16%) compared to Portugal (43%) (Bradshaw et al., 1996). Activity of single mothers depends on their access to education, training and child care. According to the comparative study of Bradshaw et al. education and training is ranked as a low priority in Ireland and in Germany in provision and quality. The Netherlands rank low in provision and medium in quality. Portugal takes a medium position in terms of provision and a low one in quality. Belgium and Sweden are the only countries in Europe which are ranked high in both of these features. As regards child care provision Ireland has very poor extra family childcare outside family. The Netherlands have much better but relatively more expensive
formal provision. In Germany, formal provision is poor but cheaper than in the Netherlands. In Portugal, childcare provision is ranked medium whereas costs are high (Bradshaw et al. 1996). The continuity of employment is highest among mothers in Portugal, followed by Germany and the Netherlands, where in the latter case women move in and out of the workforce in accordance with family commitments. The main reason why employment among mothers is very common in Portugal, is not the fact that they want to pursue an employment career, but that their income is often needed to balance the husbands' earnings. At the same time, the supply of kindergartens is insufficient and of poor quality, and in many cases therefore, the oldest family members (grandparents) take care of the children. In the South of Europe particularly, family networks cover up inadequate policies of state support for working mothers. On the other hand, the share of economically active mothers that are found in Ireland is significantly lower than in the other countries. A report by Kempeneers & Lelièvre (1991), also showed that the lowest levels of participation by mothers (38%) and lone mothers (20%) in all of the formal economies in the EU were to be found in Ireland. In the Netherlands, the response to low labour market participation has been to provide women with a constrained choice (Walsh, 1999), i.e. to combine home duties with part-time employment. Although this may be regarded as a trajectory 'leading' towards both social and labour market integration, as a certain amount of choice is possible, the domains of work and care are still left very much gendered. Germany is also characterised by a strong male breadwinner welfare regime (Lewis & Ostner, 1992) and having children impacts significantly on women's career trajectories: single mothers are more likely to be treated as mothers or wives, rather than workers. In Ireland, the difficulties that are experienced by young mothers who attempt to access mainstream education, training and employment have been highlighted by McCashin (1997).

The opportunities or constraints that exist in local labour markets can also have particular implications for women and, more precisely, mothers. The latter often have to be satisfied with limited job search areas because of care responsibilities. Despite the re-unification of Germany into one (welfare) state regime, the self-identification and economic behaviour of single mothers continues to vary between the two former states (Klett-Davies, 1997). Historical, cultural, regional and social expectations relating to female employment may therefore have an impact on the jobs made available in regions, as well as on the rates of labour market participation. Klett-Davies' research (1997) on Turkish single mothers in Germany indicates that their education and work biographies are often interrupted by their families who do not value education, training and work experience for their daughters on the basis that it contradicts their traditional beliefs. According to Hövels (1996) the traditional role pattern of housewife and mother is also still very important among women of Turkish and Moroccan origin in the Netherlands.

Policies for Disadvantaged Groups in Education and the Labour Market

The educational context in Portugal has been characterised in terms of a simultaneous crisis and consolidation of mass schooling (Stoer & Araújo, 1992), which in general terms has brought Portugal up to the same level as other EU countries. Despite this development, young rural and working class young people still enter the labour market relatively early even though not all can be guaranteed jobs. While the official statistics show low unemployment rates, young people and children from lower social classes and rural areas work in extremely unstable and unqualified jobs, often in the informal sector (especially African immigrants), whereas those from higher social classes stay in the educational system (too) long, leading to over-qualification. Besides unemployment, under-employment is a feature of the Portuguese labour market, as is growing flexibility and 'rotativism/ion'. These situations force young people to accept jobs far below their educational level, which results in them changing their jobs frequently thereby creating job insecurity. Job changing is part of the continuous process of searching for a better job. One can speak of the transformation of 'integrative (un-)employment' into 'mobility (un-)employment' as an important feature of the Portuguese labour market, which undergoes modernisation while a large number of economic sectors still function on the basis of informality or sometimes even subsistence. The main strategy in order to cope with this situation is to provide for, and 'push forward' participation in vocational training as the proper way to compensate for an insufficient labour market demand. Yet the probability of remaining unemployed after participation remains high. In that sense, vocational measures, but also the professionalisation of the educational system, function as mechanisms of cooling-out and for blaming unemployment on individual young people (Pais & Cabral, 1998). The Programme of Integration of Young People in Working Life (PIJAVA) aims at promoting the creation of enterprises and self-employment, and as a means of labour market regulation, financial incentives are provided to companies that contract and/or train unemployed young people or those who seek their first job. Finally, labour market liberalisation policies are directed to permit greater job flexibility and increased professional mobility. However, all of the above mentioned measures have in general, little influence or impact on solving the problems of unemployment, underemployment and over-qualification wholly.

Irish policies focus firstly on retaining young people at school, and secondly on promoting alternative programmes for early school leavers and the long-term unemployed. The Education (Welfare) Act 2000 has been introduced to address the problem of school truancy in a more comprehensive way. Measures to improve school retention include such programmes as Early Start and Breaking the Cycle. Measures to broaden educational options at senior level include the Transition Year and a Leaving Certificate Applied Pro-
gramme, a more vocational type option. Some of these measures tackling educational disadvantage in particular demographic areas rely on an integrated, multi-agency approach (8-15 Early School Leavers Project). The main focus of programmes like Younreach, Basic Skills Programme, Skills Foundation Programmes is to provide young unqualified early school leavers with a basic compensatory vocational education. However, second chance education and training programmes often negatively affect the trajectories of the participants because of problems of standardised certification and the lack of follow-up opportunities.

Since the 1980's there has been a steady increase of active labour market programmes which corresponded with rising rates of (youth) unemployment. Direct employment schemes have been found to be less effective (O'Connell & McGinnity, 1997). Community Employment (CE) is the traditional mainstay of training the long-term unemployed. As soon as the labour market shortages emerged, the number of places on the CE schemes began to be curtailed. This happened because of increasing concern that CE was offering a more attractive package, thus competing with employers seeking low-skilled labour. There has been ongoing criticism on CE's poor performance at placing people in open employment over the years. However, policy decisions to transfer more unemployed from CE to specific and more expensive skills training programmes to qualify them to work in high demand occupations, have only occurred when labour shortages became more urgent, such as in the late 1990's. Programmes of further education, training or work options have been targeted at the long-term unemployed within the cohort aged between 21 and 35 years: Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme, Back To Work Allowance Scheme, Community Employment. Finally, employment protection legislation for young people has not been sufficiently enforced to be effective.

In the Netherlands, the government's policy position is that, given the increased demand for higher educated and skilled employees, every citizen should obtain at least a 'Primary Starting Qualification'. This should enable young people to secure an employment position now and in the future (Hoeks et al., 1999). The programme 'A Well Prepared Start' has been designed to combat early school leaving at both the compulsory and post-compulsory level. Combined school based learning and on the job experience, greater variation in training and integrated youth policies are offered to young people who are at risk of leaving school early. For example, the OVB (Onderwijs Voorrang Beleid) programme has been designed to tackle disadvantage by additional resources to schools with a high proportion of disadvantaged pupils. Finally, the Primary Education Act and the so-called 'Study House' both aim to match education more effectively to the requirements of a changing modern society. In the former case, this was to be achieved by offering a core curriculum to all pupils during the first two or three years of their

secondary education, to smooth the transition between primary and secondary school and to postpone choices of further education. In the latter case it was to be achieved by encouraging pupils take a more active role in their own learning.

Since the 1980’s, and with unemployment figures rising, youth unemployment programmes have become more and more geared to serve the needs of the labour-market, stressing the importance of the supply-side, or - to put it differently - the ‘employability’ of young people. Most of the measures taken since that period meant a worsening of the economic position of youth, especially with regard to minimum wages and welfare benefits. Employment and schooling became educational instruments instead of labour market instruments. Unemployment became to be defined as an individual instead of a societal problem. The implementation in the early 1990s of ‘Activating Labour Market Policy’, aimed to prevent long-term unemployment among young people through the Guaranteed Youth Employment Scheme (JWG). This system was claimed to be an integral “no-escape” model, aimed at providing young people who were unemployed for more than six months, with access to regular work or schooling. Numerous problems (unqualified jobs which did not lead to permanent integration in the labour force; bad pay; insufficiently complete registration etc.) and prosperous economic development during recent years, has led to the abolishment of JWG as a measure specially designed for various groups of problem youth. From 1998 onwards it has been integrated into a general unemployment scheme (WIA). Although the instrument has in general remained the same, at present the WIA for youth seems to concentrate more and more exclusively on a relatively small group of young people with multiple social problems (Van Hooff, 2000).

In Germany various models of combining German with mother-tongue classes and further teacher training have been developed to promote the integration of young migrants into regular classes of the school system and to lower drop-out rates. Unfortunately, measures of mother-tongue and bilingual classes often helped pupils only on to more specialised programmes or even further alienation. At the moment, foreign children and adolescents are being integrated to a greater degree into regular measures and models explicitly designed for the “foreigners” are becoming less common. The dark side of that development, though, might be a neglect of the specific difficulties and needs.

Since the 1980’s, programmes designed to foster professional and social integration of adolescents and young adults focus mainly on the transition from school to work. This includes young migrants, for whom the focus on professional integration lies in vocational training. Those who do not enter a regular training after secondary education (there are not enough training places due to 'qualification inflation') are pushed to attend one year of vocational education, BVV or BGJ ('Berufs-vorbereitungs jahr' or 'Berufsgrund-
3.6 Discussion

In this final paragraph, the four countries are compared according to the information presented earlier in this chapter and to the following dimensions:

1) What types of trajectories exist in the respective countries and how do they relate to opportunities for social integration or risks for social exclusion?

2) What are the needs of the labour market in the respective countries, and what kind of state measures are applied to support young people’s integration in the labour market?

3) The relationship between state and family support

Types of Trajectories

In order to show the differences between the transition periods of children and young people, which exist in all four countries albeit in different forms, we refer to the classification of trajectories by Evans and Heinz (1994) introduced already in Chapter I – direct/precarious, semi-skilled, skilled/vocational, and academic – and to its application in Table 5 in Chapter II. According to this classification the situation in the four countries is as shown in Table 12. In each country different types and frequencies of trajectories can be found, differing in degree of risk.

Table 12: Dominant Trajectories in Ireland, Portugal, the Netherlands and for young migrants in Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trajectories</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Portugal</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
<th>Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Transitions</td>
<td>Relevant but decreasing</td>
<td>Relevant and persisting</td>
<td>Not relevant</td>
<td>Low but quite relevant for migrant youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Transitions</td>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>Relevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled (Vocational) Transitions</td>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Transitions</td>
<td>Relevant and increasing</td>
<td>Increasingly relevant</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td>Relevant and slowly increasing for migrants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We propose to make a distinction between two dimensions of risk. Firstly, objective or systemic risk factors, for example, unstable labour markets, structural youth unemployment, lack of educational facilities and fixed family and gender roles. Secondly, the way in which individuals deal with risks and opportunities, i.e. the subjective risk factors which are involved. Furthermore, as young people live in different types of societies, some realises more traditional trajectories and others realise more individualised ones (see Chapter III.1). Accordingly, the type of risk and ways of dealing with them differs. We get four possible categories that indicate leading or misleading youth trajectories.

High systemic risks – high subjective risk factors
This category contains the most risky and misleading trajectories for all four countries, although it depends on specific economic and labour market factors and welfare systems how high the actual danger of social marginalisation will be. Young people in these types of trajectories are often the main target group for training measures as they need to compensate for their insufficient education in periods of high unemployment. These young people – especially men, among them migrant youth – aim for early employment within a single male breadwinner model, which is considered not to be adequate in advanced service economies. In the Netherlands and in Ireland, a low level of education is less risky in the short term because of economic prosperity in these contexts. For young migrants in Germany and in Portugal, it may however be considered dangerous because of the high percentages of youth unemployment and the low welfare benefits (Portugal). Single mothers are in danger of misleading trajectories as well. Early motherhood trajectories – a typical lower class phenomenon – in combination with stable family relations used to be an accepted status for young women up to the 1960s in modernised countries and continues to be so in less modernised countries even now. However, at present, young women need to be in education and delay becoming mothers.
until (far) later on, in their late twenties or even thirties (Netherlands and Germany), as the early arrival of motherhood is often considered the first step towards social and economic marginalisation. In countries with strong rural traditions (Portugal and Ireland), young mothers depend on their (extended) families while having exceptionally poor chances to get (back) to work. Migrant youth in all the countries under discussion have in general less educational and western-cultural capital than they need for successful trajectories, while the early and/or single parenthood trajectories apply to the females in this group too. In Portugal, young Africans continue to enter the country, despite of scarce employment opportunities for young Portuguese themselves, which in turn leads to much illegal and informal work. Yet, highly precarious sub-cultural and criminal trajectories exist in all the four countries.

Low systemic risks – high subjective risk factors

This category displays the trajectories of young people who act upon the risks of the present-day economy by extending their educational careers to the level that is demanded on the (flexible) labour market. While this trajectory is already very common in the Netherlands, in Ireland and in Germany, it is not to the same extent in Portugal. Portuguese young people who realise prolonged educational trajectories find themselves often not being led to appropriate and desired jobs. The mismatch between the educational and economic system leads in its extreme to the paradoxical situation that highly educated foreign employees are imported while at the same time highly educated Portuguese young people (especially men) leave for other countries (such as France), a phenomena known as the “brain-drain”. It is within this trajectory that young women try to find alternative solutions for traditional combinations of employment and motherhood, experiment with all kinds of job arrangements and try to strike a good balance between career and family (Netherlands). The present high demand for labour strengthens this process even further, accompanied by pressure on public and private employers to improve childcare provision. Young female migrants are often more education-oriented than their male counterparts thus modernising their traditional gender biography. In Ireland and Portugal, the family of origin frequently provides childcare.

High systemic risks – low subjective risk factors

In this category young people are similar to those in the first category with respect to the risky trajectories, except that they represent the rural fraction (Portugal) and (sub-)urban working class youth, including migrants (Netherlands and Germany). In Portugal, trajectories whereby children and youth move early into employment are still common in rural areas where families are for a part or wholly dependent on their children’s help and do not want or cannot afford more education. They are not as directly confronted with lack of educational capital as their urban counterparts, but have at the same time less opportunity to compensate by enrolling onto training schemes.

Low systemic risks – low subjective risk factors

This category contains a rather mixed group of young people, thereby documenting the diversification of youth biographies of young Europeans that goes along with modernisation processes. It consists, first, of traditionally well-off families whose offspring take established university courses (medicine; law etc.) and are backed up financially by their family of origin (all countries; for example the ‘Jeunesse Dorée’ in Portugal). At the same time, the flexibilisation of the labour market and the development of new industries, technology, etc., renders possible new types of trajectories, for instance combining working experience with learning and experimenting with starting up enterprises (Netherlands). These trajectories, redefining and full of opportunities in times of a booming economy, are nevertheless not without the risk of misleading young entrepreneurs when they mis-judge their chances in a given situation and are not backed up by family and other social networks.

State Measures and the Demands of the Labour Markets

While state measures for support of young people who are in danger of realising misleading trajectories show similar features in our four countries, there are differences as well. These are summarised in table 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Supply-side measures in relation to labour-market demands.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
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<td>Portugal</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

From this table it becomes clear that policies and schemes addressing young people with low qualifications in the Netherlands and in Germany especially, appear not to be in tune with labour market demands referring to high skilled labour; these programmes primarily have socio-political functions. In Ireland the booming economy increases entrance options to the labour market how-
ever diversifying with regard to both individual qualification prerequisites but also mid and long-term risks. In Portugal, measures apparently fail in reducing the mismatch between qualifications and labour market demands, but leads to under and over qualification instead.

Family and Welfare Support

The two main support systems to help young people on their way to social and economic integration are, the family of origin and the state.

Table 14: Family Support versus Welfare State Support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FAMILY SUPPORT</th>
<th>STATE SUPPORT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>High support / high obligations</td>
<td>Low support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>High support / high obligations</td>
<td>Low support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>High support / low obligations</td>
<td>High support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant Youth in Germany</td>
<td>Support and obligations depending on general family situation</td>
<td>Medium support; low or no support for illegal migrants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While in Portugal and among young migrants in Germany and to a lesser extent in Ireland, the extended family plays a big role in supporting their children with housing and other material means to compensate for inadequate welfare facilities (in Germany it is due to rather limited access). In the Netherlands young people can rely on welfare benefits and are less dependent on their families. Dutch young people become independent much earlier of their families. Although they move into their own homes, they delay starting a family until later as they spend most of their youth phase building up educational careers. If they stay longer in their family homes, it is not so much because of economic necessity but more because they choose to stay on and there is enough space in the houses. Parents give financial support if necessary, but do not ask for duties in return.

By contrast, Portuguese young people, especially in rural areas, are generally highly dependent on their parents, gaining ‘full independence’ takes far longer than for example in the Netherlands – and sometimes they do not succeed at all because of the lack of state support (long-term unemployed young people). Usually they only leave their family of origin when building their own families, even though educational careers have become longer. Lack of an income of their own and housing shortages add to their dependence on their family of origin. The same holds true for some young Irish people. For both, the highly economically dependent and the economically more independent young people, the family of origin is extremely important in giving them support in the emotional sense. Obviously the binding links between family members are more obliging in the former case.

Concluding Remarks

What has become most clear is that similarities and dissimilarities in both possible and actual misleading trajectories in the countries under discussion are very much depending on the context. In each country, types of trajectories and transitions differ in relevance, and specific traditions and circumstances exist with regard to educational systems, the economical structure and the local, regional and national labour markets at certain points in time. Other differences of concern are for example gender roles, the definitions and perspectives on youth and childhood and the importance of different types of supporting networks. At the same time however, there are similarities too. These are fuelled by among other things, structural economic change and ongoing global processes of cultural modernisation that do not consider national barriers and consequently have general impacts, albeit at different speeds and in particular ‘mixes’. It seems that in all countries corresponding types of ‘disadvantaged trajectories’ can be found if one looks at integration and exclusion in terms of the structural and subjective risks involved in each country itself. The trajectories that have the clearest negative structural consequences are those in which too little and/or the wrong educational capital is collected, those that involve parenthood at an early age (especially single motherhood). The groups of young people who are involved in these trajectories generally stem from lower social-economic backgrounds, irrespective of ethnic descent. Subjective risks in following certain trajectories in general involves little academic aspiration, traditional family and gender (i.e. female) roles – often aggravated by ethnic background, and a non-supportive network (family or state). However, they can also be found in the mismatch between socio-economic background and/or specific gender roles on the one hand and possible situations of educational mobility on the other. ‘Misleading’ elements of a structural nature can be found in educational systems and state programmes for the unemployed, the unpredictability of the labour market and economic circumstances and the relationship between them, but also in existing social structures that relate to class, gender and ethnicity. Finally, subjective ‘misleading’ elements can be found when these social and economic structures are not connected with individual biographies, whether the former holds ‘false information’ or the latter.