STRATEGIC TRANSITIONS FOR YOUTH LABOUR IN EUROPE

D 9.4 - Young People as Outsiders: Prevalence, composition and participation

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STYLE-WP9:

Vulnerable Voices and Cultural Barriers:

Attitude and Aspirations

Submission date - Planned: 31/03/2016 Actual: 29/03/2016

This project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under Grant Agreement no. 613256.

STYLE Working Papers are peer-reviewed outputs from the www.style-research.eu project. The series is edited by the project coordinator Professor Jacqueline O'Reilly. These working papers are intended to meet the European Commission's expected impact from the project:

i) to 'advance the knowledge base that underpins the formulation and implementation of relevant policies in Europe with the aim of enhancing the employment of young people and their transition to economic and social independence', and

ii) to engage with 'relevant communities, stakeholders and practitioners in the research with a view to supporting employment policies in Europe.' Contributions to a dialogue about these results can be made through the project website www.style-research.eu, or by following us on Twitter @STYLEEU.

To cite this report:

Arrigoni A., Betthaeuser B., Chase E., Ferragina E., Seeleib-Kaiser M., Spreckelsen T. (2016) *Young People as Outsiders: Prevalence, composition and participation*, STYLE Working Papers, WP9.4. CROME, University of Brighton, Brighton. http://www.style-research.eu/publications

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Acknowledgements

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 613256.

Executive Summary

Our analysis highlights the importance of expanding the research on youth unemployment to understand the wider dimensions of *youth labour market outsiderness* (YLMO). As a reference point for our research we have chosen the standard employment relationship. YLMO is much more widespread in Europe than a sole focus on unemployment would suggest. Nevertheless, the prevalence of YLMO varies considerably across Europe. In addition to examining the prevalence of YLMO across Europe the report also investigates the implications of YLMO for the political and social participation of European youth. Our analysis builds on a mixed method approach, incorporating quantitative analysis, employing the EU-SILC dataset for 30 European countries, and qualitative analysis of youth outsiderness in the five countries of Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK based on more than one hundred interviews with young outsiders and local stakeholders. Our findings suggest that institutional arrangements can significantly impact the prevalence of YLMO, the support available for young outsiders as well as their political and social participation.

Key words:

Youth labour market outsiderness, youth unemployment, political participation of young people, social participation of young people, EU-SILC, Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain, UK

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
BG	Bulgaria
CH	Switzerland
CY	Cyprus
CZ	Czech Republic
DE	Germany
DK	Denmark
DWP	Department for Work & Pensions
EC	European Commission
EE	Estonia
ES	Spain
EU	European Union
EU-SILC	European Union Survey on Income and Living Conditions
FI	Finland
FR	France
GR	Greece
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
INJUVE	Instituto de la Juventud
IS	Iceland
IT	Italy
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
LV	Latvia
MT	Malta
NL	Netherlands
NO	Norway
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PL	Poland
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania
SE	Sweden
SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UK	United Kingdom
YLMO	Youth Labour Market Outsiderness

1. Introduction

Young people are not only finding it increasingly difficult to find a job, but are also more and more likely to be employed in precarious jobs. Our analysis highlights the importance of expanding research on youth unemployment to incorporate wider dimensions of *youth labour market outsiderness* (YLMO). Our conceptualisation of YLMO uses the 'standard employment relationship', conceptualized as being full-time, permanent and financially secure, as a reference point (cf. Mückenberger 1985; Standing 2009; 2011). A standard employment relationship is seen as providing an individual with the economic resources necessary to achieve a decent and secure standard of living, which also enables workers to meet consumption needs that in turn facilitate social participation beyond the workplace (see, e.g., Nordenmark and Strandh, 1999). Furthermore, it facilitates a person's social and political participation by providing her with a sense of identity, social status and purpose within the wider society, sustaining the formation of interpersonal relationships, and having an organizing effect on her life (e.g., by providing a time-structure) (Jahoda, 1981; Dieckhoff and Gash 2015). Hence, exclusion from standard employment can 'spill over' and lead to social exclusion in other dimensions of social life, thus leading to a 'vicious cycle' of social exclusion (see, e.g., Gallie et al., 2003; Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeizel, 1972).

Building on Emmenegger et al. (2012), we hypothesise that labour market outsiderness is shaped by formal and informal institutions which a) influence to what extent young people are excluded from standard employment and b) mediate the effects of YLMO on social and political participation. Relevant institutions may include education and training, welfare provision, youth policies and family arrangements. The objectives of our study are: a) to provide two 'snapshots' of the extent of YLMO across Europe before and after the 2008 financial crisis, as it is sometimes suggested that the crisis had a significant effect; b) to understand the complexity of the phenomenon by decomposing the broad category of outsiderness into different key dimensions and examining how the composition of outsiderness varies across Europe and different institutional constellations; c) to shed light on the consequences of YLMO for social and political participation and how this association is mediated by different institutional constellations. We draw on quantitative and qualitative data.

Our report is structured as follows: In the first section we address the methodological approach of our study. We elaborate and operationalize the concept of labour market outsiderness and describe the three elements of our mixed method approach: the quantitative analyses, the qualitative interviews and the policy and institutional analyses. The subsequent section then presents the findings of the study discussing a) the extent of YLMO and its different components across Europe over time, b) the

institutional context in the five country countries selected for in-depth analysis, and c) the participation of youth outsiders. The final section concludes that YLMO varies considerably across Europe, suggesting an important role for formal and informal institutions in shaping the prevalence and type of YLMO and in mediating its social and political consequences.

2. Concepts and Methods

This study takes a mixed-method approach to examining YLMO in Europe. We analyse data from the population survey EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) to shed light on the extent and types of YLMO in different European countries and on the complex association between YLMO and key outcome measures for young people, including housing conditions and participation in societal groups and organizations. These quantitative analyses are complemented by a review of the relevant institutional structures of the five country cases and by semi-structured interviews with young people and experts in each of the country cases. Next we discuss the operationalization of *youth labour market outsiderness (YLMO),* the quantitative and qualitative methods used and the rationale for the five-country case study.

Defining youth labour market outsiderness

Our conceptualization of labour market outsiderness uses the standard employment relationship as a reference point (Mückenberger 1985; Standing 2009). Accordingly, a person would be considered an outsider if her employment is not full-time, or not permanent, or does not lead to financial independence. This definition of outsiderness combines an employment and income dimension. It broadens the employment dimension of labour market outsiderness to include inactivity as well as atypical employment. The relationship between labour market outsiderness and the underlying dimension is schematically described in Table 1.

Table 1: A schematic representation of dimensions constituting labour market outsiderness

		Employment stability						
		Inactive	**Unemployed**		**Employment**			
			Long-term	Short-term	Seasonal	Fixed-term	Other atypical	Permanent & full-time
Income	*High*							
	Average	*Labour market outsiders*						
	Low							

For our quantitative analysis we define young people as those between 16 to 29 years of age.[4] The qualitative interviews also included some 'older' young people up to 34 years of age, which enabled us to speak with outsiders that had experienced YLMO before the advent of the economic crisis.

Approach to data collection and analysis

The quantitative analyses focuses on population proportions and use the cross-sectional EU-SILC, which has the advantage of combing cross-nationally comparable data on both working conditions and income, essential to put in operation our definition of labour market outsiderness. Based on the 2012 data (most recent at time of study) we first estimated proportions of YLMOs, the underlying dimensions, and levels of social and political participation.[5] Furthermore we estimated similar proportions of youth labour market outsiderness for age and gender, and in response to initial qualitative findings for living with one's parents. We assessed youth social and political participation with the 2006 EU-SILC Ad-hoc module on "Social participation". Though somewhat dated these data uniquely allow for the multi-dimensional measurement of YLMO in relation to social participation. All analyses were conducted in Stata 14.0 (StataCorp, College Station, TX). All analyses are weighted and adjustments for sampling-designs and confidence intervals expressing the uncertainty of the estimates were calculated (Heeringa et al., 2010). The EU-SILC scientific-use data is not provided with the necessary sample design variables, such as identifiers for primary sampling units. These identifiers were constructed following Goedemé (2013). Missing data was imputed using multiple imputation with chained equations (White et al. 2011)[6].

The qualitative analysis is based on 134 semi-structured individual and group interviews with young outsiders and experts. Individual interviews generally took between 30 and 60 minutes. The interview schedule for outsiders was broadly structured in three sections: a) a biographical section gathering information on aspects such as family background, education, work history and current position in the labour market; b) a discussion on the social participation habits of the interviewee; and, finally c) a discussion about her perception and engagement with politics (Appendix 6.4). The expert interviews were structured according to the interviewees' specific expertise (Appendix 6.5). Interviewees were recruited through a network of gatekeepers in governmental and non-governmental organisations, charities, local authorities, and political activists. Expert interviewees also served as gatekeepers to access youth outsider participants. Participating outsiders were asked to assist with contacting

[4] This age band maps on the age thresholds used throughout the STYLE project, see *Data and Definitions*, WP8 T1, unpublished.

[5] Participation data comes from the EU-SILC 2006 Ad-hoc module: Social participation (cf. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/income-and-living-conditions/data/ad-hoc-modules).

[6] Variables imputed were: self-defined economic status, education variables, type of contract, and the participation variables from the EU-SILC ad-hoc module (PS010-PS100). The imputation models' (OLS, logit, ologit, truncated regressions) regressors were country, respondents' sex, age, household income and size, as well as the personal cross-sectional weights.

additional potential interviewees, following a purposive snowballing approach that was deemed appropriate for this hard-to-reach population. Although not representative the sample of interviewed youth outsiders allows for an in-depth exploration of diverse narratives and experiences in different institutional and personal contexts. Interview findings will be presented throughout the report, with a reference to the anonymised interviewee and country e.g. "(Interview n. 57 – Spain)", with a full list of interviewees given in the Appendix 6.6.

Mixed method design

A particular strength of this study is its 'fully-integrated' (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003) mixed method design using qualitative and quantitative analyses in parallel and combination. Initially the quantitative analyses provided the background for the qualitative interviews. The operationalization of youth labour market outsiders based on the EU-SILC guided the selection of interviewees. Similarly, the more structured part of the interview linked to the quantitative variables. This enabled us to simultaneously assess the extent, complexity and consequences of youth labour market outsiderness.

Measuring youth labour market outsiderness

In order to measure the extent of youth outsiderness we need to operationalize its key employment and income dimensions (see Table 1). Dimensions of youth labour market outsiderness are operationalized as follows:

Unemployment and inactivity: All employment related dimensions of youth outsiderness were derived from the EU-SILC's "Self-defined economic status" variable. Any young person stating "unemployed" as his/her economic status,[7] or indicating "inactivity" in terms of disability, household- or care work, and any other type of inactivity mentioned is regarded as a youth labour market outsider.

Forms of atypical employment: A young person working on basis of a temporary contract or part-time.[8]

Individuals in any of the above conditions earning more than 200% of the median (gross) income were excluded; an example would be consultants or other high-earning professionals working on short-term contracts.

Financial independence is operationalized as not being *poor.* A young person is considered poor in line with the European Union definition of living in a household with an equivalized disposable household income of less than 60% of the country's median income. Since, all employment

[7] This will to some extent include individuals considered to be in short-term or seasonal employment, as they are characterized by unemployment spells and the EU-SILC measures ask about economic status in a reference week, rather than time period.

[8] By definition this will include zero-hour contracts, temporary agency employment, part-time, 'bogus interns', 'bogus self-employed'

categories above were already included, the variable *poverty* allows us to differentiate between *poverty in education* and *poverty in employment*, for youth respondents either working or being in education according to their self-defined economic status. Through this operationalization we cover the *employment* component of labour market outsiderness and simultaneously account for lack of financial independence. For more details on the operationalization of the outsider concepts using the EU-SILC please see *Appendix 6.1*.

Five country case studies

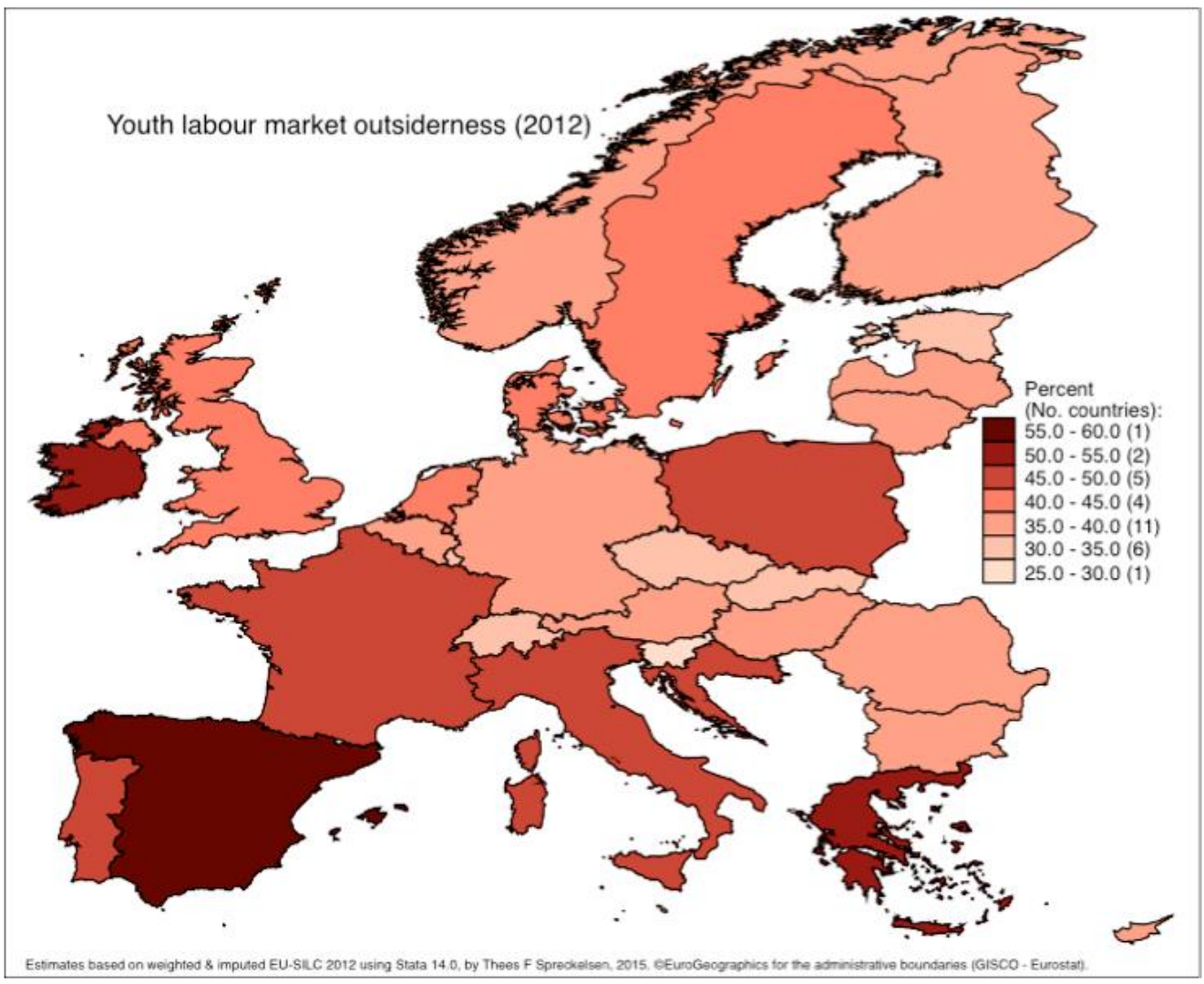
Given the hypothesis that institutional constellations (Lee 2014) impact and mediate the extent and consequences of youth outsiderness, the following five countries were selected in order to allow for significant institutional variation concerning the education-to-employment transition, labour markets and welfare systems (Esping-Andersen 1990; Ferragina and Seeleib-Kaiser 2011; Hall and Soskice 2001): Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK.

3. Findings

3.1 The extent of youth labour market outsiderness across Europe

The extent of YLMO varies considerably across Europe, with relatively low levels of YLMO at the 'core' and high levels at the 'periphery' (Figure 1). Particularly remarkable is the low level of YLMO in Central and Eastern Europe (with the exception of Poland). It is also important to note the existing cross-national variation in terms of the specific types of YLMO. Figure 2 depicts the incidence of the different dimensions of youth labour market outsiderness in each country. Only youth unemployment rates seem to exhibit a clear 'core-periphery' pattern, with the Mediterranean countries, Ireland and parts of Central Eastern Europe being most affected. However, based on our definition, even social-democratic welfare states like Denmark (poverty whilst in education) or the Netherlands (part-time

Figure 1: The geography of youth labour market outsiderness



employment) display high score of outsiderness. Figure 3 suggests that the economic crisis has not led to drastic changes in the overall prevalence of YLMO, with the exception of very few Member States—particularly Greece and Portugal.

The extent and dimensions of YLMO in five country cases.

Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK vary significantly in the prevalence of the various dimensions of YLMO.[9] Spain (ES) and Italy (IT) are the countries with the highest proportion of unemployed young people. Compared to Italy, Spain has a higher percentage of young unemployed (20.6% ES and 14.9% IT of youth age 16-29) and a lower inactive youth population (6.2% ES and 9.2% IT), whereas youth poverty levels (not in education 1.9% ES and 2.6% IT; in education 10.9% ES and 8.8% IT) and levels of atypical employment are similar (part-time 6.7% ES and 5.6% IT; non permanent 9.2% ES and 7.3%). In both countries, one of the main challenges for young atypical workers is the transition into secure working patterns, avoiding the 'precarity trap' (Gash, 2008; Pedaci 2010). Concomitantly, Spain and Italy have a low proportion of youth labour market insiders (17.3% ES and 19.5% IT).

The United Kingdom (UK) has an intermediate level of youth outsiderness with 10.6% of young people being inactive and 12.8% being employed part-time. Whilst a relatively high proportion of young people are in standard employment (37.4%), a relatively low percentage of young insiders is enrolled in education (18.7%). Unemployment (8.7%) and poverty (not in education 2.4% and in education 6.8%) are comparatively low.[10] However, it is worth highlighting that the post-crisis recovery of the labour market has been characterized by growth in low-paid jobs (Green and Lavery 2015; TUC 2013), posing a particular challenge for young people (Gregg 2014).

[9] All the data below (unless specified otherwise) are estimation for youth aged 16 – 29 based weighted & and imputed EU-SILC 2012 data.

[10] This low level of poverty amongst the young (in comparison to previous years) is partly due to the decline of the median income as a consequence of the economic crisis (Cribb, Joyce and Phillips 2012).

Figure 2: Dimensions of youth labour market outsiderness in Europe 2012

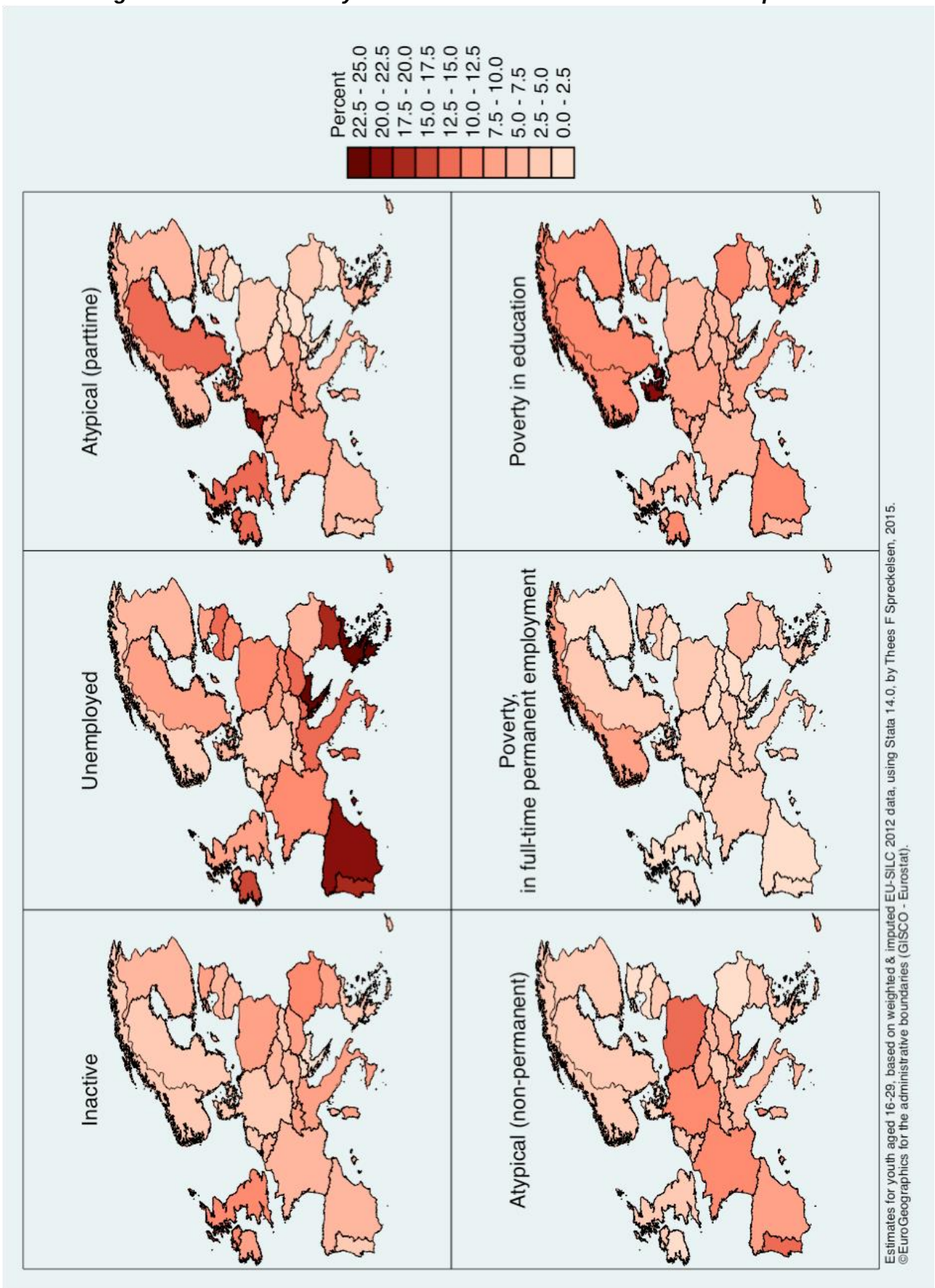
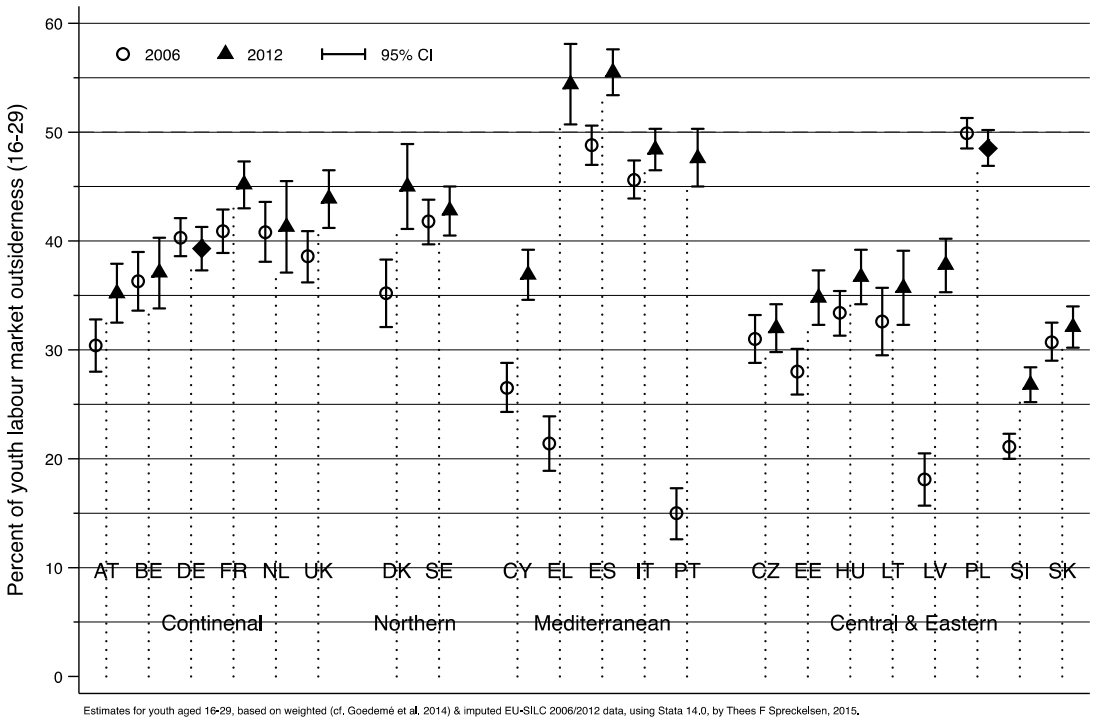


Figure 3: Levels of youth labour market outsiderness across Europe (2006-2012)



Austria (AT) and Germany (DE) have low levels of overall youth outsiderness, mainly due to low proportions of youth in unemployment (4.5% DE and 6.4% AT of all youth aged 16-29) or in poverty (not in education: DE 2.6% and AT 4.1%; in education: 6.2% and DE 9.8%) as well as a low percentage of inactive young people (DE 4.3%; AT 6.8%). However, both countries have quite high levels of part-time workers (7.7% in both countries). There are also some differences between the two countries: Germany has a relatively high proportion of non-permanent workers (DE 10.3%; AT 4%) and of young insiders in education (DE 36.2%; AT 24.6%); Austria has one of the highest proportions of young labour market insiders (AT 40.2%; DE 24.6%).

Summing up: Italy and Spain have the highest proportions of youth outsiderness and relatively high proportions of young people in unemployment or inactivity; Britain has an intermediate level of youth outsiderness, with relatively large proportions inactive or in part-time employment; Austria and Germany have comparatively low levels of outsiderness, with relatively high levels of part-time employment (and fixed-term employment in the case of Germany).

Complexity of YLMO – the relationship between unemployment and atypical work

Although we can show various dimensions of outsiderness and their prevalence across countries, our qualitative analysis demonstrates that the line between unemployment and atypical employment can often be very blurred and fluid, in line with theoretical argument proposed by Gorz (1999) and

Standing (2009; 2011). Particularly in Southern European countries, outsiderness is often characterized by highly volatile work trajectories, which can span various dimensions of youth outsiderness. One Spanish youth provided the following account:

> "I have a degree in psychology [obtained in 2005 – Ed] and a pedagogical certification as a high school teacher"
> […]
> "When I finished the degree it was clear that it was not going to be useful [in the labour market – Ed]. I was looking for any job available and I continued doing like this until now."
> "The year before finishing my studies I worked in a camp for children with disabilities […]. However, it was only a brief and isolated experience. After that I worked in an industrial area"
> […]
> "[In the industrial area –Ed] I was working for an employment agency. I had a shitty contract, few hours per day and a low wage. As often is the case with employment agencies, I became redundant without receiving other offers… I don't remember my wage at the time but it was very low"
> "After that, I worked as cleaner thanks to a friend of mine. I was looking for jobs and this friend told me: 'I know someone…' and I ended up cleaning building doorways. I worked there for three or four months, I had to clean five or six doorways per day. I was working from 9 am until 2 pm and I was receiving 350 euros with a contract formally employing me for three hours per day."
> […]
> "[Before being employed in a decent work -- Ed] It took me long time… almost a year… In the meanwhile I was doing some extras, washing dishes in restaurants, reading gas meters and doing other weird stuff"
> […]
> "I kept doing these kinds of jobs for a year than I found - thanks to Infojobs - a position in an office"
> […]
> "At the beginning I was doing only data entry but over time I started to authorize invoices. It was an insurance company. I worked there from January till June […] and then from November till July"
> […]
> "After this period I qualified for the unemployment benefit, but not for a long time. More or less four months. Then I started to work in a restaurant but it took me long time to find this job, the crisis was starting and it took me 5 months to find it […]. I worked there full time from June until October." (Interview n. 57 – Spain)

The interviewee declared that she lived in different squatted houses and experienced strong economic difficulties during part of this troubled period, in particular after losing her last job. When asked about how she managed to support herself economically she replied:

> "Stealing. I was stealing in order to get some money. […] then - in June- a friend of mine who was working in a language school for foreigners gave me the opportunity to substitute him while he was travelling to Berlin. I was called by his company and despite not having previous experience in the sector they offered me the job"

> "The first month was very burdensome because I had to study while teaching. But after that period I really enjoyed the job, I think it is the closest thing to a vocation I've had in my life"
> "I started covering for a holiday break but in the end I remained longer because there were more teaching opportunities… at first I worked for eight or nine months. Then I stopped and I came back to cover for another employee's holiday, then for a maternity leave. Overall, I worked – discontinuously - for almost two years. […] This was a good period for me, but then they had to cut staff […] and they did not call me again. In the meanwhile, during my last period there, I started doing some extra in a bar run by friends."
> […]
> "However, when I asked for unemployment benefits I didn't qualify because I had a regular contract only when I was covering for the maternity leave and during my last summer there"
> […]
> "During the last few years I worked three or four months in a bar owned by friends of mine. However, it closed down in October and in January I was offered—by a friend— a job in this place [the interview took place on the bar were the interviewee was employed – Ed]. Right now, this February [2015 – Ed], I have done two years here." (Interview No. 57 – Spain)

Whilst this is an 'extreme' case, it exemplifies the various forms YLMO can take over a relatively short period of the life-course, highlighting that clear-cut differentiations between various labour market statuses can be quite problematic.

The complexity of the YLMO is also reflected in young peoples' perceptions of future employment challenges and their attitudes and aspirations, as the following narratives suggest:

> "Well, [the main challenge for my generation--Ed] it is the absolute precarity. Everything is very difficult and precarious. Everybody is working in shitty jobs to get some money and - in this city - things are tough and very precarious. [It is difficult –Ed] to avoid that all this precarity—which is always there—brings you down, leading you to think only about yourself and forgetting about others. " (Interview No. 57 – Spain)

Another interviewee with a somewhat less fragmented work history explained:

> "I'd like to know that in five year times I'd be able to do something, but I don't know, I've stopped desiring things. I mean, I've stopped desiring to have my own place, not because I wouldn't like to have a place on my own, but simply because it isn't a desire that I can afford. I can't desire to go to New York for a month and a half this summer to improve my skills and see what is going on there. I can't afford it and it will not happen, not this year, neither in two years' time. You make do with what you have, you do not settle with what you have because you are happy about your life but because you scale down your expectations and desires … but while scaling down your expectations is something that happens when you become an adult, scaling down your desires is a bit sad. I don't desire anymore to live on my own, to have a holiday or to have a baby… I mean, these are things that are not there for me." (Interview No. 11 – Italy)

3.2 The institutional context of YLMO

The transition to adulthood is embedded in an 'institutional constellation' (Lee 2014: 711); more specifically, welfare regimes can shape the experiences of young people and are linked with specific pathways of leaving the parental home and becoming employed—both key events in the transition to independent adulthood (Knijn 2012). Institutions and policies supporting young people in our five case studies are associated with different welfare regimes and varieties of capitalism (Esping-Andersen 1990; Hall and Soskice 2001) as well as different youth policy regimes (Wallace and Bendit 2009). Austria and Germany are categorized as belonging to the *protective youth policy regime* (Wallace and Bendit 2009), with long traditions in the development and implementation of youth policies. Relatively strong institutions at the local and federal levels coordinate activities and facilitate the collaboration with various civil society actors (NGOs, churches, youth association and others). Youth policies in both countries employ a wide definition of youth (ranging up to 25 or 30 years of age) and provide universal as well as targeted services. The UK is classified as a *community based model* (Wallace and Bendit 2009), where local authorities and communities are the key actors. In contrast to Austria and Germany, policies tend to be primarily targeted at vulnerable or disadvantaged young people. Finally, Italy and Spain are considered *centralised youth regimes* (Wallace and Bendit 2009) with national youth policies (often implementing European agendas) that supplement traditional support arrangements of families and religious organizations.

Institutions providing education and skill formation are central in shaping the transitions into the labour market by young people (Müller and Gangl, 2003). Our five countries belong to different school to work transition clusters (Eurofound 2014b: 25-61). A key feature of the *apprenticeship cluster* formed by Austria and Germany is the importance of the vocational education and training structure, whereby a significant proportion of young people are enrolled in vocational training programmes after graduating from basic secondary schools (Müller and Gangl 2003; Scherer 2005). 67.8% of young people in Austria and 81% of young people (16-29) in Germany are in employment, including apprenticeship programmes, one year after graduating from school, with a prevalence of permanent full time contracts (73% AT; 58% DE). The UK system is largely build on general education and the transition from education to employment occurs comparatively early, approximately at the age of about 20, and can be characterized as relatively smooth due to the flexibility offered by the labour market, with high levels of employment (74.8%), often in permanent full time positions (67.5%), in the first year after graduation from school (Eurofound 2014b: 25-61). Italy and Spain fall into a cluster that neither provides a strong vocational education and training support structure nor a relatively quick transition from general education into employment (Scherer 2005). Young southern Europeans transition very slowly from education into work (on average it takes 8.2 months in Spain and 10.5 in

Italy to find a job after school). Among those young people in work one year after graduation from school (42% ES; 43% IT), only very few can secure permanent full-time contracts (Eurofound 2014b: 25-61). Similarly problematic is the comparatively low premium for tertiary education in the two countries. The overall employment rate among those with tertiary education is lower in Italy and Spain (for the entire working population between 25-64 years old) than in Austria, Germany and the UK (Eurofound 2014b: 39). This suggests that educational institutions play a central role in mediating and moderating YLMO.

Institutional networks supporting youth labour market outsiders

The different formal institutions and policies and the way they are linked produce networks of support for young outsiders that vary in their 'institutional density'. The above overview of welfare and youth policy regimes and institutions shaping young peoples' school-to-work transition suggest that institutional density differs significantly across the five country cases. These differences can be expected to affect the countries' abilities to implement national and European programmes. A test case for this is the 'Youth Guarantee' initiative.[11]

In Austria and Germany low levels of youth outsiderness are associated with a relatively dense network of youth related institutions and policies and strong coordination between them. Our fieldwork in Vienna and Hamburg brought to light some of the best practices in terms of institutional coordination. In comparison with other European countries Austria—and Vienna in particular—has a relatively high density of governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental institutions, which have the explicit aim to support the labour market inclusion of young people (Expert interviews, 910-915).[12] One key public institution supporting youth outsiders is the *public employment service* (*Arbeitsmarkt Service Wien, AMS*). The AMS provides various active labour market programmes and has its own 'production schools' (*Produktionsschulen*), where young people can 'test out' different occupations. In Vienna there is a designated AMS office for young people. Additional public institutions include active labour market programmes such as "ApprenticeshipFit" (*AusbildungsFit*) provided by the Service of the Ministry of Social Affairs (*Sozialministeriumsservice*), the labour market information centre (*Berufsinformationszentren, BIZ*) and youth coaching that is provided in 9th grade at school (*Jugendcoaching*). The latter seeks to support pupils in orienting themselves in the labour market and avoid school drop-out of at-risk pupils. In addition to the public programmes supporting

[11] 'Youth Guarantee' is a European commission programme that, 'building on the 'Youth Employment Initiative', is aimed to ensure that 'all young people under 25 – whether registered with employment services or not – get a good-quality, concrete offer within 4 months of them leaving formal education or becoming unemployed' (European Commission 2016b retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1079).

[12] For an overview of the relevant governmental, quasi-governmental and non-governmental institutions and how they are linked, see www.koordinationsstelle.at. This website is used as a coordinating hub for the different actors and institutions, providing key information on each institution and the contact information for their directors and representatives.

youth outsiders there is a large and complex system of interlinked quasi-governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions that aim to support the labour market inclusion of young people. These institutions are commonly financed by a combination of funds from the Public Employment Service, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, the European Social Fund at the national level, and by local funding bodies, such as the City of Vienna and the Viennese Workers Fund (*Wiener ArbeitnehmerInnen Förderungsfonds*) in the case of Vienna. In comparison to other European countries, the support for youth outsiders provided by quasi-governmental and non-governmental organizations can be distinguished not only by the density of organizations and programmes offered, but also by the relatively intensive coordination between the different providers and by the substantial amount of evaluation that is conducted on an on-going basis, which is then used for reforming existing programmes and developing new programmes. Much of the coordination between providers is facilitated by the so-called coordination-hub (*Koordinationsstelle*).

In Germany the main public institutions of relevance for labour market outsiders are the public employment agency (*Agentur für Arbeit / Jobcenter*), the local school authorities (*Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung*), the local authorities for labour, social affairs, families and integration (*Behörde für Arbeit, Soziales, Familie und Integration*) and the local youth agencies (*Jugendamt*). In Hamburg these have together launched the so-called youth job agencies (*Jugendberufsagenturen*) in 2011. Youth job agencies seek to provide a one-stop-shop geared particularly for youth outsiders. There are seven such agencies in the different parts of Hamburg. These agencies pay out social benefits, provide one-to-one support and refer young people to active labour market programmes. Hamburg is the first city in Germany to have implemented a youth-centred employment agency and similar models are now being adopted in other cities, including Berlin (Jugendberufsagentur, 2013). In addition to the youth job agencies there is a variety of quasi-governmental and non-governmental organizations that aim to support the labour market inclusion of young people (Expert interviews, 201-207). These institutions are commonly financed by a combination of funds from the public employment agency, the European Social Fund and by private donors. The youth job agencies frequently refer young people to quasi-governmental programmes that receive public funding. While this appears to be less common than in Vienna, there are also semi-governmental institutions in Hamburg where young people can obtain an official training certificate if they were unsuccessful in gaining an apprenticeship position in the private sector. However, placements in these institutions are relatively limited.

Given the high level of institutional coordination it is not surprising that initiatives like the Youth Guarantee have been implemented successfully in both countries.[13] In Austria, the Youth Guarantee (generally referred to as *Ausbildungsgarantie*) is particularly prominent in the discourse around youth outsiderness. It is closely associated with the institution of the *publically provided vocational training programmes* (*Überbetriebliche Ausbildungseinrichtungen*). These state financed semi-public institutions provide vocational training for young people who cannot obtain an apprenticeship in the private sector (FES 2012). Similar institutions also exist in Germany (Expert interviews, 201-207). The perception of the institutional support received by young people in Germany was generally positive, but varied with the specific public programme people were in:

> "The social worker helped me to find a flat. This is the kind of support I get, whether [...] there is a form that I don't understand or whether I have [some other] problem. There is always some government agency or someone who helps me. And this is great here in Germany, because back in [*country of origin*], if you need something you have to figure it out on your own. And if you don't have a job, then there just is no job for you ... then there is no public employment agency [to help you]—there is nothing. [But] I find that this works very well here in Germany" (Interview No. 102 — Germany)

In the Southern European countries, the high level of youth outsiderness, the lack of strong formal institutions and the involvement of different institutional levels are likely to produce fragmentation. Both Italy and Spain have undergone processes of dualization of their labour markets without developing systems of social security able to counter the negative effects of YLMO[14]. The existing institutional structures, like the Public Employment Services, are underfunded and less effective than in Austria, Germany and the UK (Barbieri et al. 2003; Bergamante and Morocco 2014: 27). Recently, Italy introduced the 'National Youth Plan' (2006) and the 'Right to Future' (2011) package, aimed to tackle precarious conditions of young people (European Commission 2016a). However, Italy has a limited history in the development of youth policies and there is no coherent youth legislation at the national level (Bazzanella 2010). The promotion of programmes for young people was responsibility of local authorities until the establishment of a ministry for 'Youth Policies and Sport activities' in 2006 (Campagnoli 2010). In 2012 the 'Department of Youth and National Civic Service' was created to work in collaboration with regions, provinces and city councils in developing programmes. However,

[13] As a result of low rates of youth unemployment and NEETs in Germany, the European Commission suggests in its assessment of the Youth Guarantee in Germany to further focus on disadvantaged young migrants and regionally on areas in the east of the country (European Commission 2015a).

[14] Since the late '90s Italy has adopted various reforms that have increased the flexibility of its labour market. Main reforms have been: the Treu package (1997), the Biagi Law (2003), Collegato lavoro (2010), Fornero reform (2012) and finally the 'Jobs Acts' (2014-2015). In particular, the last two reforms have introduced new unemployment benefits (mini-Aspi 2012; then substituted by Naspi and DIS-COLL 2014) designed to increase the social protection of atypical workers. In Spain the path of the reforms of the labour market gained pace during the crisis with reforms that -- between 2010 and 2012 -- increased the flexibility of the labour market, reduced dismissal's cost and the generosity of the unemployment benefits(Bentolila, Dolado, and Jimeno, 2012; León, Pavolini and Guillén 2015).

this new arrangement has to overcome the persistent structural limits of the Italian system, i.e. low institutional coordination and availability of funds (Bazzanella 2010; Campagnoli 2010). By contrast Spain has a tradition of youth policies that dates back to 1970s. In 2011 it published 'The White Paper on Youth Policy in Spain 2020' that has led to the approval of the 'Youth Strategy 2020' introducing an 'Inter-ministerial Youth Committee' coordinating the youth actions of different ministries. A dedicated public body - INJUVE (Instituto de la Juventud) – focuses on the promotion of youth activities, while regional institutions retain important competences in the field of youth policies. Nevertheless, these reforms and aims of improving the institutional arrangement do not seem to have been very successful (Soler, Planas and Feixa 2014: 74-75).

Given the relatively fragmented institutional support structure, it does not come as a surprise that in Italy and Spain the implementation of the Youth Guarantee has been problematic. In addition to the difficulties associated with the coordination of different institutions - INJUVE, the 'Autonomous Communities' and the public employment services -- the high number of potentially eligible young people constitutes a challenge for the Spanish authorities (Eurofound 2015: 76). Similarly, Italy also faces the challenge of very high levels of young people potentially eligible for the Youth Guarantee. NEETs constitute 22% (over 1.320.000 in 2014) of the population between the ages of 15 and 24; many more young people are eligible (over 2.430.000) as the result of extending the age limit of the Youth Guarantee to 29 years of age (Eurofound 2015: 41). In addition, the European Commission (2015c) highlights difficulties in promoting the registration for the programme, particularly among those with low educational attainment and in the southern regions of the country. These challenges were also conveyed by interviewees, when asked about the access to various forms of institutional support (unemployment benefits, public employment services and other forms of direct and indirect support):

> "I have never received any form of social benefit, because I have always been employed with Co.Co.Co contracts [a form of atypical contract -- Ed] and I was not entitled to, nor I have ever qualified for the unemployment benefit.
> Q. Have you received any institutional support searching for jobs?
> "No, never, I have always used personal contacts. You hear about this or that opportunity and you go asking around. There are no offices… I mean, there are the "Informagiovani" and the public employment service… but it is like if they are not there" […] "The public employment service does not provide any concrete help" (Interview N. 12 – Italy)
>
> Q. "Have you ever received unemployment benefits?"
> "Never"
> Q. "Have you received support from the public employment agency?"

> "No. I have recently done an application, I don't remember for which institution… I am very discouraged about these things. My mother asked me to do the application because she is always up to date with these things, I did it but I don't think it is going to be particularly helpful. Anyway, I filled in an on-line form for a project for young people below 30 years old … but I do not remember exactly which one.
> Q. "Was it the Youth Guarantee programme?"
> "Yes, exactly, that website! (Interview N. 14 – Italy)

In the United Kingdom, the labour market works as an effective mechanism of integration for a large proportion of young people in their transition from education to work (37.4% of young people are in full time employment and not poor), whereas state institutions and policies tend to focus on disadvantaged young people. Although public organisations, such as the JobcenterPlus, are more effective than their Southern European counterparts in facilitating employment opportunities (Bergamante and Morocco 2014), challenges are said to have emerged as a consequence of reorganizations toward market-oriented forms of management (Weishaupt 2010; Fletcher 2011) and privatization (Bruttel 2005). Moreover, local authorities, charities and private organization play a significant role in the development and implementation of youth policies, with a limited role of central government beyond funding, which, however, has been significantly cut since 2010. Youth workers highlight that cuts are affecting the moderating role of welfare benefits and services (Wylie 2015). Starting in 2011, 'Positive for Youth' was established as a cross-government policy emphasising a decentralized approach, covering a wide array of services, including education, health, housing and general youth services, based on the collaboration with local authorities in England (HM Government 2013). However, 'Positive for Youth' has been criticised for not addressing core issues like structural inequalities, ethnicity and gender (Davies 2011), because of its vagueness and aim of cutting costs and further reducing the responsibilities of central government in the development youth programmes and policies (Davies 2013; Oliver and Percy-Smith 2015). The UK has not implemented the Youth Guarantee due to existence of 'comparable' initiatives such as the 'Work Programme' and the 'Youth Contract'[15] (European Commission 2015d). However, the 'Work Programme' has been criticised because its fully outsourced model has led to systemic 'creaming' (i.e. providers focusing on less problematic clients in order to increase the outcome payments) and 'parking' (i.e. de-prioritizing of clients unlikely to generate outcome payments) of participants (Rees, Whitworth and Carter 2014). The Youth Contract (now ended), as well, has been criticised for limited results (Pickard 2014). Overall, the decentralised and underfunded system in England tends to focus on disadvantaged

[15] The 'Work Programme' is a welfare-to-work programme. Jobcentre Plus refers people receiving Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) or Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) to the programme. The time of referral depends on the category of claimant: JSA claimants aged 18-24 are mandatorily referred to the programme after 9 months (House of Common 2015a). The Youth Contract was a package of schemes focusing on 7 areas/interventions: 1) Apprenticeship Grant for Employers of 16-24 year olds; 2) Placements for 16-24 year olds who have been claiming JSA for at least 13 weeks; 3) Supports for NEETs (16-17 years old); 4) Sector-based work academies; 5) Weekly meetings at the Jobcentre Plus for 18 to 24 year old JSA claimants; Funds for localise Youth Contracts (activated in Leeds, Liverpool and Newcastle); 7) Wage incentives to employers offering positions to 18 to 24 year old claiming JSA for more than six months (House of Common 2015b)

sections of youth, who have hard time competing in the market. Such a focus is very likely to lead to stigmatization and shaming (Chase and Walker 2013) which was also echoed in the interviews with youth outsiders:

> "But, like, have you ever seen a show on Channel 5 called Benefits Britain?
>
> […]
>
> That show annoys me so much. You just see these families in England who are just, like... they just disgust me so much because they just don't work. They don't work at all and their kids are so badly brought up and they're just swearing all the time. They don't want to go to school, they don't want anything, they just want to stay at home and just take money from the government. Which, I don't understand how people end up like this. So that's what puts me off being on benefits as well, I don't want to be associated with that kind of people." (Interview No. 37 – United Kingdom)

To sum up: Our qualitative assessment suggests that institutional arrangements are of central importance in understanding youth outsiderness. The vocational training and support structures in Austria and Germany as well as the flexible labour market structures in the UK provide for 'smoother' school-to-work transitions than the arrangements available to young people in Italy and Spain. Moreover, the dense formal institutional arrangements prevalent in Austria and Germany are likely to have contributed to limiting the prevalence labour market outsiderness in both countries; by contrast the absence of an integrated and effective set of institutions in Italy and Spain, and a fragmented set of support institutions in the UK limit the provision of effective support.

Informal institutions

The importance of informal contacts in accessing the labour market has been identified some time ago (Granovetter 1973; 1995). In addition, families have been shown to play an important role in providing informal support networks (cf. Cingano and Rosolia 2012; Comi 2011; Loury 2006; Farace, Mazzotta and Parisi 2014). As shown by Berloffa et al. (2016), wealth and working conditions of families have a significant effect on the educational and professional achievements of young people. The probability of young people to be unemployed or to encounter a slow school-to-work transition declines, if parents are in stable employment (Berloffa et al. 2016). According to Ponzo and Scoppa (2008: 90) the probability to find a job through personal contacts was (in the late 1990s) 45% in Spain and 37.9% in Italy, compared to 32.2% in Germany and 23% in the UK. Although families also play a central role in other countries, we hypothesise that in Southern European countries the family functions to at least partially compensate the lack of formal institutions and the limits of the market. In the context of YLMO the role of informal institutions, especially the family, is a key part of the narratives and experiences of outsiders gathered during our fieldwork in Italy and Spain, where a number of interview participants highlighted the relevance of informal networks:

> Q. "How do you find job opportunities?" [The interview took place in a small agricultural village in the south-east of Spain]

> "Mainly, by knowing someone" (Interviewee No. 48.2)
> "If you have studied does not matter that much" (Interviewee No. 48.1)
> "It is important [to study – Ed], but if you want to work for a firm is better if your cousin is the entrepreneur's right hand, or the firm's owner, or something like that… (Interviewee No. 48.2) (Interviews No. 48 – Spain)

> Q. "Have you received any institutional support in your job search?"
> "Never"
> [I search for jobs – Ed] "through someone that knows someone, which in turn knows someone else…"
> "Through connections: people that are already doing something you are interested in and can give you advices and what to do" (interviews No. 15 - Italy)

A particular issue arising from the interviews was the role of housing and independent living. Our interviews highlighted that especially in Southern European countries housing has a significant impact on the conditions of YLMO. The provision of cheap (in many cases free) accommodation to young outsiders partially shelters them from the risks associated with unemployment and atypical, especially low-paid employment (cf. Berloffa et al. 2016). The following quotes exemplify this:

> "Many people [among her network – Ed] are trying [to leave home -- Ed]. In general terms they are doing what my brother did, which is what I will do as well: earn something, give something back to my family - if it is needed -, use part of it for my expenses and save a bit to then move out… to be able to look for a house, pay a rent, something like that". (Interview No. 10 – Italy)

> "[I live with my partner -- Ed] in a property owned by my parents in the fields [outside the village – Ed] […] As a matter of fact I depend on my parents, but when I had a job I was renting a place". (Interview No. 48 – Interviewee No. 48.1 – Spain)

> "During my second year at Uni I moved out with some friends, but I had to work too much and I couldn't study. I decided to come back home, in theory I planned to stay home only two or three years, but I am still living with my parents because I cannot afford a place on my own" (Interview No. 14 – Italy)

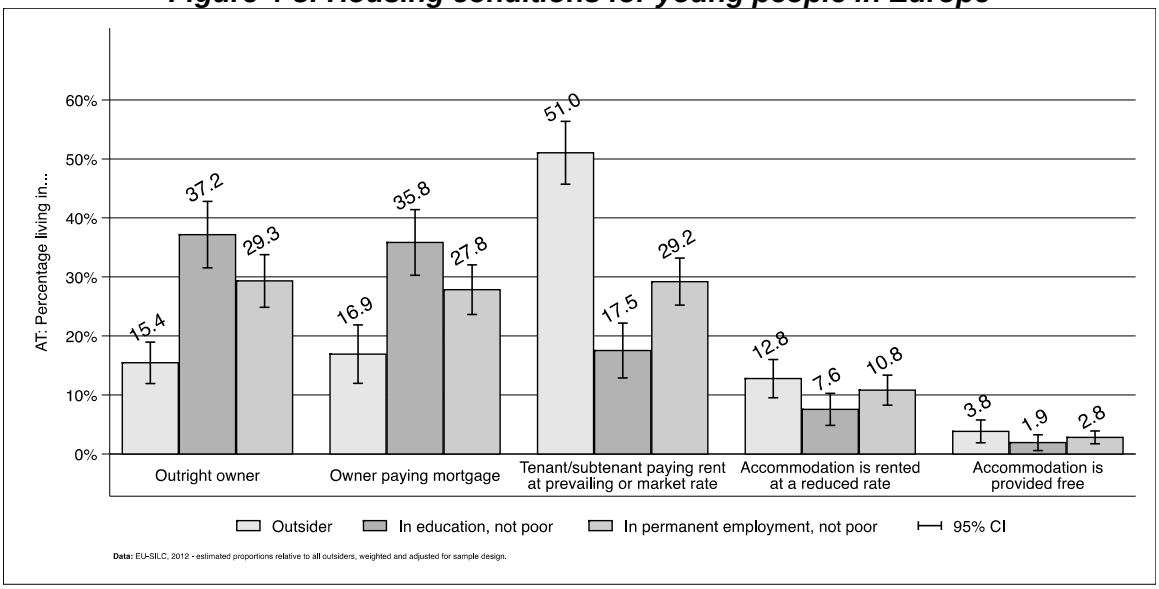
Although living with parents may be more prevalent in Southern European countries (Figures 4 to 8), young outsiders in other European countries also make use of this possibility (for the UK see ONS 2016). For instance, one interviewee in Britain described her situation in the following way:

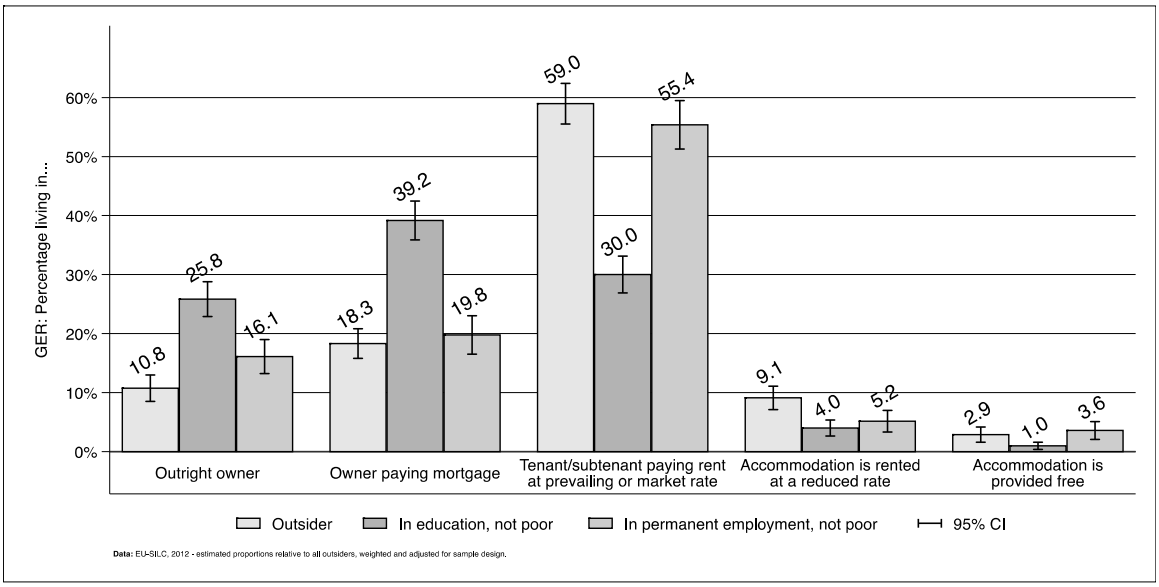
> "I live with my parents yes" […] [It is – Ed] much cheaper. … If I lived on my own or, like, even just in a room in a shared house, I wouldn't be able to save [money] doing the hours I'm doing now… (Interview No. 32 – UK)

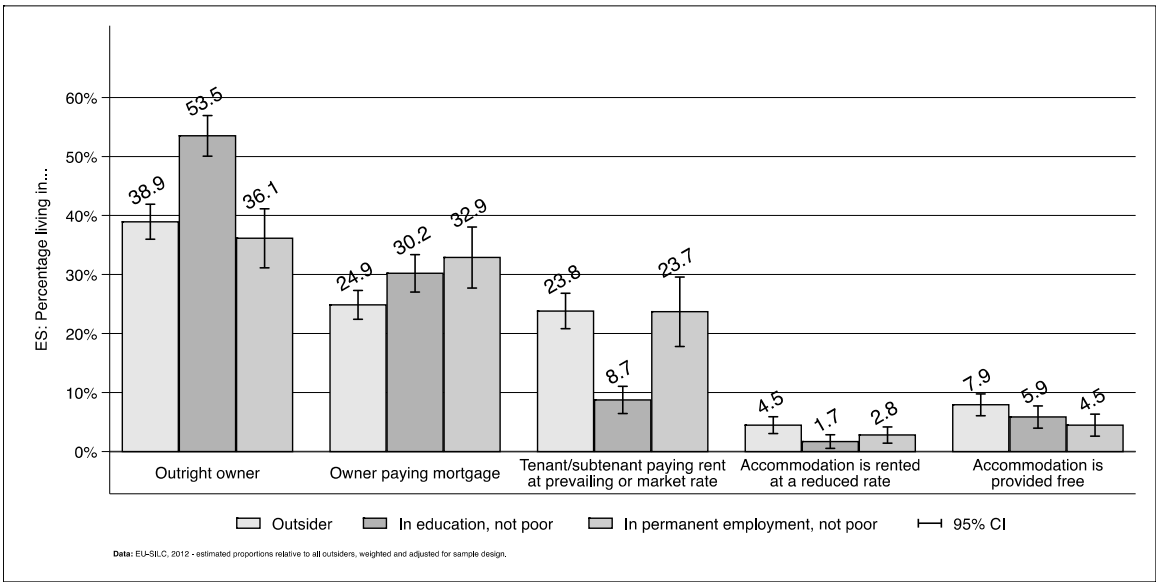
Based on these narratives it becomes clear that housing plays a central role in experiencing YLMO; Family housing has been a particularly prominent dimension of the familial Mediterranean welfare regime (Poggio 2012). In Italy and Spain more than 50 per cent of young people (18 to 34) live with their parents (IT 64% and ES 54%), whilst in Germany and Austria approximately 40 per cent (DE

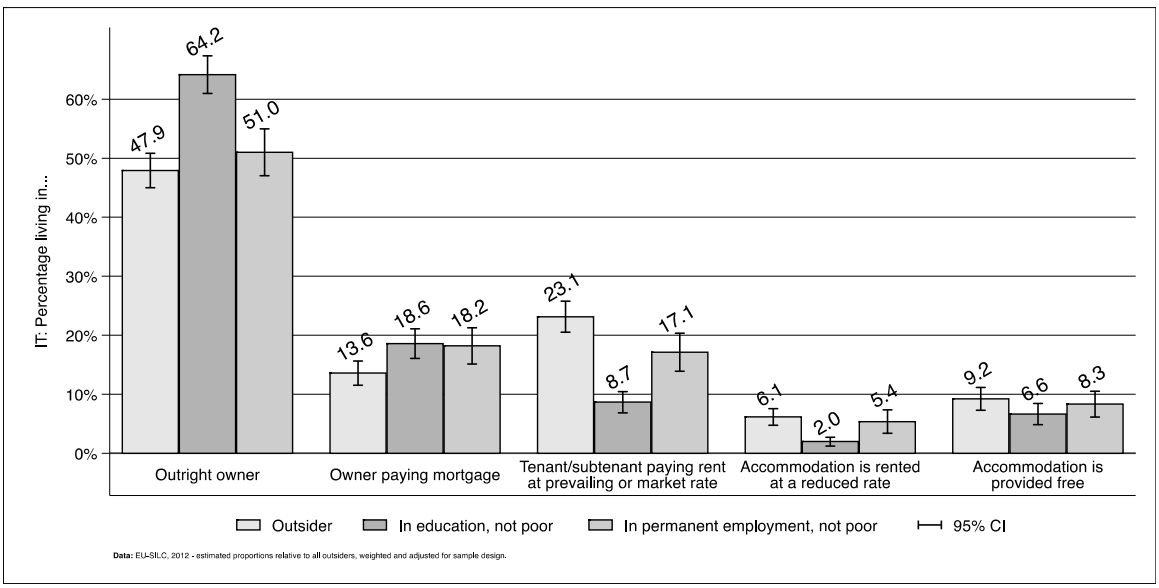
44% and AU 46%) and in UK only 35.1 per cent live in the parental home (Eurostat 2016b). Figures 4 to 8 compare the housing condition of young labour market outsiders with young people who are still in education and young people working in permanent, full-time positions and not living in an income-poor household.

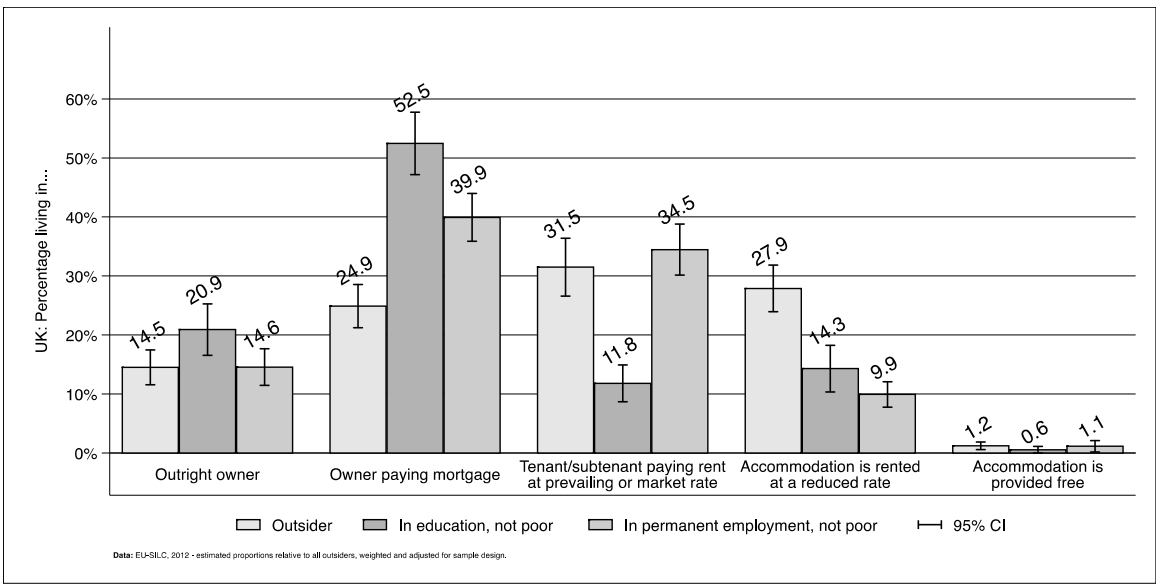
Figure 4-8: Housing conditions for young people in Europe






ES: Percentage living in...
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
38.9
53.5
36.1
24.9
30.2
32.9
23.8
8.7
23.7
4.5
1.7
2.8
7.9
5.9
4.5
Outright owner
Owner paying mortgage
Tenant/subtenant paying rent at prevailing or market rate
Accommodation is rented at a reduced rate
Accommodation is provided free
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC, 2012 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.


IT: Percentage living in...
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
47.9
64.2
51.0
13.6
18.6
18.2
23.1
8.7
17.1
6.1
2.0
5.4
9.2
6.6
8.3
Outright owner
Owner paying mortgage
Tenant/subtenant paying rent at prevailing or market rate
Accommodation is rented at a reduced rate
Accommodation is provided free
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC, 2012 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.


UK: Percentage living in...
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
14.5
20.9
14.6
24.9
52.5
39.9
31.5
11.8
34.5
27.9
14.3
9.9
1.2
0.6
1.1
Outright owner
Owner paying mortgage
Tenant/subtenant paying rent at prevailing or market rate
Accommodation is rented at a reduced rate
Accommodation is provided free
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC, 2012 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.

In Austria and Germany, youth labour market outsiders who no longer live with their parents often live in housing provided for young people by the government, where they generally are looked after by youth workers. This includes so-called 'crisis centres' where young people can sleep for a limited period and shared living arrangements that are longer-term. One youth outsider explained:

> "I was supposed to complete my school leaving certificate in a second attempt, but I did not make it. Then my mother kicked me out [of our home]. After that I was in the shelter for six months. [...] After that my case worker at the youth agency looked for a flat together with me. Within three month I found one—I got really lucky there." [...] "The rent was paid by the job center. Of course they first went after my mother and father, [...] but they don't have a lot of money." (Interview No. 103 — Germany)

Also outsiders in Britain are very likely to live in subsidised housing (cf. Gökşen et al. 2015), although a high percentage of youth live in owner-occupied, mortgaged properties. In Spain and Italy, outsiders are more likely to live in an owned property. Moreover, these two countries have the highest level of young people living in accommodation provided for free.

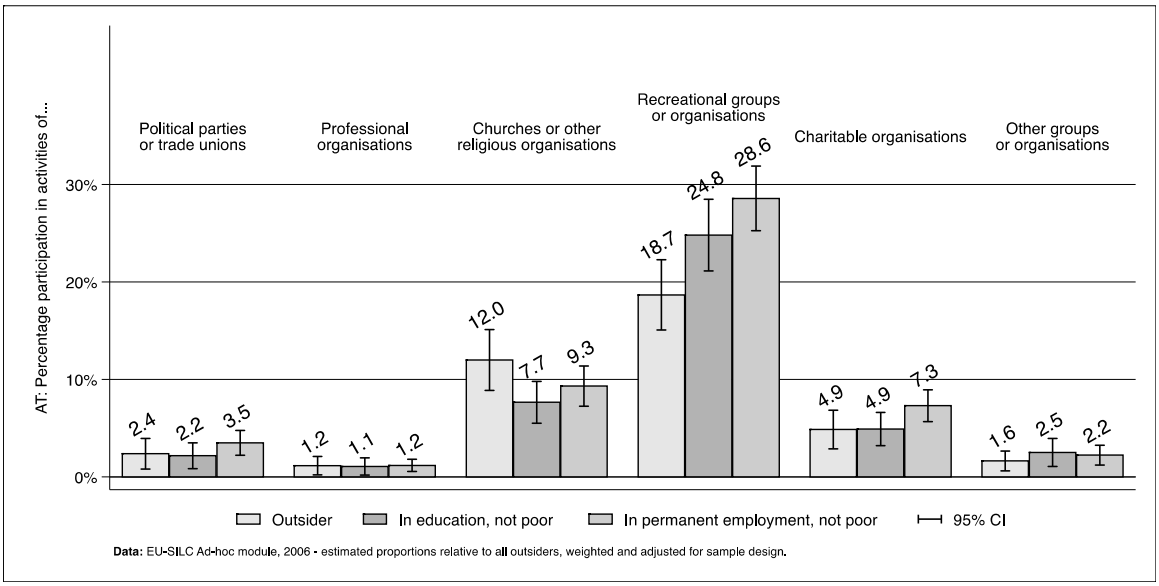
To summarize: An important difference among the countries analysed lies in the effects of the institutional structures available to young people becoming 'independent citizens' (Eurofound, 2014b). On average young Italians leave the family home between the ages of 28 and 30, Spaniards between ages 26 and 28, while Austrians and British leave between the ages of 24 and 26 and Germans already between the ages of 22 and 24 (Eurofound, 2014b: 18-23). South European outsiders can primarily only rely on the limited support network of the family, especially with regard to providing housing. By contrast, outsiders in Austria and Germany are additionally supported through the availability of formal welfare state institutions and policies. In the UK, it is common for young people to move out of the parental home relatively early and start an independent life, which is partially supported through the availability of social housing.

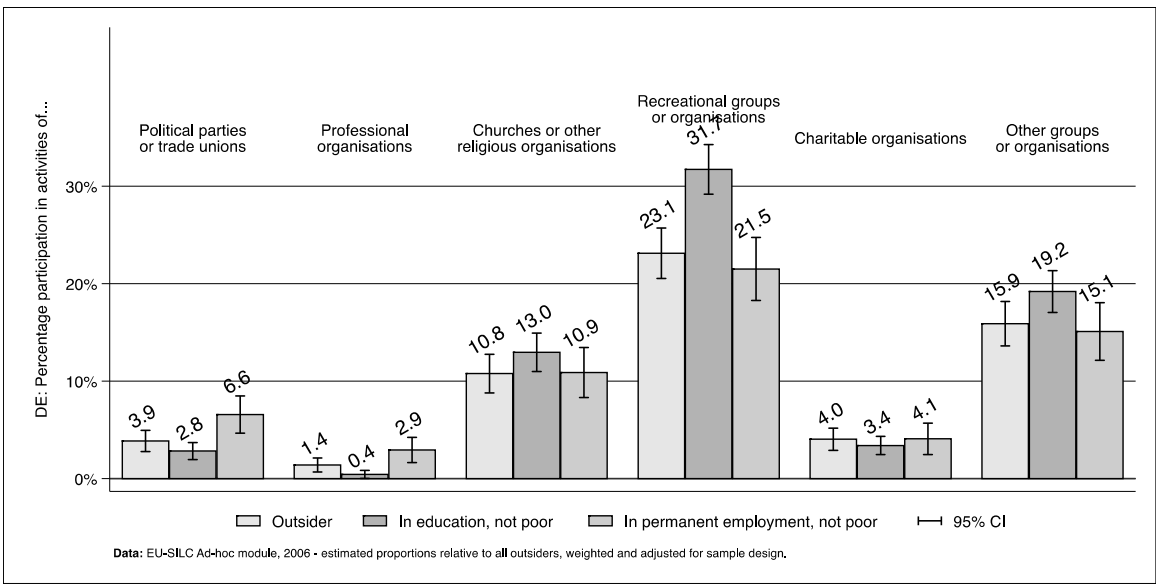
3.3 Patterns of participation of young outsiders

Previous research suggests that both young people and labour market outsiders tend to participate less, compared to older people and labour market insiders (Berry 2012; Gallie et al., 2003; Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeizel 1972; Jahoda 1981). Given their age and labour market status, one would expect young labour market outsiders to have a particularly low level of political participation. More specifically, the extant literature suggests that outsiders tend not to vote, to vote against mainstream parties (in particular if they are objectively outsiders) or to favour far-left or far-right parties (when they subjectively perceive themselves as outsiders) (Meyer et al. 2015). Moreover, various studies highlight the limited participation of young people in formal political activities, such as membership in political parties (Berry 2012; Fieldhouse et al 2007; Kimberlee 2002; Scarrow and Gezgor 2010).

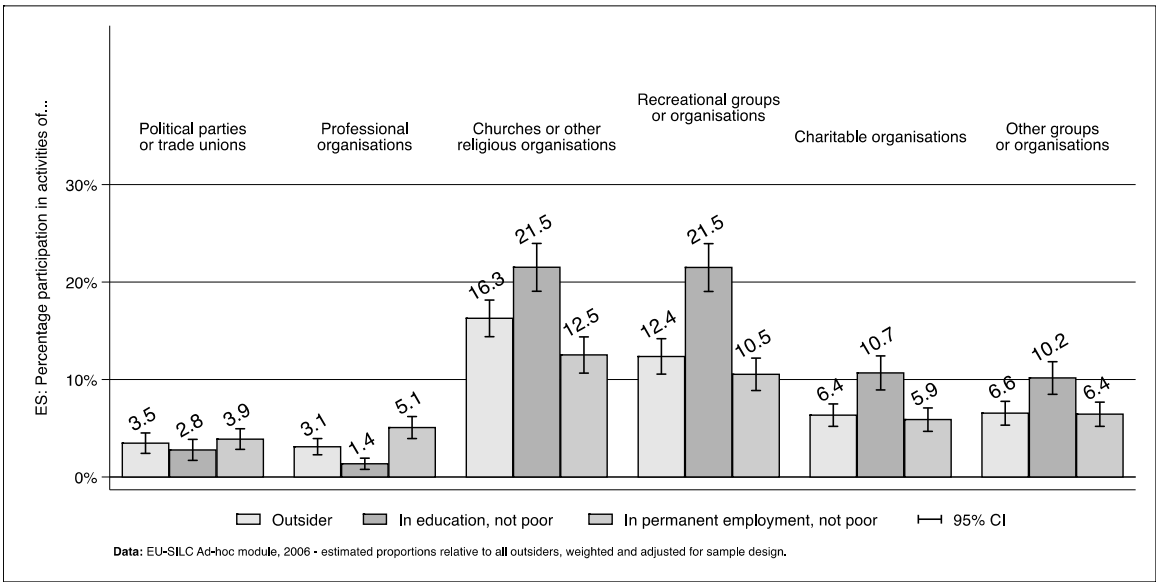
Our analysis of the 2006 EU-SILC data from the ad-hoc module on participation is in line with these findings, as it shows a very limited participation of young people in political parties and trade unions in comparison with other forms of participation. The Figures 9 - 13 contrast youth membership in several societal groups and organizations. They distinguish between YLMO, youth in education and youth in permanent, full-time employment (both not poor)[16].

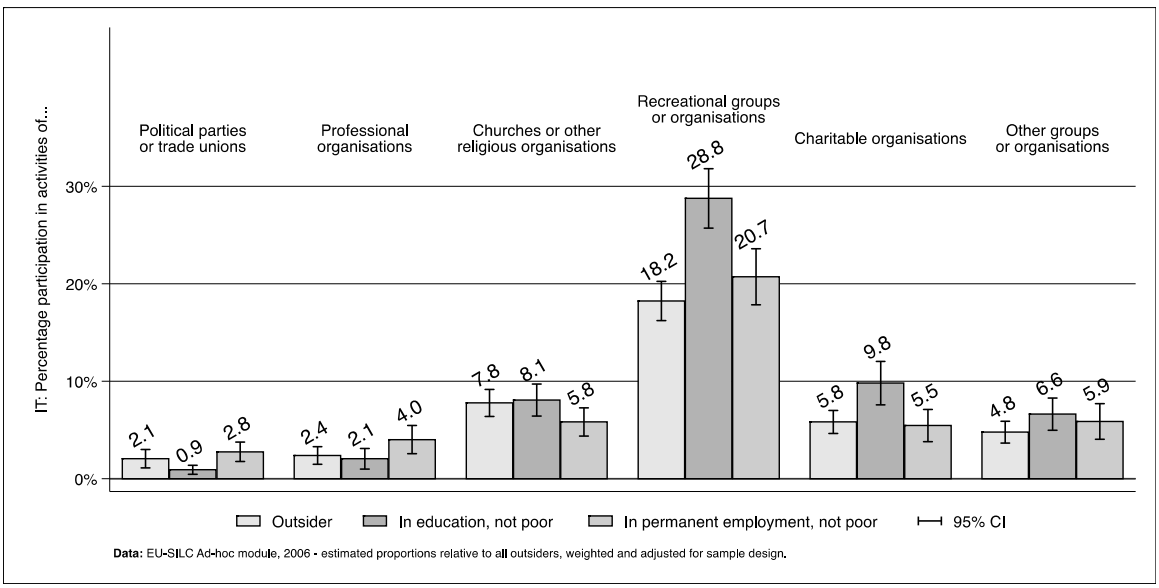
Figure 9-13: Youth membership in societal groups and organization

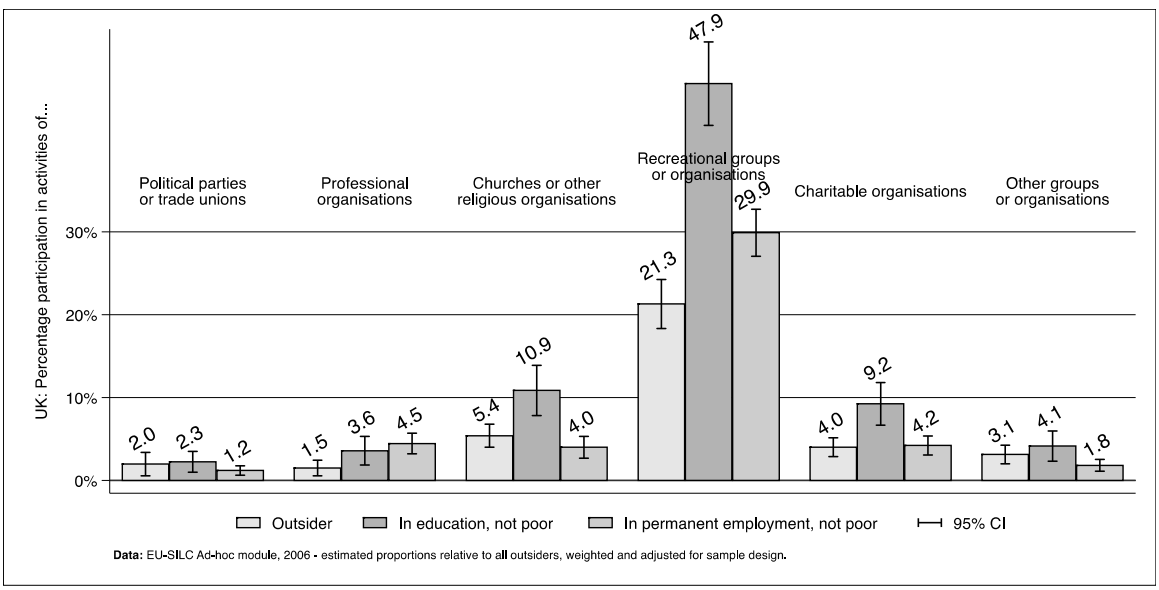




[16] Preliminary analyses indicated the importance of comparing youth outsiderness not only with all other youth, but to distinguish between youth "insiders" in education and those in employment.


ES: Percentage participation in activities of...
Political parties or trade unions
Professional organisations
Churches or other religious organisations
Recreational groups or organisations
Charitable organisations
Other groups or organisations
30%
20%
10%
0%
3.5
2.8
3.9
3.1
1.4
5.1
16.3
21.5
12.5
12.4
21.5
10.5
6.4
10.7
5.9
6.6
10.2
6.4
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC Ad-hoc module, 2006 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.


IT: Percentage participation in activities of...
Political parties or trade unions
Professional organisations
Churches or other religious organisations
Recreational groups or organisations
Charitable organisations
Other groups or organisations
30%
20%
10%
0%
2.1
0.9
2.8
2.4
2.1
4.0
7.8
8.1
5.8
18.2
28.8
20.7
5.8
9.8
5.5
4.8
6.6
5.9
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC Ad-hoc module, 2006 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.


UK: Percentage participation in activities of...
Political parties or trade unions
Professional organisations
Churches or other religious organisations
Recreational groups or organisations
Charitable organisations
Other groups or organisations
30%
20%
10%
0%
2.0
2.3
1.2
1.5
3.6
4.5
5.4
10.9
4.0
21.3
47.9
29.9
4.0
9.2
4.2
3.1
4.1
1.8
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC Ad-hoc module, 2006 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.

Although the results do not provide clear patterns, young outsiders tend to participate less in societal groups like recreational groups and charitable organisation across countries; the UK shows a stronger impact of being a YLMO in terms of participation. Nevertheless, the data shows no substantial differences when it comes to participation in political parties and trade unions, where young people in general tend to participate very little.

However, the EU-SILC data are limited regarding the various types of political participation. The limited engagement in formal political activities should therefore not be interpreted as necessarily indicating a complete disengagement from politics and political activities in a broader sense. Existing research suggests that young people may be interested in politics even when they do not actively participate in the formal political arena (Furlong and Cartmel 2012). Sloam (2013; 2014) argues that young people are often misleadingly presented as apathetic, while they participate more in collective actions like petitions, boycotts and demonstrations (see also Muxel 2008). Analysing the UK, Henn and Foard (2014) highlight the importance of socio-economic background and education in shaping the political engagement of young people (see also Young Citizenship Commission 2009 and Tonge and Mycock 2014).

The qualitative investigation suggests differences among outsiders' perceptions of politics. The more disadvantaged outsiders and in particular those in Austria, Germany and the UK tend not to participate in elections, demonstrations, or belong to political associations. Although the limited sample does not allow any generalisations, these results are in line with previous studies (Lopez Blasco 2008; Worshing, 2008). Reasons that were cited by YLMOs for their low political participation were disillusionment with politics and political actors, a lack of understanding of politics and a preoccupation with more immediate problems and worries.

> "In Principle I am interested in politics, but I don't like to vote because [politicians] promise many things, but in the end I have never seen any real changes happen"
>
> […]
>
> "I always have the feeling that people who in the end make the main decisions are those who have the most money and who pay for [politicians'] election campaigns" (Interview No. 112 - Germany)

It was often lamented that young people had not received a better introduction to politics in school before they left. Many stated that they felt it would be illegitimate for them to vote and participate politically without a better understanding of politics and the agenda of specific political parties and politicians, highlighting the importance of educational institutions for the political socialisation of young people (see also Spannring, 2008). The following quotes from our interviews are indicative of this perception:

> "A lot of people I've met have always said that, oh, I don't vote because I don't feel like my vote is going to do anything. Or they're in the same position as me, where they don't feel like they're educated enough" (Interview No. 37 - UK)

> "I can't say I am interested in politics, but this is mainly because I don't understand it. […] I pick up some things from watching the news, but I don't understand the whole background of it." (Interview No. 105 - Germany)

> "I stay out of [politics], no matter how many people tell me: 'What, you didn't vote?!' I say: 'Yes, I didn't vote' I have to say that I don't understand [politics]——I really don't understand it. On the other hand I think it is completely different people [from politicians] who can change things, not people like Merkel." (Interview No. 111 - Germany)

It is interesting to see how young outsiders' narratives often link the lack of participation with a personal feeling of inadequacy with respect to not understanding politics enough to engage in it. In this sense, 'self-blame' narratives often take the place of forms of collective grievance and action aimed at the political system. Participation becomes an individual (unfulfilled) responsibility more than a collective (denied) right.

By contrast other outsiders do not construct 'self-blame' narratives, but focus on the limits of the political system. In this context, it is interesting to note that in Italy and Spain we found a significantly stronger politicisation of young outsiders, relative to young outsiders in Austria, Germany, and the UK. One Italian interviewee commented:

> "In my opinion politics does not exist anymore… it is not anymore a safeguard mechanism, an institution, a form of representation. It is a group of people that focus on their own interests. They are legitimized to do so because they have been elected, but, apart from this, there is nothing left, there is no kind of bond, there is no kind of connection. How is it possible that someone earning 20.000 euros per month knows about my lifestyle and is able to propose legislation for my needs? I believe most people I know think the same [about politics]" (Interview No. 13 - Italy)

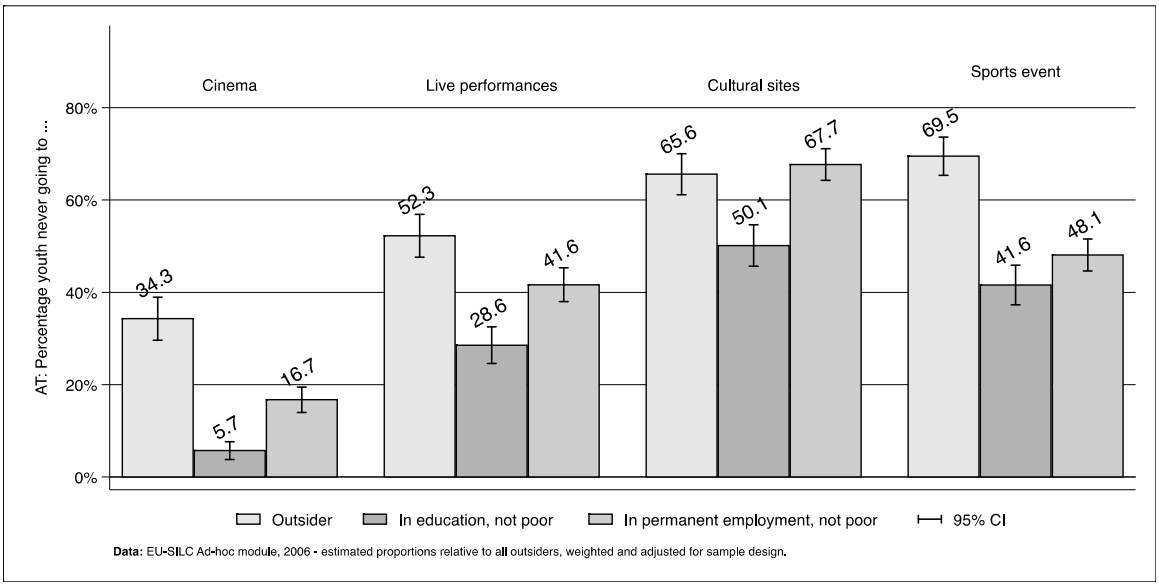
While a Spanish outsider said:

> "Politics is a hot topic lately. I've never been too much into it. I voted randomly and I never liked neither [main political parties – Ed] … and lately I like them even less. When there are TV shows about politics, I turn off. I wonder how people can be interested in politics; how they can choose people that stole from them. Now there is this new party, Podemos, which seems to say what many think. Right now, I would vote for them because they say what I want to hear. I never been close to any party, I voted both PSOE and PP, but now I am angrier. There are people that cannot afford to buy food, tightening their belts, while politicians are stealing". (Interview No. 45 – Spain)

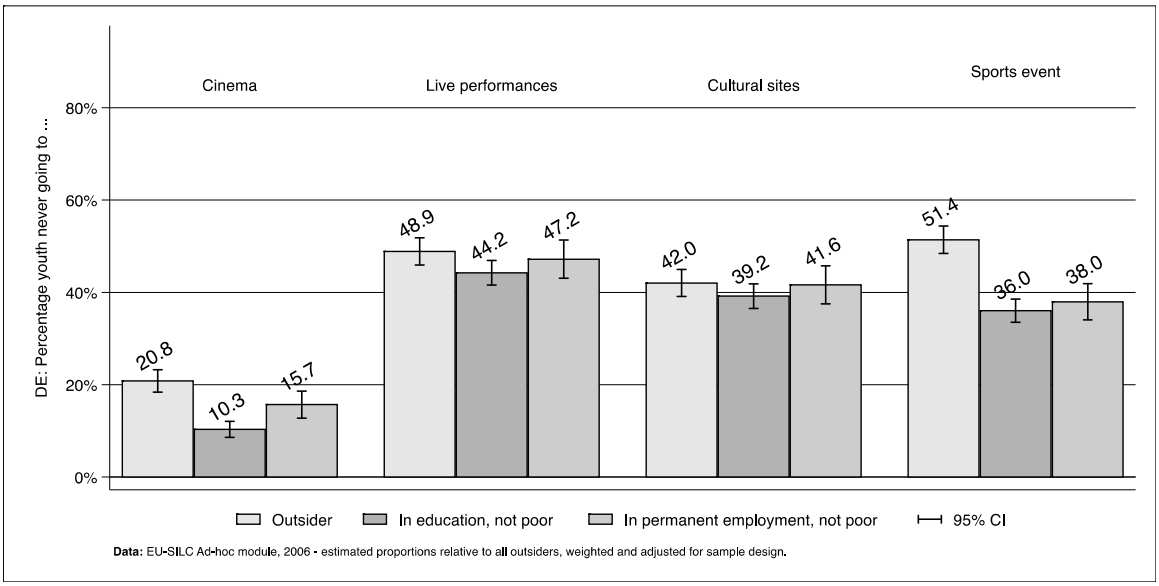
There are structural elements that may contribute to the greater politicisation in the two Mediterranean countries. The greater number of YLMOs in these countries may create a critical mass that could be mobilised politically. The recent rise of social movements[17] has produced a challenge to the political status-quo that has crystalized in the formation of new political movements/parties such as Podemos in Spain (Lobera 2015). In Italy, the general election of 2013 demonstrated a clear preference of young voters and outsiders for alternatives to the established political system; 44,4% of young people between 18 to 24 and 37.7% between 25 to 34 voted for the Five Star Movement (5SM); among the unemployed and the atypically employed the 5SM received 34,8% and 52,6 respectively (Itanes 2013: 58-59).

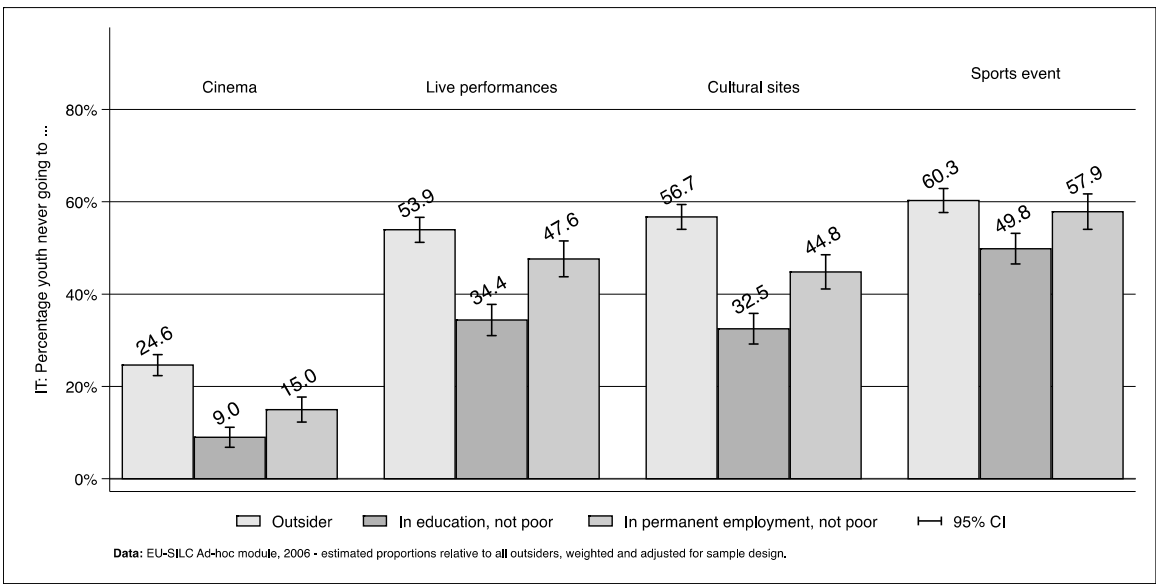
In addition to political participation of YLMOs, we also investigated aspects of social participation (see Figures 14 - 18 below). Our analysis, once again based on EU-SILC data, suggests some, but not very pronounced, differences in forms of social participation between insiders, outsiders and youth in education in the five country cases. Again, we distinguished between YLMOs, youth in education, or in permanent, full-time employment (not poor). The Figures 14 -18 show the proportions of youth who "never participated" in any of the listed social activities, "going to…: the cinema, live performances, cultural sites and sports events" (higher bars indicate *lower participation*).

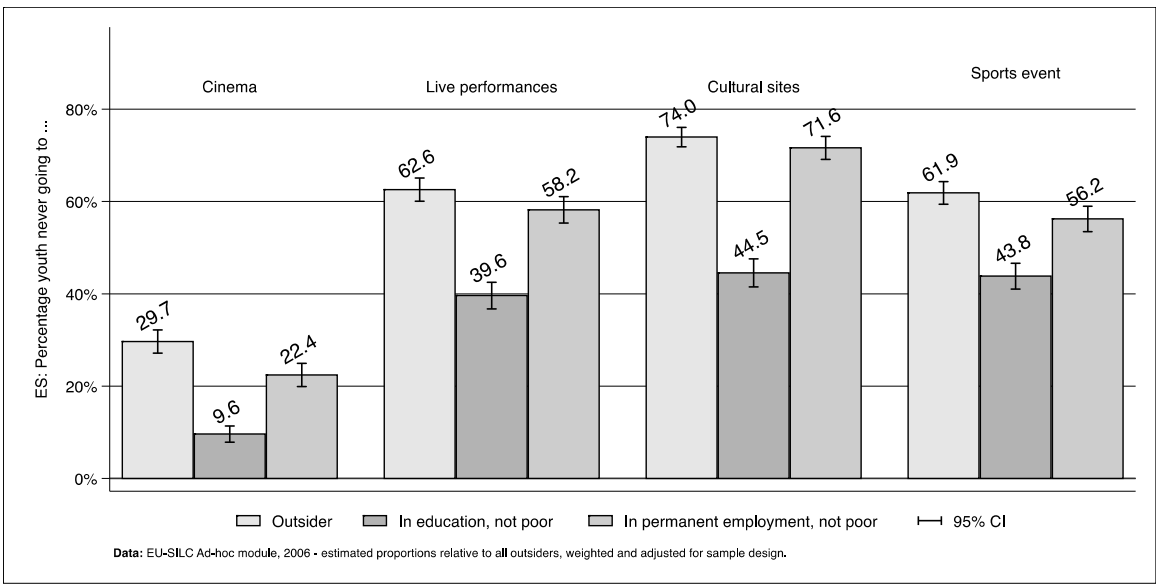
Figure 14-18: Youth membership in societal groups and organization

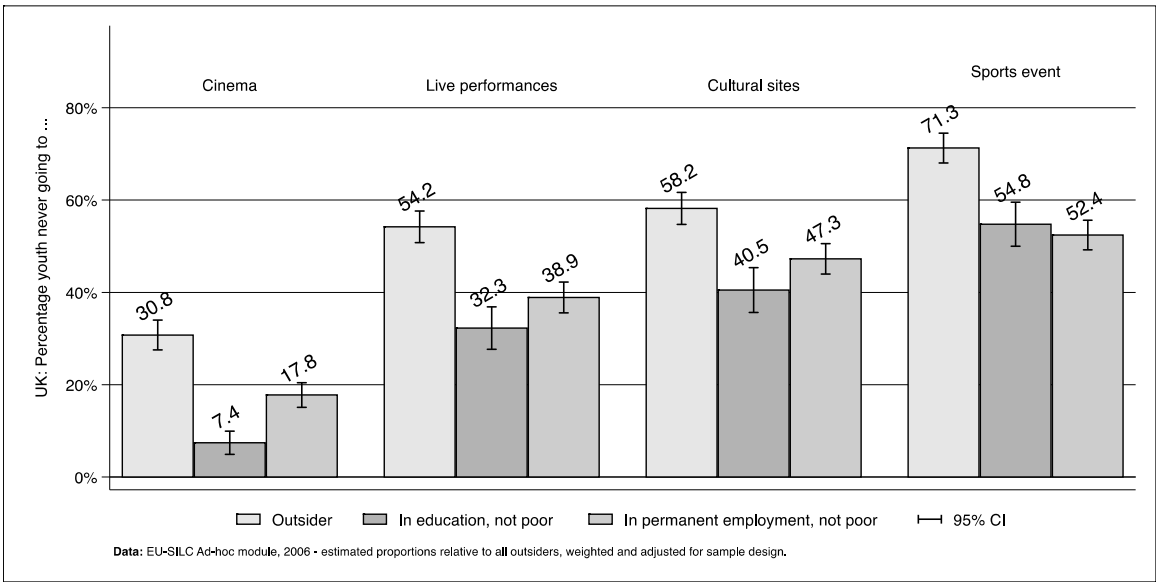


[17] Like the 'Indignados'; the 'PAH' (Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca) campaigning against evictions and the Spanish legislation on mortgages; and 'las mareas' waves of protests defending public services from cuts and privatization.


Cinema
Live performances
Cultural sites
Sports event
DE: Percentage youth never going to ...
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
20.8
10.3
15.7
48.9
44.2
47.2
42.0
39.2
41.6
51.4
36.0
38.0
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC Ad-hoc module, 2006 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.


Cinema
Live performances
Cultural sites
Sports event
IT: Percentage youth never going to ...
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
24.6
9.0
15.0
53.9
34.4
47.6
56.7
32.5
44.8
60.3
49.8
57.9
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC Ad-hoc module, 2006 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.


Cinema
Live performances
Cultural sites
Sports event
ES: Percentage youth never going to ...
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
29.7
9.6
22.4
62.6
39.6
58.2
74.0
44.5
71.6
61.9
43.8
56.2
Outsider
In education, not poor
In permanent employment, not poor
95% CI
Data: EU-SILC Ad-hoc module, 2006 - estimated proportions relative to all outsiders, weighted and adjusted for sample design.



Across all countries and activities, young people in education are more likely to have a higher degree of social participation compared to YLMOs and young people in standard employment. The differences between young people in education and young people not in education are most pronounced in Italy and Spain. In Austria the outsiders are less likely to participate in social activities than their peers (with the exception of going to cultural sites), whilst in Germany we find similar levels of participation among all groups. Finally, the UK is the country where youth labour market outsiders consistently participate less than their peers across all items measured.

However, our qualitative evidence highlights a variety of forms of participation that go beyond the limited items we were able to analyse through the EU-SILC database. The experiences of the interviewees did not suggest a clear correlation between outsiderness and perceived lack of social participation. The majority of interviewees declare to have a basic network of support in case they need help and support, which consists of close friends and family members. However, it is important to note that friendships and acquaintances of youth outsiders tend to be formed with young people in a similar situation. Often these relationships develop inside difficult neighbourhoods/areas creating routines that shape the everyday life of young outsiders (Interview No. 6 – Interviewee No. 6.1 and interviewee No. 6.4 – Italy). At the same time, it was often noted that once a person managed to exit her/his status of outsiderness s/he also tended to break ties with their former circle of friends.

> "I finished high school but my grades were not very good, yes, because, as I say, in school I spent a lot of my time, sort of, wagging it, hanging with the wrong crowd, you know, sort of people and..."
>
> […]
>
> "Where I'm from, on the Council estate, everybody's just used to either smoking weed, drinking or doing nothing"
>
> […]

> "I know, as I say, I've matured a lot and I know where I want to go and where I don't want to go back to, and that's to Manchester. Because around there there's negative influences and, as I say, there is work around in Manchester if you want to work and a lot of people don't want to work and I don't want to be around those people, to tell you the truth." (Interview No. 38 – UK)

Another dynamic highlighted by the interviewees is that those experiencing a worsening of their economic conditions were describing the lack of economic resources as limiting their possibilities to participate in cultural and social events. However, looking for cheaper or free cultural events and forms of social interaction was one of the forms of coping with these financial limitations.

> I don't buy a lot of cloths, I am not a consumerist. I go to the theatre if I can afford it and - as I know people - I manage to get reduced tickets. I don't go very often to cinemas. I don't go out to eat. However I look for alternative ways to have a good time." (Interview No. 64 – Spain)

Our analysis confirms the expectation of the literature indicating low levels of participation in formal political activities from young people and YLMOs. However, there are differences among countries, suggesting stronger politicisation in the Southern European countries. Going beyond political participation, we observed a stronger participation in a variety of social events of young people in education compared to YLMOs. Finally, we observed some variation across countries with the UK as an outlier. It seems that the weak formal and informal institutions in the UK are less able to reduce the gap between outsiders and insiders, than is the case in the other countries.

4. Conclusion

Our analysis highlights the importance of expanding research on youth unemployment to incorporate wider dimensions, as unemployment only constitutes one condition of YLMO. The prevalence and dimensions of YLMO vary considerably across Europe. Our qualitative research also revealed that the formal economic status of either 'being employed' or 'being unemployed' is not always helpful, as YLMOs can transition through a number of statuses in a relatively short period of time. Only by focusing on the entire phenomenon of YLMO can we assess the labour market condition of young people. Furthermore, our findings demonstrate that the economic crisis overall did not 'create' youth unemployment or outsiderness; moreover, those countries most affected by youth outsiderness had already comparatively high levels prior to the economic crisis.

Institutional arrangements can significantly impact on the prevalence of YLMO, the support available for young outsiders as well as their political and social participation. Austria and Germany have a relatively low prevalence of YLMO, largely due to their strongly institutionalized system of vocational education and training. In addition, well-coordinated welfare state institutions at the local level provide significant support services for outsiders, mitigating their situation, with the aim of facilitating labour market integration and independent living. By contrast the Southern European countries of Italy and Spain have comparatively weak vocational education and training systems as well as more highly regulated labour markets, making smooth transitions from school to insider employment relatively difficult. The weak institutionalization of effective youth policies provides little support for YLMOs in these two countries; the EU flagship policy to combat youth unemployment, the Youth Guarantee, also did not seem to have much of an impact in Italy and Spain, mainly due to a lack of institutional capacity and the sheer size of the outsider population. In the two Mediterranean countries informal networks such as the extended family support YLMOs, frequently providing cheap (often free) accommodation and support in finding work. However, this familialistic welfare arrangement limits the possibilities of young people to become fully independent and to develop their own social life outside the family boundaries. In this sense the Mediterranean cluster can be characterised as 'family by necessity'. The UK has an intermediate level of youth outsiderness, largely achieved through the capacity of a liberal labour market able to absorb young people. However, British YLMOs seem to be much less well supported through various services, if compared to their peers in Austria or Germany. As they are much more likely to live independently through the availability of social housing, they seem also to rely less on the family, compared to YLMOs in Italy and Spain.

With respect to social participation we did not find much difference among the various groups of young people, with the exception of young people in education showing a higher level of social participation. Overall this finding is somewhat encouraging, as young people do not seem to be as isolated, as some of the previous research would seem to indicate. However, we should also highlight that social participation and exchange often seems to be restricted to young people in a similar situation. Finally, we observed minor variation across countries with the exception of the UK. It seems that the weak formal and informal institutions in the UK are less able to reduce the gap with regard to participation between outsiders and insiders, than is the case in the other countries.

Turning to political participation our quantitative analysis seems to support previous research highlighting overall lower rates of formal participation by young people, with no significant differences for YLMOs. Our qualitative analysis for Austria, Germany and the UK also supports a rather distant relationship to political participation. However, for Italy and Spain our qualitative data suggests a comparatively higher level of political participation by YLMOs. We speculate that this might be the result of YLMO having become ‘normal’ or the ‘standard’ situation for a large part of the young population, which in turn provides the basis for a shared identity, facilitating the formation of and participation in political movements. Furthermore, it might be the case that the strong family support also provides financial and other resources enabling political participation.

To conclude: our analysis has shown a) a sole focus on the dimension of unemployment is insufficient to address the employment condition of young people in Europe; b) institutions matter with regard to the prevalence and composition of YLMO; c) future (EU) youth policy initiatives should have a stronger element of institutional capacity building in order to facilitate their effectiveness in countries with comparatively weak institutions in the domain of school-to-work transitions and youth policy in general; d) with regard to social and formal political participation YLMOs do not seem to differ much from young people in general (with the exception of much lower social participation rates among YLMOs in Britain). Our last finding raises the question of whether a ‘standard employment relationship’ is still of central importance for political and social participation beyond the workplace or whether for young people it has lost some of its relevance. Finally, despite the fact that the recent trend towards higher political participation by young people and YLMOs in Italy and Spain has questioned the legitimacy of the establishment, it has signalled that young people do have a voice and that this voice can have an impact on elections.

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6. Appendix

6.1 Technical information: Operationalizing youth labour market outsiderness in using the EU-SILC

For more detailed information on the variables of the EU-SILC referred to in this section, please see Eurostat (2013) EU-SILC - Description of Target Variables - Cross-sectional and Longitudinal (2012 operation). Version 2013, May. Variable names are listed in square brackets.

The employment status and inactivity was derived from the "*Self-defined economic status*", (EU-SILC variable: PL030[till 2009]/PL031[since 2010]), which has the following categories:

1 Employee working full-time
2 Employee working part-time
3 Self-employed working full-time (including family worker) [not in 2006]
4 Self-employed working part-time (including family worker) [not in 2006]
5 Unemployed
6 Pupil, student, further training, unpaid work experience
7 In retirement or in early retirement or has given up business
8 Permanently disabled or/and unfit to work
9 In compulsory military community or service
10 Fulfilling domestic tasks and care responsibilities
11 Other inactive person

Inactivity in the present operationalization covers categories 9-11 of the Self-defined economic status, whereas part-time work is based on categories 2 and 4 (in 2012). The dimension *temporary employment* applies to respondents indicating that they work on a temporary contract (PL140).
A number of young people in these employment categories were excluded as they had individual gross income greater than 200% of the country's median income. (The variable used is py10g, with the exception of Italy in 2006, where only net income was available, which has been adjusted by a factor of 0.58 to achieve equivalence. The factor represents the differential between the average net and gross income according to the OECD in 2006 (OECD 2014). This ensures that no high-income professional, for example self-employed consultants would be included amongst part-time or temporary employed youth.

For the *poverty* dimension of youth labour market outsiderness country median income was estimated from the EU-SILC data using adjusted household income. Adjustments were made for household size and intra-household non-response (Atkinson and Malier 2010; Marlier and Natali 2010). Individuals living in households with less than 60% of the median income were classified as labour market outsiders. A key caveat with this *household* measure of poverty is the potentially unequal distribution of incomes within households with potentially very different outcomes for young people, despite similar levels of household income (Bennett 2013). The poverty category was decomposed into

poverty in-education. Given the importance of the education category amongst youth, the self-defined in-education status was checked against a separate item, which identifies whether a respondent is in education (PE010). Since poor unemployed, inactive or atypically employed are automatically included in the outsiderness measure, the remaining individuals identified as poor are in standard employment, and therefore can be referred to as working poor. This addresses known analytical problem of the simultaneity of poverty and poor working condition (Marx and Nolan 2014).

6.2 Interviews info sheet

STRATEGIC TRANSITIONS FOR YOUTH LABOUR IN EUROPE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2ER, United Kingdom
www.spi.ox.ac.uk

Info sheet — Strategic Transitions for Youth Labour in Europe (STYLE)

Dear Participant,

You are being invited to take part in this research study. Before you decide if you want to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the STYLE project?
STYLE (http://www.style-research.eu) is a research project that aims to examine the obstacles and opportunities affecting youth employment in Europe. It is financed by the European Commission (http://ec.europa.eu/research/fp7/index_en.cfm) and it is a European wide collaboration between leading universities and research institutes. Within the STYLE project we are contributing to the work package 9 (http://www.style-research.eu/project/work-packages/wp9-attitudes-aspirations/). Our aim is to learn more about the consequences of being in unemployed or in so-called 'atypical employment' on the lives of young people. Atypical employment here refers to jobs that are fixed-term, low-paid, or part-time. In particular we would like to learn about how being in atypical employment or unemployment affects the way in which young people relate to other people in their environment, including family, friends and colleagues. We are also interested in learning about how being in atypical employment or unemployment affects the way in which young people voice their political views. In order to examine these issues we are conducting interviews with young people and experts on the topic in five European countries, namely the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Germany and Austria.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet and you will be asked to sign a consent form or to provide your verbal consent. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen if I choose to take part?
You will be asked to participate in an individual or group interview that will last about an hour and will take place in a location that will be agreed together. The interview will be audio recorded. You can always contact us through our e-mail accounts alessandro.arrigoni@spi.ox.ac.uk, bastian.betthaeuser@gtc.ox.ac.uk if you have any further questions about the research or if you want to withdraw your participation.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?
The interview will be completely anonymised and full confidentiality will be guaranteed. Your personal details will never be disclosed and your interview will not be traceable to you. The data will be temporally held in a lap-top or a memory stick, the information will be code encrypted for reasons of confidentiality so that it cannot be accessed if it is lost or stolen by third parts. Then the data will be

returned to the Department of Social Policy and Intervention at the University of Oxford for safe storage for up to 10 years in compliance with the University Code of Academic Integrity (http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/personnel/cops/researchintegrity/). Moreover, we will at all times comply with the Data Protection Act (http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents).

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The results of this research will contribute to a report prepared by the STYLE research group and could be used for academic articles and conference papers. All the data will be anonymised and we will never refer to your name in any publication. You can contact us through our e-mail addresses in order to have further information about the publications that will be produced from this research project.

Who has reviewed this study?
This research has been approved by the Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) of the University of Oxford (http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/curec/).

Contact for Further Information
Alessandro Arrigoni and Bastian Betthaeuser are researches at the Department of Social Policy and Intervention. They can be contacted via email or post at the following address:

Department of Social Policy and intervention
Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
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alessandro.arrigoni@spi.ox.ac.uk
bastian.betthaeuser@gtc.ox.ac.uk.

The research is monitored by the principal investigator, Professor Martin Seeleib-Kaiser, who can be contacted at martin.seeleib@spi.ox.ac.uk.

Thank you very much for taking time to read this information sheet.

Alessandro Arrigoni
Bastian Betthaeuser

6.3 Interviews consent form

STRATEGIC TRANSITIONS FOR YOUTH LABOUR IN EUROPE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
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www.spi.ox.ac.uk

Consent form — Strategic Transitions for Youth Labour in Europe (STYLE)

At Oxford University we are doing research to learn more about the consequences of being in unemployed or in so-called 'atypical employment' on the lives of young people. Atypical employment here refers to jobs that are fixed-term, low-paid, or part-time. In particular we would like to learn about how being in atypical employment or unemployment affects the way in which young people relate to other people in their environment, including family, friends and colleagues. We are also interested in learning about how being in atypical employment or unemployment affects the way in which young people voice their political views. In order to better understand these issues we are conducting interviews with young people and experts on the topic in five European countries, namely the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Germany and Austria.

1. I have read and understood the information about the research and I have had a chance to ask any questions and have had them answered □
2. I understand that any personal data will be anonymised, stored in a safe place, used only by the research team □
3. I understand that anything I say will only be quoted anonymously □
4. I understand that, if I have any concerns about the research, I can contact the University of Oxford using the contact details provided below □
5. I agree to take part in a single interview / focus group (cross out as appropriate) □
6. I agree to have the interview/focus group discussion recorded □
7. I understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time without explanation □
8. I am voluntary taking part in this research and I am aware that I can refuse or skip any question(s) that I do not want to answer and that I can withdraw from the research at any time without explanation □

Signed: (Participant)
Date:

Signed: (Researcher)
Date:

For information contact: Alessandro Arrigoni (alessandro.arrigoni@spi.ox.ac.uk) and Bastian Betthaeuser (bastian.betthaeuser@gtc.ox.ac.uk)

6.4 Topic guide for the interviews with outsiders

STRATEGIC TRANSITIONS FOR YOUTH LABOUR IN EUROPE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2ER, United Kingdom
www.spi.ox.ac.uk

Topic guide for interviews and group discussions with labour market outsiders

The structure for the semi-structured interviews and focus groups with labour market outsiders is organised in four thematic areas of investigation with a series of sub-points that will be addressed throughout the interview (not necessarily in the order listed below).

1. Background information

- Gender
- Age
- Ethnicity/ migrant background
- Educational attainment
- Living situation (e.g., alone / with partner / with friends / with parents)
- Family background
    - Parents' labour market position
    - Parents' educational attainment
- Perception of the socio-economic environment (e.g. poor / rich / culturally diverse / gentrified etc.)
    - Industry typical of the area
    - Level of unemployment
    - Politics of the area (major parties/movements/political issues)
- Cultural interests (e.g., music, literature, etc.)
- Ways of getting information (e.g., TV, Newspaper, Radio, Social Media, etc.)
- Questions locating interviewee in quantitative data (based on the EU-SILC Variables for qualitative interviews and EU-SILC module 2006 on Social Participation)

2. Labour market position

- Job content (tasks/activities, responsibilities) (previous and current, if applicable)
- Contract type
- Income
    - From work
    - Support by welfare state / family
- Satisfaction with job content, contract type, income
- Future work plans

3. Social participation

- Types and extent of social participation (current and in the past)
    - Interaction with family
    - Interaction with friends
    - Interactions with other people/groups

        - Recreational groups or organisations (do you discuss social or political issues in these groups?)
        - Cultural activities
    - Engagement with institutionalized groups (e.g., professional associations, churches or other religious organisation, charitable organisation)
- Satisfaction with social participation (investigating different dimensions that can affect satisfaction, eg. social status, belonging, security, economic wellbeing)
- Perceived reasons for types and extent of social participation
    - Link between labour market position and social participation
    - Role of the state/ policies / community / family
    - Socialization (Importance of political activities in parental household)
- Modes of social participation (face-to-face, vs. electronically)

4. Political participation / attitude / perception

- Types of political participation (current and previous, if applicable)
    - Voting
    - Trade union membership
    - Participation in social movement(s)
    - Demonstrations
- Political attitudes/ perceptions (left/right, party preferences)
- Political efficacy (internal/external)
- Motivations for political participation and attitudes
    - Link between labour market position and political participation
    - Political socialisation (Importance of political activities in parental household)
- Modes of political participation (face-to-face, vs. electronically)

6.5 Topic guide for the interviews with expert

STRATEGIC TRANSITIONS FOR YOUTH LABOUR IN EUROPE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2ER, United Kingdom
www.spi.ox.ac.uk

Topic guide for interviews with experts

The structure for the semi-structured interviews and focus groups with experts on youth inclusion is organised in three thematic areas of investigation with a series of sub-points that will be addressed throughout the interview (not necessarily in the order listed below). We understand representatives and experts as individuals that thanks to their position in organisation (such as in local authorities, trade unions, political parties/groups, organisers of voluntary groups etc.) and local communities have an in depth knowledge of the area investigated and of its social dynamics.

1. Information about the activities and area where the interviewee is active

- Interviewee's interactions and relations to young labour market outsiders
  - What is the focus of your work (your organisation's work) in the area
- Description of the area in which the interviewee operate with particular attention to:
  - Economic structures (main economic activities- unemployment level, etc.)
  - Political orientation and activities in the area
  - Cultural activities and diversity/homogeneity compared to the rest of the country (like the presence of different ethnic groups; local sub-cultures etc.)
- Verify the presence on the territory (to the best of the interviewee knowledge) of different typologies of young outsiders and which are prevalent
  - Different working positions or sector of activities
  - Areas of the territory that are dis-homogeneous (poor areas/peripheries etc.)
  - Presence of different ethnic communities
  - Gender differences among outsiders experiences

2. Social participation

- Types and extent of social participation among young labour market outsiders
  - Main forms/spaces of social participation
  - Presence of different informal groups fostering social participation among young outsiders
  - Presence of relevant institutionalized groups (e.g., professional associations, churches or other religious organisation, charitable organisation)
- Reasons for type and level of social participation of young labour market outsiders
  - Labour market position and social participation
  - Role of the state/ policies / community / family
  - Role of the socialization of young labour market outsider
- Activities implemented to improve the levels of social participation (from your and other groups/organisation)

3. Political participation / attitude / perception

- Types of political participation of young labour market outsiders (explore different aspects according to the expertise of the interviewee)
  - Voting pattern and participation in formal political activities
  - Trade union membership
  - Participation in social movement(s)
  - Demonstrations
  - Riots
- Motivations for political participation of young labour market outsiders
  - Link with labour market position
  - Role of political socialisation
- Activities implemented to improve the levels of political participation (from your and others group/organisation)

6.6 List of the interviews

STRATEGIC TRANSITIONS FOR YOUTH LABOUR IN EUROPE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2ER, United Kingdom
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List of Interviews:

Table: Overview of interviews				
Interview code	***Interviewee code***	***Expert/Young person***	***Gender***	***Country***
10	*10*	*Y*	*f*	*Italy*
111	*111*	*Y*	*f*	*Germany*
12	*12*	*Y*	*f*	*Italy*
37	*37*	*Y*	*f*	*United Kingdom*
103	*103*	*Y*	*f*	*Germany*
11	*11*	*Y*	*f*	*Italy*
15	*15*	*Y*	*f*	*Italy*
32	*32*	*Y*	*f*	*United Kingdom*
57	*57*	*Y*	*f*	*Spain*
64	*64*	*Y*	*f*	*Spain*
105	*105*	*Y*	*f*	*Germany*
45	*45*	*Y*	*m*	*Spain*
6	*6.1*	*Y*	*m*	*Italy*
6	*6.4*	*Y*	*m*	*Italy*
13	*13*	*Y*	*m*	*Italy*
14	*14*	*Y*	*m*	*Italy*
38	*38*	*Y*	*m*	*United Kingdom*
48	*48.1*	*Y*	*m*	*Spain*
48	*48.2*	*Y*	*m*	*Spain*
102	*102*	*Y*	*m*	*Germany*
112	*112*	*Y*	*m*	*Germany*
403	*403*	*Y*	*f*	*Austria*
502	*502*	*Y*	*f*	*Austria*
1	*1*	*E*	*f*	*Italy*
19	*19*	*E*	*f*	*Italy*
34	*34*	*E*	*f*	*United Kingdom*
910	*910*	*E*	*f*	*Austria*
915	*915*	*E*	*f*	*Austria*
20	*20*	*E*	*f*	*Italy*
2	*2*	*E*	*f*	*Italy*
18	*18*	*E*	*f*	*Italy*
59	*59*	*E*	*f*	*Spain*
201	*201.1*	*E*	*f*	*Germany*
203	*203.1*	*E*	*f*	*Germany*
203	*203.2*	*E*	*f*	*Germany*
914	*914*	*E*	*f*	*Austria*
39	*39*	*E*	*m*	*United Kingdom*
53	*53*	*E*	*m*	*Spain*
202	*202.2*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
202	*202.3*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
911	*911*	*E*	*m*	*Austria*
3	*3*	*E*	*m*	*Italy*
35	*35*	*E*	*m*	*United Kingdom*
201	*201.2*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
204	*204*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
913	*913*	*E*	*m*	*Austria*
41	*41*	*E*	*m*	*United Kingdom*
60	*60*	*E*	*m*	*Spain*
71	*71*	*E*	*m*	*Spain*
202	*202.1*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
205	*205*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
206	*206*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
207	*207*	*E*	*m*	*Germany*
912	*912*	*E*	*m*	*Austria*
5	*5.1*	*Y*	*f*	*Italy*

7	7.3	Y	f	Italy
31	31	Y	f	Italy
43	43	Y	f	United Kingdom
49	49	Y	f	Spain
61	61	Y	f	Spain
70	70	Y	f	Spain
115	115	Y	f	Germany
117	117	Y	f	Germany
301	301.1	Y	f	Austria
302	302.1	Y	f	Austria
601	601	Y	f	Austria
604	604	Y	f	Austria
7	7.1	Y	f	Italy
8	8.2	Y	f	Italy
52	52	Y	f	Spain
68	68	Y	f	Spain
303	303.2	Y	f	Austria
5	5.2	Y	f	Italy
7	7.2	Y	f	Italy
8	8.1	Y	f	Italy
8	8.3	Y	f	Italy
9	9	Y	f	Italy
17	17	Y	f	Italy
21	21.3	Y	f	Italy
22	22	Y	f	Italy
23	23	Y	f	Italy
24	24	Y	f	Italy
25	25	Y	f	Italy
29	29	Y	f	Italy
30	30	Y	f	Italy
36	36	Y	f	United Kingdom
44	44	Y	f	United Kingdom
54	54	Y	f	Spain
62	62.1	Y	f	Spain
66	66	Y	f	Spain
67	67	Y	f	Spain
104	104	Y	f	Germany
110	110	Y	f	Germany
114	114	Y	f	Germany
301	301.2	Y	f	Austria
301	301.3	Y	f	Austria
302	302.2	Y	f	Austria
303	303.1	Y	f	Austria

603	603	Y	f	Austria
605	605	Y	f	Austria
607	607	Y	f	Austria
608	608	Y	f	Austria
710	710	Y	f	Austria
801	801	Y	f	Austria
4	4.1	Y	m	Italy
6	6.2	Y	m	Italy
16	16	Y	m	Italy
21	21.4	Y	m	Italy
42	42	Y	m	United Kingdom
47	47	Y	m	Spain
56	56	Y	m	Spain
58	58	Y	m	Spain
65	65	Y	m	Spain
101	101	Y	m	Germany
106	106	Y	m	Germany
109	109	Y	m	Germany
501	501	Y	m	Austria
606	606	Y	m	Austria
704	704	Y	m	Austria
709	709	Y	m	Austria
711	711	Y	m	Austria
5	5.4	Y	m	Italy
26	26	Y	m	Italy
40	40	Y	m	United Kingdom
62	62.2	Y	m	Spain
107	107.2	Y	m	Germany
113	113	Y	m	Germany
503	503	Y	m	Austria
701	701	Y	m	Austria
714	714	Y	m	Austria
4	4.2	Y	m	Italy
5	5.3	Y	m	Italy
6	6.3	Y	m	Italy
21	21.1	Y	m	Italy
21	21.2	Y	m	Italy
27	27	Y	m	Italy
28	28	Y	m	Italy
33	33	Y	m	United Kingdom
46	46	Y	m	Spain
50	50	Y	m	Spain
51	51	Y	m	Spain

55	*55*	*Y*	*m*	*Spain*
69	*69*	*Y*	*m*	*Spain*
107	*107.1*	*Y*	*m*	*Germany*
108	*108*	*Y*	*m*	*Germany*
116	*116*	*Y*	*m*	*Germany*
401	*401*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
402	*402*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
404	*404*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
405	*405*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*

504	*504*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
505	*505*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
506	*506*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
602	*602*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
702	*702*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
703	*703*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
705	*705*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
708	*708*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*
712	*712*	*Y*	*m*	*Austria*

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