Labour market integration of unemployed youth from a life course perspective: the case of Norway.

International Journal of Social Welfare

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Running title: Labour market integration of unemployed Norwegian youth
Key words: Youth unemployment social assistance life course
Accepted for publication march 26, 2006

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to analyse the labour market integration of previously unemployed youth in a life course perspective

'Work, Lifestyle and Health' is a longitudinal panel survey following a sample of nearly 2,000 individuals who are representative of the Norwegian cohorts born between 1965 and 1968. The survey was first conducted in 1985 with follow-ups in 1987, 1989, 1993 and again in 2003.

Unemployment among young people does not necessarily lead to marginalisation and social exclusion. Long-term effects will be dependent upon how the youths cope with unemployment, the duration of the unemployment period, their mental health status and educational qualifications. Many young unemployed people are not entitled to unemployment benefits because they lack work experience. Consequently, they are dependent on support from their family and/or social assistance.

However, there is still much to learn about the long-term consequences of youth unemployment; e.g. whether or not the youths have received social assistance and what are the long-term consequences for their future labour market career and labour market integration.

The aim of this article is to analyse the labour market integration of previously unemployed youth from a life course perspective. From a sociological perspective, individuals and life courses are culturally constructed (Meyer, 1988). The life course in modern society has been described as ‘consisting of institutionalised sequences of events, positions and roles which shape the individual’s progression in time and space’ (Buchman, 1989: 43). Each life stage is accompanied by the cultural definition of needs, competencies, tasks and behaviours thought to be appropriate for individuals belonging to a given age group.

In recent years, the life course perspective has also been used to analyse the influences of social change on role and position change within one cohort in different phases of the life course. One such phase is the transition from youth to adulthood. The traditional pattern of transition has become institutionalised: leaving school and entering the labour market, leaving the parental home, acquiring financial independence and establishing of a family of one’s own as a young adult. Yet life course researchers have observed a destandardisation of transition to adult status more diversified and individualised than has been previously realised (Buchman, 1989).

Modern societies provide increasing options for young people whose educational, cultural and lifestyle choices are less bound to gender, religion, parental control or traditions than they were in the past. Ziehe and Stubenrauch (1983,) call this development a cultural emancipation, which offers new possibilities for the younger generation. However, at the same time young people also face new constraints and demands from society. Cultural emancipation is not synonymous with individual freedom and space. Increasing demands of education without any possibilities for labour market participation combined with high unemployment rates offer few alternative trajectories for young people. For many young people the educational system functions as a parking place (Ziehe and Stubenrauch 1983). Increasing demands and expectations of success combined with individualised responsibilities

imply stress. The problem for the young generation is not what can be allowed; rather it is the risk of failing to achieve legitimised goals accepted by society (Ziehe & Stubenrauch, 1983). Individual choices must be legitimised. Young people are responsible for their own life course, a 'choice biography' that is contrary to tradition (Bois-Reymond, et al 1994,). The dissolution of tradition, changing gender roles and family relations may imply a loosening of social networks and social control. Accordingly, some researchers speak of 'the risk society' (Beck, 1997), which takes the form of cultural emancipation coexisting with increased risk of marginalisation. This marginalisation is strengthened by a social development characterised by increasing demands for educational qualifications and by high unemployment among young people.

The aim of the article is to study determinants of the labour market careers of young people from a life course perspective. Unemployment among young people does not necessarily lead to long-term marginalisation and social exclusion; rather it also depends on the young person's mental health, educational qualifications, ability to cope with unemployment and the duration of their unemployment (Hammer 2000). Moreover, previous research has documented a clear relationship between financial difficulties and mental health problems (Alvaro & Gurrido, 2003). Because they lack work experience, many young unemployed people are not entitled to unemployment benefits and are therefore dependent on their families for support and/or on social assistance. In Norway, social assistance represents a basic security net for those who are not entitled to unemployment benefits or other social security benefits. To receive social assistance is still heavily stigmatised in Norway; one must undergo a means test and recipients usually consider it to be the financial solution of last resort (Halvorsen, 1996). In this article we define social assistance as financial support. From previous research we know that young social assistance recipients often have less education, more health problems, more financial problems and longer duration of unemployment than do

other unemployed youth (Hammer, 2001).

However, we know little about the long-term consequences of youth unemployment, independent of the individual's social assistance career. In this article we ask: What are the long-term consequences for future labour market career and labour market integration of the individual young person as a function of having received social assistance? To answer this question we need a theoretical framework for labour market processes.

The theory of labour market segmentation has been an important inspiration for research and discussion about labour market policy (Colbjørnsen, 1986) ever since the American economists Peter B. Doeringer and Nichael J. Piore launched the theory in the 1970s. They hypothesise that the jobs these young people will be offered will, to a high degree, be characterised by insecurity, few possibilities for intra-organisational training, low probability of advancement and low wages – elements which, according to sociological and economic labour market research, are associated with the so-called segmentation theories.

Unemployed youth, particularly those who become dependent on social assistance, are known to have less education than their contemporaries (Hammer, 2001). Their lesser qualifications suggest that they will be required to accept jobs requiring low skills and jobs in the secondary segment of the labour market, which has been described in the following way:

> There are, however, a group of low-wage, and often marginal, enterprises and set of causal, unstructured work opportunities where workers with employment disadvantages tend to find work. The labour market adjustment process for this low-wage employment and its effect upon the disadvantaged is poorly understood (Doeringer & Piore, 1971: 163).

It is Doeringer and Piore's hypothesis that inequality is partially created by structural forces,

which implies that the consequences may not be attributed solely to effects related to the employee's individual characteristics. The labour market is characterised by heterogeneity, which implies that different processes generate inequality in different segments of the labour market. An internal labour market exists in medium-sized and big firms that belong to the most stable and best organised segment of the economy and where the best educated and most highly skilled workers are usually employed. This segment is called the primary labour market, which is, of course, in contrast to the secondary labour market.

According to Doeringer and Piore's theory, external labour markets can be differentiated from internal labour markets by the fact that the pricing allocations and training decisions of external markets are directly controlled by economic factors. A certain mobility exists between internal labour markets and external labour markets that constitute ports of entry to and exit from the internal labour market (Doeringer & Piore 1971: 2). However, most jobs in the internal labour market are filled through promotions or through the movement of employees who are already integrated into the system – in other words, through internal recruitment. Thus they are sheltered from direct competition from people outside the system, i.e. people in the external labour market (Stavik & Hammer, 2000).

According to Doering and Piore (1971), jobs in the primary labour market are characterised by high wages, fringe benefits, good working conditions, high job stability, possibilities for promotion, high probability of trade union membership, good possibilities for internal training and, most importantly, a low risk of unemployment. Jobs in the secondary labour market, on the other hand, are characterised by a lower probability of internal training, low wages, poor working conditions, high turnover, few possibilities for advancement and low probability of union membership. There are also different demands regarding stability in the primary and the secondary labour markets, and this is assumed to be the most important factor whereby the labour force is distributed between the two segments (Colbjørnsen, 1986,)

Good jobs exist merely because firms require a core of stable labour force employees.

What is particularly interesting about this theory is not that it differentiates between good jobs and poor jobs, but that it postulates an interaction between job qualities and the individual attributes of employees (Stavik & Hammer, 2000). Frequent job shifts are related to low working commitment which, among other things, is due to the insecurity of the jobs available and to their poor working conditions, further implying that the employees will be more tolerant and willing to accept poor working conditions (Doeringer & Piore, 1972: 166). In other words, workers in secondary jobs are trapped in a vicious circle (Colbjørnsen, 1986: 185) because of low wages, poor working conditions, fewer possibilities for advancement and lower probability of training, which, in turn, generates low work motivation and therefore, low stability (Colbjørnsen,1986). The theory has been heavily criticised. First, it is thought that a theory developed in the US in the 70s may be of little relevance to the Scandinavian labour market of today. Second, much of the empirical research finds that the division of the labour market into two segments is an oversimplification of the current industrial structure. For instance, it is possible to locate both labour market segments within one firm or industry (Colbjørnsen, 1986). However, we accept the basic idea that different barriers in the labour market create different segments. Moreover, we agree with the hypothesis that not only are individual trajectories a result of individual qualifications, but also labour market processes generate inequalities and determine the qualities of jobs.

Unemployed youth, social assistance recipients in particular, often have working class backgrounds and low levels of education and must accept secondary labour market jobs requiring low skill levels (Stavik & Hammer, 2000). An important question, however, is whether or not they must remain in this segment of the labour market. Does their current position in the secondary market represent structural influences that will determine their future labour market trajectories and labour market integration in the transition from youth to

adulthood?

Data and method

Data

The research questions were investigated by using a unique combination of register data and survey data from the 'Work, Lifestyle and Health' survey, which is a longitudinal panel survey that followed a sample of nearly 2000 individuals who were representative of the Norwegian cohorts born between 1965 and 1968. The survey was introduced in 1985, with follow-ups in 1987, 1989, 1993 and 2003. The time window for the survey thus spans the period 1985 to 2003, allowing us to view individual life trajectories from ages 17-20 to 35-39. The panel was stratified based on the individual's primary occupation in 1985: young people who were still completing their education had the lowest probability of being included in the sample (0.25, N = 801), whereas those in employment had a higher probability (0.70, N = 800), and those who were neither working nor completing their education had the highest probability of inclusion (1.00, N = 394). In 1985 the survey consisted of approximately 100 questions on health, future ambitions, school and work adjustment, part time work, work environment and parental background. In 1987, 1989 and 1993, questions pertaining to physical and mental health, sick leave, leisure activities and substance abuse were added. The follow-up in 2003 included yet another set of question regarding social assistance benefits.

As can be seen from the following figures, the response rates throughout the study have been stunningly high: 85 per cent of the sample participated in the survey in 1985, 80 per cent in 1987, 74 per cent in 1989, 73 per cent in 1993 and 70 per cent in 2003.

Information was collected from the *FD-trygd* (social security) register at Statistics Norway and from registers of personal income and education, and these data were matched with individual responses for the entire period. The official records allowed us to track the

individual careers of social assistance in detail and to trace such other forms of social security as unemployment, sick and disablement benefits, as well as the frequency, duration and amount of traditional benefits. In addition, we had access to individual paths of educational and employment careers as well as to prior criminal convictions. When connected to data from the panel survey, this unique source of information provides an opportunity for understanding different transitions in youth and young adulthood: the transition from school to work or unemployment and the transitions from unemployment to employment.

Measurements

Mental health was measured by

- The 10 items of the Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (HSCL-10) (Derogatis, Lipman, Uhlenhut & Covi, 1974) for anxiety and depression, which had been selected by the factor analysis of a health survey of the same age group (the 1985 CBS survey). I used the mean score of the ten items, which range from 1 = not troubled (by this problem) to 4 = troubled very much (range 1.00 to 4.00) (Chronbach's alpha = 0.86). This variable had a skewed distribution with mean = 1.57, SD = 0.54, and with 58 per cent of the distribution below the mean.
- The work commitment scale (Warr, Cook & Wall, 1979) of 7 items scored from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree): It is very important to me to have a job; if I won a lot of money I would still want to work; I hate being unemployed; I feel restless if I do not have a job; work is one of the most important things in my life; I would prefer to work even if unemployment benefits were generous; the unemployed ought to work for their benefits. (range: 1.00 to 5.00) Cronbach alpha=0.83.
- Number of years of education, continuous variable.

- Age, year of birth, continuous variable.
- Job seeking strategy, index 6 items: Thinking about your current or last period of unemployment, can you indicate which methods you used to try to find a job (scored yes=1, no=0): replied to advertisements, through an employment agency, contacted employers yourself, through friends, through family, looked at advertisements in the newspapers (Range 0 to 6) Cronbach alpha=0.57. Because of the low reliability, the items were used as dummy variables in the multivariate analysis.
- Unemployment duration is measured as total months of unemployment ever.
- Social assistance is defined as financial support

Results

In the first section we analysed what characterises those young people who are recruited to social assistance compared with other young people. Then we looked at employment status in 2003, 18 years later of social assistance clients and other previously unemployed youth. In the next section we used segmentation theories to analyse where in the labour market they are located, and lastly how this location influenced their work satisfaction. The following model illustrates this procedure.

Figure 1 in about here

If we look at both main occupation in 1985 when our respondents were 17 to 20 years old and recruitment to social assistance the following years, we find, as expected, that those who were unemployed in 1985 or stayed home doing domestic work were overrepresented among later social assistance recipients.

Only 10 per cent of those who were student received social assistance between 1986 and 1993 compared with 37 per cent of those who were previously unemployed ($p < 0.001$).

Thus unemployment or being out of work is an important explanatory factor for young people receiving social assistance, which suggests that most young people receive social assistance for financial reasons. However, social background could be an important factor for inclusion in both the unemployment and social assistance groups. Previous research has also demonstrated that educational adjustment, health and drug use are important predictor variables (Hammer and Vaglum 1990).

Table 1 in about here

Table 1 shows, as expected, that more women than men received social assistance; approximately 20 per cent of these women were single mothers. As Terum (1993) has shown, many single mothers in Norway use social assistance as a supplement to public support for single mothers (Terum, 1993,).

The impact of unemployment as a predictor for receiving social assistance remains high, with and without controlling for social background, education and health. However, early drug use was equally important. Moreover, the father's educational level and parental divorce during the respondent's childhood had significant impacts. To have a father outside the labour market was significant in a bivariate analysis, but when the father's educational level was controlled for, this effect no longer appeared. Social background was also an important variable, whether or not we controlled for the respondents' unemployment. It may be possible to interpret parents' marital status and father's education as a proxy for parents' social and financial status. Many young unemployed people who are not entitled to unemployment benefits receive financial support from their parents, rendering them independent of public support (Hammer & Julkunen, 2003). Contrarily, if such support is unavailable, they will be forced to apply for social assistance. However, the individual's own experience of unemployment, drug use and educational adjustment is clearly more important than is parental background.

Future career in the labour market

The next logical research question concerns the long-term consequences of youth unemployment and of beginning a career as a social assistance recipient. Youth unemployment is clearly an important reason for receiving social assistance, but there is not a perfect overlap between the two groups. Figure 2 shows the group's integration in the labour market in 2003, nearly twenty years after the respondents in this study experienced their first period of unemployment at a young age.

Figure 2 in about here

Unemployed youth on social assistance had the highest probability of being out of the labour market in 2003, whereas respondents on social assistance who were not unemployed experienced nearly the same probability of labour market participation as did other unemployed youth. Those who were in employment or education in 1985 were by far in the best situation ($p < 0.001$). However, it is important to stress that the majority were employed in 2003, whether they had experienced unemployment at an earlier stage or not.

Still, it seems that both youth unemployment and the receipt of social assistance may have long-term effects on one's future labour market career, whether or not one is unemployed at a later date. However, to clarify this issue, it is necessary to control for other significant background variables presented in Table 1. Table 2 shows the probability of labour market integration in 2003.

Table 2 in about here

As seen in Table 2, youth unemployment and/or receipt of social assistance had a negative effect on the probability of employment, whether or not we controlled for selection effects.

However, neither social background, health nor educational adjustment as measured in 1985 had any significant effects.

In the introduction, I argued that in itself youth unemployment does not necessarily have any long-term effects on an individual's career. The important factor seems to be how the individual copes with unemployment. Previous research has found that unemployment could lead to mental health problems, even when such problems prior to a period of unemployment are controlled for (Alvaro & Gurrido, 2003; Hammer, 2000). Thus Table 2 includes a measure of 10 questions about mental health (HSCL-10) from the second follow-up in 1987. Indeed, mental health had a strong impact on the probability of being employed 15 years later, although the interaction effect indicates that the effect is less pronounced among those who were previously unemployed. Even if there is a deterioration of mental health as a consequence of unemployment, such symptoms may be less serious and more easily overcome. Previous longitudinal research on unemployment and mental health has demonstrated that such mental health problems improve when the individual returns to employment. Moreover, a one-way analysis of variance reveals that young people on social assistance reported far more mental health problems than did those who were unemployed and not on social assistance ($p < 0.001$).

Labour market integration

The majority of people who had been unemployed in their youth (71%), whether they received social assistance or not, were employed 18 years later, compared with 85 per cent of those who were completing their education in 1985 ($p < 001$). We now asked how these individuals obtained their employment, what type of work they obtained and how well they adjusted to their work. Did our unemployed youth turn into productive and satisfied workers?

Looking first at how they obtained work, previously unemployed youth received more

help from the public employment office in finding a job (compared with the general population.: 8 per cent had found work this way compared with 3 per cent of the general population ($p < 0.001$). Furthermore, members of this group who had also received social assistance had received even more help from the public employment office – a total of 14 per cent, in fact. On the other hand, they had also been more active in contacting possible employers directly, and the same proportion had found work through family and friends as did those in the general population.

In the introduction, I argued that previously unemployed youth run a serious risk of experiencing a future labour market career characterised by employment in the secondary labour market. In the following section I define having a position in the secondary labour market as temporary employment with fewer possibilities for training, low probability of unionisation and fewer possibilities for advancements. Table 3 shows the situation for previously unemployed youth and social assistance recipients compared with other employees.

Table 3 in about here

Table 3 shows that previously unemployed youth do not seem to be located in the secondary labour market when it is operationalised according to our definition. They do not differ from other employees, except that they are less positive regarding the question of whether they want to continue in their current job. On the other hand, those who received social assistance have a higher probability of working in the secondary labour market.

We also asked 14 questions in the survey concerning work satisfaction; the scores ranged from 1 (very satisfied) to 5 (not satisfied) (see Method). Again, previously unemployed youth did not differ from other employees, whereas those on social assistance had lower satisfaction scores ($p < 0.001$).

Table 4 in about here

The only variable on which the previously unemployed had lower work satisfaction scores concerned the physical working conditions variable which examines satisfaction with such working conditions as noise, draught and poor ventilation. On the other hand, the social assistance recipients were less satisfied than others except regarding the question of comradeship at the workplace, their relationship with their closest superior, the pace of their work, training and, interestingly, prospects for the future.

It is possible that low work satisfaction is a result of the poorer working conditions of the secondary labour market, the low-skilled work that these people are able to obtain given their poor qualifications, lower work motivation, or more personal problems related to poorer mental health among the social assistance recipients. Table 6 explores this relationship.

Table 5 in about here

Neither previous unemployment nor the receiving of social assistance were significant when labour market segmentation, educational level work commitment and mental health were controlled for. This is an important finding because the results imply that it is personal factors such as low work commitment and mental health rather than social assistance in itself that creates a negative impact. Indeed, recipients of social assistance report lower work commitment and more mental health problems than do the other groups ($p < 0.01$). However, there were no interaction effects. These results may imply that recipients of social assistance with these types of problems are outside the labour market. Most important, employment in the secondary labour market has a clear effect on work satisfaction and, in accordance with theory, on work commitment as well.

Discussion

It has been argued that the transition from youth to adulthood constitutes a phase of great importance for later development. As a social moratorium, the period is marked by the transition from education to employment and the young adults' entrance into the labour market, with a high risk of unemployment.

However, it is important to differentiate between voluntary and involuntary unemployment. It can be assumed that young people want to try different types of jobs and different types of work before they find the job that best suits their abilities and interests, and that this search period will be more effective if they are unemployed. Another type of voluntary unemployment among youth can be explained, for instance, by the fact that the youth do not want permanent work nor a more permanent integration into the labour market (Stavik & Hammer, 2000).

There is little evidence that Norwegian youth who become unemployed will be excluded from the labour market in the long term, but that a short period of unemployment in the transition from school to work is not unusual. If the total unemployment among young people is democratically distributed, which means that they are not a group which is especially vulnerable to unemployment, and if unemployment in itself does not have long-term consequences, can we assume that youth unemployment is not really a problem for either the young people themselves or for society?

Unfortunately, it is not that simple. It is not a coincidence that the research shows who will become unemployed; rather, there is strong evidence that unemployment is a class problem or, rather, a problem that is related to social class (Ellingsæter, 1995: 114), and that unemployment does have long-term consequences for some groups.

It has been argued that young people may be at particular risk because 'differential living conditions in the critical youth phase may well translate into permanent social

differences as birth cohorts move through the life cycle' (Øverbye & Sæbø, 1998 p: 175,) According to the results presented in this article, however, youth unemployment does not seem to have such long-term consequences for the majority of young people. They turn into productive workers who are satisfied with their work and enjoy good working conditions in the primary segment of the labour market. Not even those who experienced long-term unemployment as young people do worse than others.

The fact that the majority of previously unemployed young people work in the primary segment of the labour market is interesting in itself. Research has shown that previously unemployed youth enter the secondary labour market in what are believed to be dead-end jobs with recurrent spells of unemployment (Stavik & Hammer, 2000). Analysing the probability of recurrent spells of unemployment using the same data set from 1985 to 1993, Hammer (2000) found that location in the secondary segment of the labour market explained most of the variance in recurrent spells of unemployment among youth.

The hypothesis, then, is that recurrent periods of unemployment among youth may be partially explained by the structure of the labour market (Andress, 1989), particularly unemployment among those young people seeking employment but who are unskilled (Rødseth, 1994). The hypothesis, in other words, is that the jobs these young people are offered will, to a high degree, be characterised by insecurity, fewer possibilities for intra-organisational training, low probabilities of advancement and low wages.

However, our results as presented here do not indicate that previously unemployed youth will necessarily experience a long-term career in the secondary market. Twenty years later, the majority of individuals were located in the primary labour market. In the long run, then, there is indeed mobility between the different segments of the labour market. From a life course perspective, it seems that a period of unemployment in one's youth is not so critical a stage as was previously assumed, in that it is the problems experienced during this life phase

that determine the outcome of future careers and trajectories on the labour market.

However, the situation is far worse among young social assistance recipients. We know from previous research that social assistance benefit recipients in Norway by no means constitute a homogenous group and that there are great variations in their social and financial situations. Some of them are long-term clients who have spent several years on the margins of society – drug addicts, criminals, the homeless and the long-term unemployed. Recipients at the other end of the scale, the so-called 'new poor', may merely be experiencing such short-term financial problems as mortgages (Hyggen, 2003). There are, however, some characteristics that increase the risk of being dependent on social assistance benefits. Several studies, both national and international, confirm assumptions that a large proportion of social assistance recipients are recruited from marginal groups.

The results presented here are in accordance with previous research. Social assistance recipients differ from other unemployed youth in their social background. More of them come from families with divorced parents and have fathers who are outside the labour force – often fathers with low levels of education. Moreover, they are more likely to have dropped out of school and have more health problems and a higher frequency of drug use than do others, even when compared with other unemployed youth (Hammer, 2001; Hammer & Vaglum, 2000). We also found that they had a higher probability of being outside the labour market in 2003. Furthermore, those who had found a job were more likely to be located in the secondary labour market and were less likely to be satisfied with their working conditions. However, among those who were located in the secondary market, poor mental health and low work commitment were more important for work satisfaction than was their status as a former social assistance recipient. Moreover, their location in the secondary labour market influenced their work satisfaction even more. According to the theory, working in the secondary labour market generates lower work motivation. However, we should not ignore the fact that to

receive social assistance may in itself lead to lower work commitment and thereby lower work satisfaction. Such processes, often referred to as 'learned helplessness', have been documented in previous research (Marklund, 1993).It is also possible that those who become social assistance recipients have lower work commitment before they enter unemployment. They are more likely to have parents who are outside the labour market, and this may have implications for the socialisation process and internalisation of work values.

It is also important to stress that there is a skewed attrition in 2003 among social assistance recipients. Information about social assistance is based on a highly reliable register data. The response rate among social assistance recipients in 2003 is 50 per cent compared with 70 per cent in the total sample. The results presented here show that 30 per cent of social assistance recipients were outside the labour market in 2003 compared with 15 per cent of others. There is reason to believe, in fact, that the actual proportion might be higher. It can be assumed that employed people would be more likely to respond to the questionnaire than would the unemployed members of their cohort.

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Figure 1 The model

1985-1990 ----------2003----------
Recruitment ---------→ In employment --→ Labour market---------→ Work
To social assistance Segmentation Satisfaction

Caption for Figure 1??

Figure 2. Unemployed and employed youth who are or are not receiving social assistance by 2003 employment status.

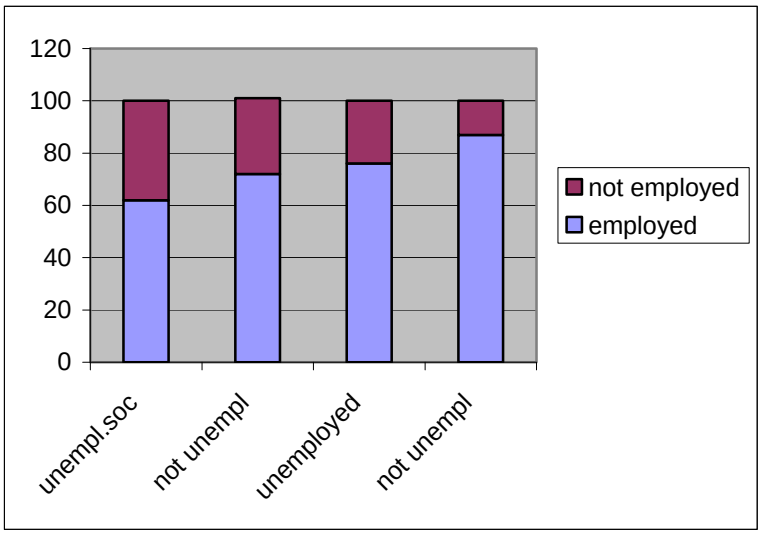

Table 1. The impact of social background for recruitment to social assistance. Logistic regression. Received social assistance = 1.

	B	S.E.	Wald		Sig.	Exp(B)
Male = 1	-,476	,189	6,356		,012	,621
Employed 1985	,284	,228	1,547		,214	1,328
Unemployed 85	1,075	,257	17,439		,000	2,929
Father in job	-,098	,242	,165		,685	,906
Father's education	-,253	,111	5,240		,022	,776
School drop out	,635	,256	6,132		,013	1,886
Education	-,021	,034	,383		,536	,979
Drug use = 1	1,055	,250	17,786		,000	2,871
Health problem = 1	,693	,249	7,747		,005	2,000
Parents' divorce	,615	,220	7,781		,005	1,849
Constant	-2,265	,450	25,311		,000	,104

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	786,373	,095	,165

	Chi-square	df	Sig.
Model	103,534	11	,000

Table 2. The impact of youth unemployment and receipt of social assistance for the future labour market integration of young people. Logistic regression, Job = 1. (n = 1266)

	B	S.E.	Wald		Sig.	Exp(B)
Male = 1	,897	,195	21,218		,000	2,453
Employed 1985	,045	,221	,041		,839	1,046
Unemployed 1985	-1,775	,641	7,672		,006	,169
Social assistance = 1	-,595	,229	6,779		,009	,551
Father's job = 1	,067	,246	,075		,784	1,070
Mental health 1987	-,771	,245	9,857		,002	,463
Father's education	-,075	,104	,510		,475	,928
School drop out	-,287	,272	1,119		,290	,750
Education	,063	,034	3,368		,066	1,065
Mental health* Unemployment (interaction)	,924	,410	5,076		,024	2,519
Drug use = 1	-,054	,285	,035		,851	,948
Health problems 1985	,023	,277	,007		,934	1,023
Parents' divorce	-,018	,236	,006		,940	,982
Constant	2,380	,555	18,368		,000	10,802

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Model	74,884	13	,000

	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagelkerke R^2
1	840,916	,070	,119

Table 3. Labour market situation among previously unemployed youth, social assistance recipients, and other employees. In percent

Secondary market, def.	Unemployed	Other employees	Social assistance
Permanent. Job	89	92	85
Temporary job	11	8	15**
Internal training	52	64	48
No training	48	36	52***
Union membership	58	59	57
No union membership	42	41	43
Future prospects	64	76	64
No future prospects	36	24**	37**

Table 4. Work satisfaction among previously unemployed, social assistant recipients, and others.Mean values

Satisfaction	Unemployed	Others	Social assistance
Wages	2,57	2,49	2,77
Actual work	1,91	1,92	2,05
Work hours	2,07	1,97	2,13
Comrades	1,64	1,69	1,74
Physicalcondition	2,38	2,21	2,4
Psychological stress	2,63	2,57	2,71
Deadlines	2,43	2,39	2,5
Superior	1,95	2,04	2,01
Future prospects	2,33	2,34	2,32
Training	2,37	2,41	2,42
Pace of work	2,21	2,22	2,27
Planning	1,82	1,84	1,97
Breaks	1,86	1,89	1,94
Variety	1,94	1,88	2,01

Table 5. OLS regression. On predictors of work satisfaction (n = 1062).

Model		Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1,562	,096		16,319	,000
	Male = 1	-,019	,026	-,020	-,737	,461
	2003 work commitment	,063	,020	,086	3,155	,002
	Mental health 1987	,106	,040	,074	2,645	,008
	Employed 1985	,032	,029	,032	1,105	,270
	Unemployed 1985	-,027	,040	-,020	-,670	,503
	Social assistance	,040	,039	,029	1,038	,299
	Education	-,019	,005	-,119	-4,143	,000
	Permanent job	-,025	,048	-,014	-,518	,605
	Poor future prospects	,468	,030	,431	15,666	,000
	Union membership	-,152	,026	-,157	-5,786	,000
	No training	,071	,027	,072	2,584	,010

Ref: education in 1985.

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	63,448	11	5,768	34,613	,000(a)
	Residual	175,143	1051	,167		
	Total	238,591	1062			

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	
1	,516(a)	,266	,258	