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Unemployment – Stage or Stigma?
Being Unemployed During an Economic Boom

Emer Smyth

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Corresponding Author: Emer.Smyth@esri.ie

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Introduction

Ireland has experienced an unprecedented level of economic growth since the mid-1990s, leading to a dramatic decrease in unemployment levels among the adult population. The period since the mid-1990s has also seen significant changes in the educational careers of young people, with the emergence of more differentiated qualifications within upper secondary education and a dramatic growth in participation in tertiary education. This paper assesses the extent to which economic growth has impacted on the situation of young school-leavers after the 'Celtic Tiger'. It is argued that the exploration of youth unemployment in Ireland over the period concerned provides more general insights into the dynamics of youth transitions.

The paper draws on the School Leavers' Survey, a regular nationally representative survey of young people carried out one to one and a half years after they leave school. Data are pooled from a number of surveys to compare the period immediately before economic expansion (1990-92) with the recent period (2002-6).

The paper begins by discussing existing research on the dynamics of unemployment and then places the paper within the Irish context. The following section describes the data and methodology used. The analysis of the situation of unemployed young people is placed within the overall context of trends in labour force participation among school-leavers over time. Firstly, the paper will examine trends in the overall level of youth unemployment over this period, distinguishing between those who are not yet integrated into employment and those who have lost (or left) their job. Secondly, the profile of the unemployed in the two periods will be compared in terms of educational qualifications, social background, gender and location. Thirdly, the paper assesses whether economic growth has resulted in shorter spells of unemployment for those young people.

Theoretical background

Youth unemployment has been a central focus of transitions research since the 1980s, with a significant number of studies focusing on cross-national differences in unemployment levels as well as on the impact of active labour market policies designed to facilitate employment access (see, for example, Blanchflower and Freeman, 2000). Explanations of the processes shaping youth unemployment must be placed in the context of broader frameworks designed to explain school to work transitions in general. Attempts to provide a comprehensive conceptual framework to understand the factors shaping school to work transitions date back to the 1980s, when Maurice, Sellier and Silvestre (1986) proposed a theory of societal effects. They argued that the different kinds of qualifications produced in the German and French educational systems and the recruitment and promotional systems used by German and French employers resulted in complex system-specific relationships between qualifications and jobs. Subsequent analysts elaborated upon this framework to delineate the specific institutional features of education, training and labour market systems across a range of European countries (see, for example, Allmendinger, 1989; Müller and Shavit, 1998). A large-scale study of school to work transitions across Europe (CATEWE) sought to advance upon this work, identifying a number of key dimensions shaping transition systems (Smyth et al., 2001; Müller and Gangl, 2003). These dimensions included: the demographic, economic and labour market context; the system of labour market regulation; the characteristics of the education/training system (in terms of standardisation and differentiation, for example); and the nature of transition processes and outcomes.

From this perspective, there is a continuum ranging from countries with strong occupational labour markets (OLMs), standardised and track-differentiated education systems, and strong links between education and the labour market (through vocational education), to countries dominated by internal labour markets (ILMs), with less standardised and less differentiated education systems, and weaker links between education and the labour market (Smyth et al., 2001). In OLM-type systems, the process of young people's entry to the labour market tends to be smoother with lower youth unemployment rates and a lower ratio of youth to adult unemployment rates. In contrast, in ILM-type systems, especially those characterised by strong employment regulation, unemployment rates are disproportionately high among young people compared to adults (Gangl, 2002; Müller and Gangl, 2003; Jimeno and Rodriguez-

Palenzuela, 2002). Similarly, using data for 1995-1999, Breen (2005) found that youth unemployment tends to be higher (both overall and relative to adult rates) in regulated labour markets, due to the slower absorption of job seekers, and lower in educational systems with a strong emphasis on specific skills. Across Europe, a spell of unemployment is extremely common for young people at the start of their careers. The transition from unemployment to employment is found to be lower in countries with a higher youth unemployment rate and more restrictive employment regulation and higher in systems with a strong emphasis on active labour market policies (Russell and O'Connell, 2001).

Within existing typologies of transition systems, Ireland is an example of an ILM-type system, with a less differentiated education system and 'loosely coupled' education-labour links but strong market signals in terms of educational level and grades (Smyth et al., 2001). Within Breen's (2005) typology, Ireland is characterised as having low employment protection and low signalling in terms of the vocational specificity of skills. On this basis, absorption into employment among Irish school-leavers is seen to be slower than in more differentiated systems (such as Germany and the Netherlands), but the lack of strong employment regulation means that the disadvantage experienced by school-leavers is not as marked as in more regulated systems (such as Spain and Italy) (see Müller and Gangl, 2003). Although lacking strong signals of vocational skills, Irish employers use both the level of educational qualifications and the grades received as criteria in recruiting young people (see Breen et al., 1995).

While typologies of transition systems have contributed to an advance in our understanding, in some ways particular national systems can often be characterised in quite a static manner and the way in which systems can change over time has been relatively neglected. An early paper on the impact of the recession in Scotland (Raffe, 1984) indicated that employment prospects grew worse for all school leavers but that the relative advantage of those with qualifications increased. Analysing the EU Labour Force Survey for the period 1988-97, Gangl (2002) found that labour market entrants are the most susceptible to changing economic conditions (see also Jimeno and Rodriguez-Palenzuela, 2002), with the lowest qualified most affected by cyclical change. From this perspective, the gap between the most and least qualified is seen to widen during recession. The corollary of this finding is that the credentials gap will be somewhat reduced in the context of overall employment expansion. In this paper, it is

therefore hypothesised that, compared with the pre-boom period, overall unemployment levels will be lower in the post-boom period in Ireland and that the relative unemployment gap between more and less qualified young people will decrease. Before testing these hypotheses, it is worth describing the context for school leavers in Ireland.

The Irish context

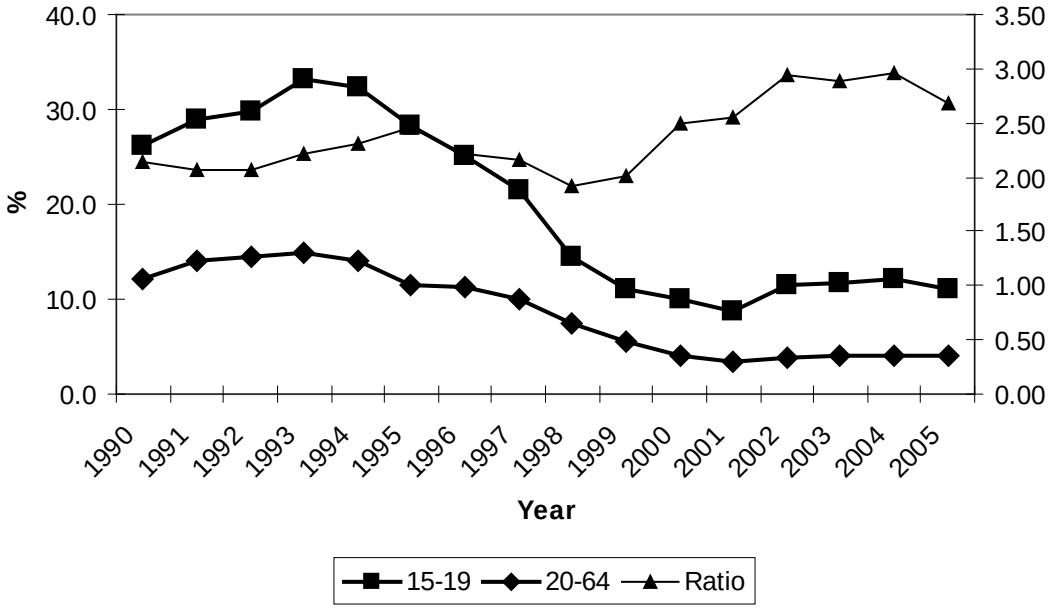
The relative neglect of a dynamic understanding of transition processes has particular consequences in the Irish situation. Recent years have seen quite dramatic changes in contextual influences such as economic growth rates, the sectoral distribution of employment and the numbers of young people exiting the school system. Furthermore, significant changes have taken place in the structure of the educational system itself as a result of more differentiation within upper secondary education (through the introduction of the Leaving Certificate Applied and Leaving Certificate Vocational Programmes) and the expansion of available places within further and higher education. The remainder of this section describes these changes in more detail.

Since the mid-1990s, Ireland has experienced a period of rapid economic growth (Fitz Gerald, 2000). The period of 1991-3 was one of 'sluggish growth', with employment declines in 1991 and 1992 and rising unemployment levels (O'Connell, 2000). The subsequent period was one of very rapid economic growth; employment grew very rapidly over this period, by 55 per cent between 1993 and 2004, with the employment rate exceeding the EU average by the end of the period. Correspondingly, unemployment rates decreased dramatically, with a particularly marked decline in the prevalence of long-term unemployment. This growth resulted in dramatic changes in the profile of the labour force, with sharp and sustained increases in women's employment and growing inward migration for employment (O'Connell and Russell, 2007).

Figure 1 shows the trends in unemployment levels for the adult population. Adult unemployment rates peaked in 1993 and declined thereafter to a low in 2001 with a very slight increase thereafter. Unemployment rates among young people (those aged 15-19) have broadly mirrored those among the adult population, albeit at much higher levels. The increase in youth unemployment in early 1990s was more dramatic than among adults, and there has been some increase in youth

unemployment levels in recent years in spite of the overall boom. Overall, adult unemployment declined by 66 per cent over the period while youth unemployment declined by 55 per cent (see also O'Connell, 2000). While there has been a reduction in the percentage gap between youth and adult unemployment rates, the ratio between youth and adult unemployment rates has actually increased over the period, from 2.2 at the height of unemployment to around 2.9-3 since 2002 (Figure 1). It is evident that adults have benefited more from employment expansion than young people.

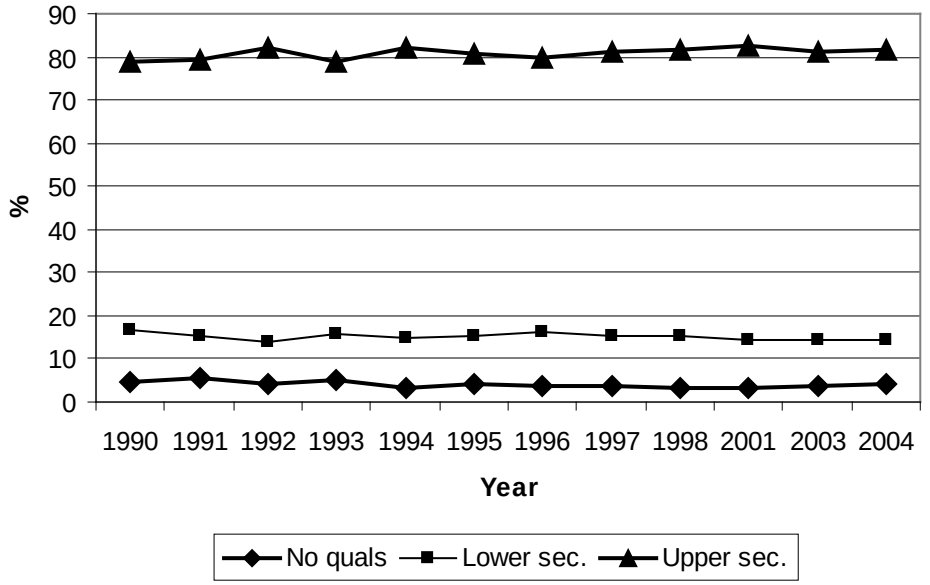
Figure 1: Adult and youth unemployment rates 1990-2005



The period from the early 1990s onwards has seen significant developments in educational legislation and policy, mainly centring on the introduction of new programmes and an attempt to address disadvantage and diversity within schools. Until the 1990s, young people who stayed on to upper secondary education took a single, academically-oriented Leaving Certificate programme. The Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme (LCVP) was introduced in 1994 to foster in students a spirit of enterprise and initiative and to develop their interpersonal, vocational and technological skills. There is a good deal of overlap with the established Leaving Certificate but students take additional subjects centring on enterprise education and preparation for work. A somewhat more radical innovation than the LCVP involved the introduction of the Leaving Certificate Applied Programme (LCA) in 1995. The programme was introduced to cater for less

academically-oriented students and those potentially at risk of school drop-out. The curriculum and approach of the LCA focus on preparing students for the transition from school to adult and working life, using more active and practical methods of teaching and assessment. As a result, the system has become somewhat more differentiated than previously. However, it is worth noting that, while the new programmes include an emphasis on work preparation, they do not aim to provide young people with specific vocational skills.

Figure 2: Qualification level of school leavers 1990-2004



In spite of changes in upper secondary programmes and a policy emphasis on providing additional funding for disadvantaged schools, the proportion of young people who remained in school until the end of upper secondary education was remarkably stable over the period 1990 to 2004. However, it may be the case that the 'pull' of the booming labour market might have reduced school completion in the absence of such interventions. Although secondary school completion rates have remained relatively stable, there has been a dramatic shift in the proportion of young people going on to tertiary education, with over half of the cohort now going on to college (O'Connell et al., 2006).

Data and methodology

The School Leavers' Survey is a regular nationally representative survey of young people who have left secondary school in the previous academic year. The survey collects detailed information on the educational and labour market experiences of young people in the period since leaving school as well as collecting retrospective information on their school experiences and grades achieved. The survey has been conducted since 1980 so provides a useful data source for exploring changes in the nature of school to work transitions before and after the impact of the economic boom. The core information collected by the survey has remained comparable over time. However, some additional information has been collected through the survey in recent years. Recent surveys have collected detailed month-by-month information on labour market statuses among school leavers and thus provides a basis for more detailed analyses of transitions between labour market statuses (see Byrne, 2006). In contrast, surveys in the earlier period collected information on labour market status for four specified time-points (August, October, January and May) over the first year after leaving school. For reasons of comparability, analyses in this paper focus on using information on labour force status collected for these four time-points. This has the limitation of under-representing very short spells of unemployment but should still give us valuable insights into changes in the structure of youth unemployment over time.

Multivariate models are used to explore the influence of economic expansion, social background factors and educational qualifications on unemployment chances. Time is measured as a dummy variable with 'post-boom' indicating that the school-leavers left school in the period 2001 to 2004. The social background factors included in the models are gender, parental social class, parental employment status and urban/rural location. Parental social class is measured in terms of a six-category typology developed for Irish purposes by the Central Statistics Office; this is a hierarchical measure ranging from 'higher professional' to 'unskilled manual'. Because of their distinctive educational profile, those from farming backgrounds are classified separately. A dominance approach is used (see Erikson, 1984), whereby, if both parents are in employment, the higher social class is assigned to the family. Dummy variables are included to indicate whether the school leaver's father and mother are employed. Those who live in one of Ireland's five main cities (Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford) are assigned to the 'urban' category. In terms

of educational qualifications, three categories are distinguished: those leaving school before taking any State examination ('no qualifications'), those leaving with a lower secondary (Junior Certificate) qualification and those leaving with an upper secondary qualification (Leaving Certificate). For those who had taken a State exam, grades were measured in terms of scores assigned on the basis of the level and grade received averaged over all exam subjects taken; because of slight fluctuations from year to year in the grades awarded, the scores were normalised within each year included in the analyses.

The focus is not just on assessing the impact of the economic boom on the *level* of youth unemployment but in examining its influence on the *profile* of the unemployed. Therefore, two sets of models were carried out: the first indicating the direct effect of time, social background and educational background on unemployment chances; the second examining the interaction between time and other variables in order to assess differences in the profile of the unemployed between the two periods. These analyses will allow us to evaluate two contrasting scenarios:

- Unemployment in the early 1990s was a common feature of the transition from school to work for many young people but, due to employment growth within the economy, has become increasingly concentrated among a small group of marginalised young people.
- The cohort of young people who enter the labour market on leaving school has become a negatively selected group, because of the rapid growth in higher education entry. This means that social and educational differences between the employed and unemployed have reduced in significance.

The relative strengths of these scenarios as explanations of the nature of youth unemployment in Ireland are explored in the remainder of the paper.

Trends in labour force participation

There has been an overall decline in direct entry to the labour market among school leavers over the period due to the higher rates of entry to tertiary education. 'Direct entry' includes those who are employed or unemployed in October of the year of leaving school; October was used rather than August due to the large number of college students holding summer jobs at the latter time-point. It is apparent, therefore, that, despite the increasing availability of employment in the post-Celtic Tiger period,

the longer-term trend towards increased rates of participation in tertiary education has continued (Figure 3). Labour force participation rates tend to be lower for female leavers than for their male counterparts, with a growth in the gap over time (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Labour force participation among school leavers

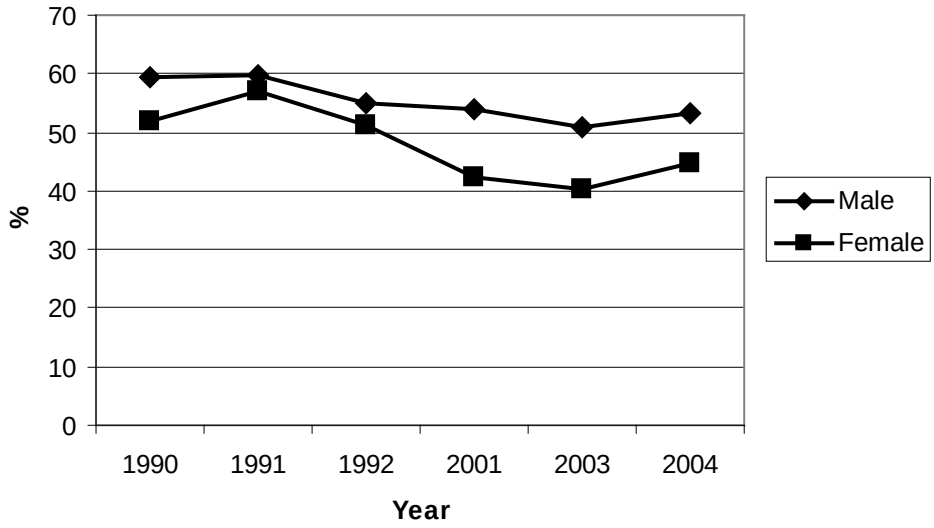


Table 1 presents logistic regression models exploring the factors predicting immediate labour market entry and the extent to which these factors change over time. Young men, those from working-class backgrounds, those with non-employed fathers and those living in urban areas are more likely to enter the labour market immediately upon leaving school than other young people. Direct labour market entry is strongly structured by educational level[1] being most prevalent among those with lower secondary qualifications and least prevalent among those with upper secondary qualifications. Interestingly, those who left school without any qualifications have lower entry rates than those with lower secondary qualifications, reflecting the prevalence of being on home duties or unable to work because of illness among this group[2]. Over and above the effect of educational level, grades achieved in the final exam are found to be predictive, with labour market entry more common among those with lower exam grades.

Model 2 in Table 1 explores the extent to which the impact of these factors has changed over time by adding interaction terms between 'post-boom' and the

[1] Educational level explains 16 per cent of the variance in labour force participation.
[2] Twenty-two per cent of the no qualifications group were on home duties or were unable to work because of illness compared with three per cent of upper secondary leavers.

background variables. It is evident that, in keeping with the descriptive analysis above, direct labour market entry has decreased between the pre- and post-boom periods. The influence of social class and parental employment remains stable with no significant interaction between time and parental characteristics. By the later period, gender differences in labour market entry have increased, due to the increase in the number of young women going on to tertiary education. Furthermore, differences in labour market entry between urban and rural areas have reduced in magnitude. Those without any qualifications are more likely to be out of the labour market post-boom than in the earlier period. The effect of grades has reduced somewhat, reflecting the expansion of tertiary education and consequently the admission of students with lower grades to tertiary courses (see O'Connell et al., 2006).

In sum, labour market entrants have not become a more residual group overall, but their composition has changed in terms of gender, location and grades.

Trends in unemployment

Figure 4 shows the proportion unemployed among labour market entrants (that is, those in employment or unemployed in October) over four time-points during their first year after leaving school. All of the cohorts studied show a decline in the proportion unemployed over this year as young people are gradually absorbed into employment. Overall unemployment rates are higher in the pre-Celtic Tiger period, particularly 1991 and 1992, and lowest in 2001. The group of unemployed young people can be broken down further into those who are still seeking their first job and those who had been employed but lost or left their job. It is clear that the process of employment integration is much faster in the post-Celtic Tiger period than in the early 1990s (Figure 5). In the early period, the unemployed group is mainly made up of those who have not yet found employment while, by the later period, the group is more evenly balanced between first-time job seekers and those who have lost (or left) their job.

Figure 4: Proportion unemployed among labour market entrants

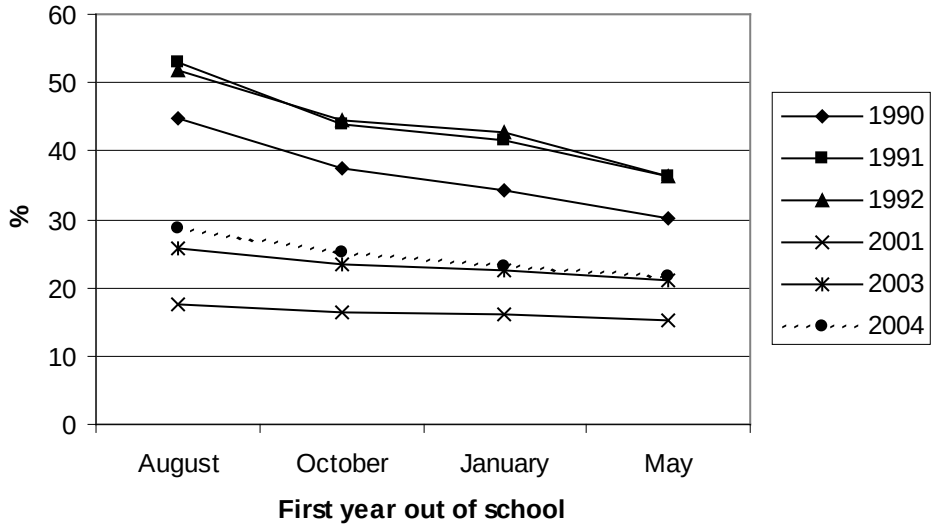
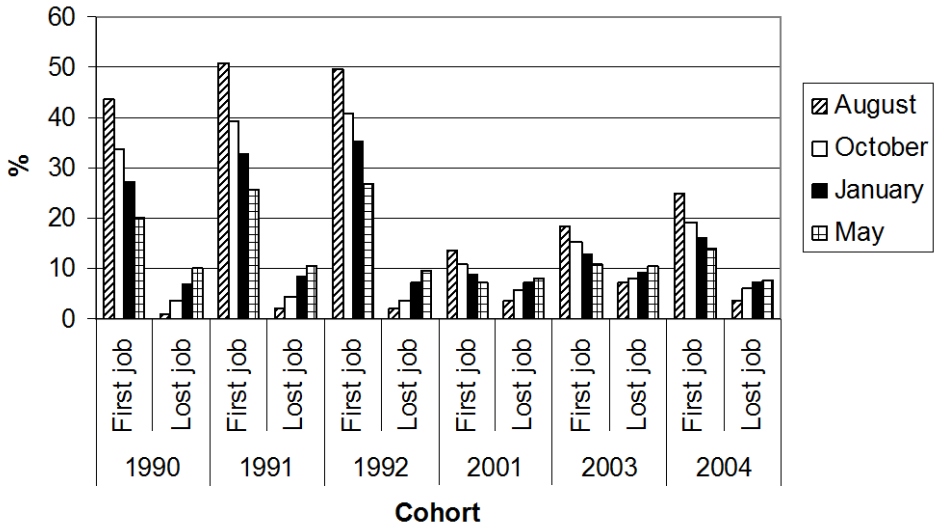


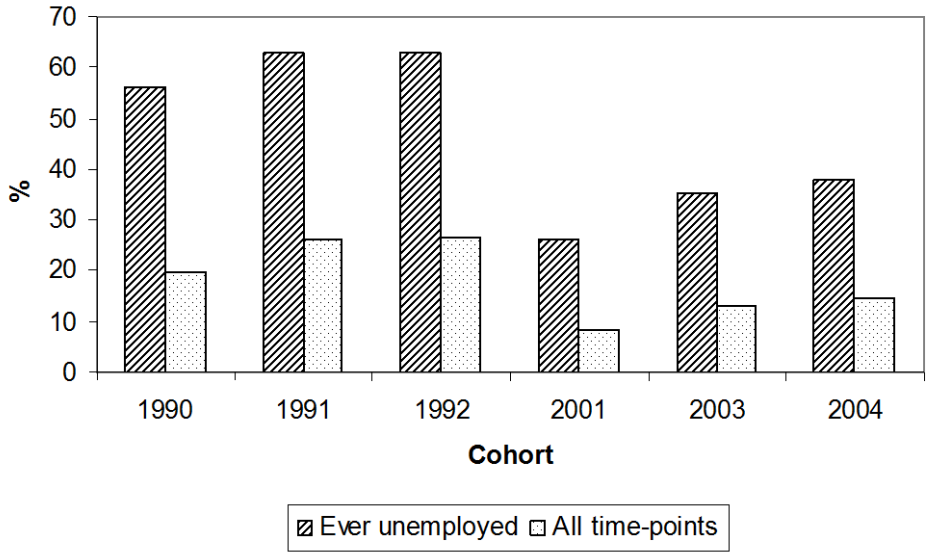
Figure 5: Proportion unemployed among labour market entrants, distinguishing between first job seekers and those who have lost their job



Analyses were carried out to determine which school leavers had been unemployed at any of the four time-points in their first year out of school and which leavers had been unemployed over all of these time-points (Figure 6). In the early period, unemployment was a common feature of the transition from school to the labour market; in 1990 to 1992, over half of all leavers had been unemployed at one or more of the time-points. In the later period, unemployment was confined to a smaller group

(26-38%) within the cohort. Similarly, persistent unemployment was much more common in the early 1990s with a reduction in its incidence in the later period.

Figure 6: Experience of unemployment over the first year out of school



Profile of the unemployed

Four measures of unemployment are analysed in this section: any experience of unemployment over the first year out of school (that is, being unemployed at any of the four time-points); being unemployed one year after leaving school (that is, in May); persistent unemployment, that is, being unemployed at all four time-points over the first year out of school; and unemployment duration.

(i) *Experience of unemployment*

As indicated above, unemployment is a very common feature of youth transitions in Ireland. There are no significant gender differences in having any experience of unemployment over the first year out of school (Table 2, model 1). The risk of unemployment is lower among those from professional and farming backgrounds than among other social classes, even controlling for educational qualifications. Parental employment reduces the chances of exposure to unemployment while living in an urban area increases these chances. Experience of unemployment is most likely among those without qualifications and least prevalent among upper secondary

leavers. Grades have an additional effect over and above educational level in terms of protecting against exposure to unemployment.

In the post-boom period, young people are much less likely to have had any experience of unemployment. The effect of some of the individual factors also changes. Direct social class differences in unemployment chances largely disappear[3] while the impact of father's employment increases in magnitude (model 2, Table 2). The gap in terms of educational level widens, with having an upper secondary qualification increasing in its negative impact on unemployment experience. In the overall model (model 1), upper secondary leavers are three-quarters as likely to be unemployed as lower secondary leavers, while allowing for a change in its effect over time, we find that they are only half as likely as lower secondary leavers to be unemployed in the post-boom period. In contrast to the effect of educational level, the effect of grades reduces significantly compared to the earlier period.

In sum, having some experience of unemployment at the start of the labour market career has changed from being a very common feature of youth transitions in Ireland to a less prevalent one. Some bases for differentiation, such as social class and exam grades, have become less important, while others, namely, father's employment and upper secondary qualifications, have become more important. It may be that, in the context of plentiful employment, employers rely on strong signals (the educational level achieved) and do not have to be as concerned with making finer distinctions among job applicants on the basis of grades (or social background). Similarly, those with non-employed fathers may be quite marginalised from employment networks in the recent period.

(ii) Unemployed one year after leaving school

Among young people who directly entered the labour market upon leaving school, being unemployed one year after leaving school is not strongly structured by social class but the risks of unemployment are much lower for those with employed parents and higher for those in urban areas (Table 3, model 1). As with unemployment experience, being unemployed at this time-point is most prevalent among those without qualifications and least prevalent among young people with upper secondary qualifications; the no qualifications group is 2.7 times as likely, and the upper

[3] For example, the interaction term 'post-boom'*'higher professional' is 0.682, thus cancelling out the main effect of –0.614 (model 2, Table 2).

secondary group just over half as likely, to be unemployed as lower secondary leavers. Grades have an additional negative effect on unemployment chances, with lower unemployment risks among those with higher grades.

Young people in the post-boom period are much less likely to be unemployed one year after leaving school. Changes in the effect of background factors are in keeping with those described for unemployment experience: upper secondary qualifications[4] and father's employment become more important, while grades (and to a certain extent, social class) become less important.

The group of young people who were unemployed one year after leaving school was further disaggregated into those who were still looking for their first job and those who had been working but had lost or left their job[5]. In terms of social background, those who lost their job are somewhat closer in profile to those who have not been unemployed (Table 4). Job loss/change is strongly structured by educational level, although not to the same extent as being a first-time job seeker; those without qualifications are more likely to lose or leave their job while those with upper secondary qualifications and high grades are less likely to lose their job (Table 4, model 1). Even where unqualified young people have managed to obtain a job, they are more vulnerable to losing that job subsequently. The 'post-boom' variable coefficients indicate that being an unemployed first-time job seeker is less common in the later period but there is no significant difference in the chances of being unemployed after losing or leaving a job. It is evident that the impact of the economic boom has been to facilitate the initial transition into employment but has not had a significant impact on the rate of job loss or exit.

(iii) Persistent unemployment

In order to explore the persistence of unemployment, labour market entrants were divided into three groups: no unemployment experience, unemployed for at least one of the time-points, and unemployed for all of the time-points. Being from a professional background or having an employed father helped to avoid unemployment, but was especially influential in reducing the risks of persistent unemployment (Table 5, model 1). Experience of unemployment, especially persistent

[4] Upper secondary leavers are three-quarters as likely to be unemployed as lower secondary leavers in the pre-boom period but this has reduced to 42 per cent as likely in the post-boom period.
[5] Unfortunately, the data do not allow us to separate job loss from voluntarily leaving a job.

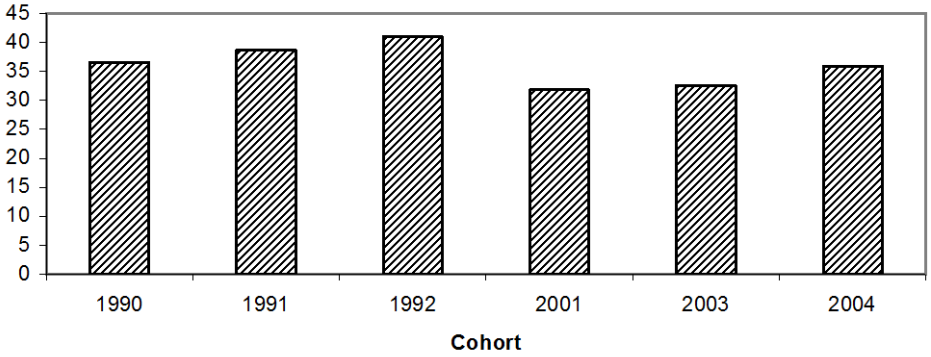
unemployment, was more prevalent in urban than in rural areas, reflecting greater overall employment growth outside the main cities (own calculations from the Census of Population, 1996 and 2006). Those without qualifications were more likely to experience some unemployment, but were especially likely to experience persistent unemployment (three times more likely than those with lower secondary qualifications); having upper secondary qualifications reduced the risk of persistent unemployment as did high grades.

Both some and persistent unemployment became less prevalent in the post-boom period. The effect of social class on unemployment chances is reduced over time in keeping with the other measures of unemployment described above. The effect of father's employment becomes stronger as does the effect of having upper secondary qualifications. In particular, the gap between the unqualified and upper secondary leavers in persistent unemployment has widened significantly over time (model 2, Table 5).

(iv) Unemployment duration

Those who were unemployed one year after leaving school were asked how long they had been unemployed. In keeping with the patterns above, leavers in the early period had longer spells of unemployment (37 to 41 weeks) compared with leavers from the later period (32 to 36 weeks) (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Unemployment duration in no. of weeks



Although unemployment risks did not differ by gender, women had shorter unemployment durations by almost three weeks (Table 6). Those whose parents were in employment had shorter unemployment durations as did those with upper

secondary qualifications and higher grades. In keeping with the figure above, average unemployment duration reduced by more than five weeks between the pre- and post-boom periods. Only the effect of upper secondary qualifications changed over time, with upper secondary leavers having the greatest reduction in duration in the later years.

Conclusions

The period since the mid-1990s has been one of unprecedented employment growth in Ireland. As might be expected, this situation has led to a significant reduction in the level of unemployment among young people. However, it has also significantly changed the nature and structure of youth unemployment. The main impact of the 'Celtic Tiger' has been to smooth the transition from school to paid employment, significantly reducing the number of young people who are still looking for work one year after leaving school. By the post-boom period, youth unemployment is much more evenly balanced between first-time job seekers and what could be seen as frictional unemployment, that is, unemployment among young people who have lost or left their previous job.

The profile of the unemployed has changed markedly. Employers appear to be shifting the signals they rely on in the context of the economic boom. In the recessionary period, higher educational level and parental employment provided some protection against unemployment. However, more subtle signals were also used, due to the large pool of young people seeking a limited supply of jobs. Firstly, employment chances were influenced by social class, a pattern that is likely to reflect both access to employment networks and the reliance of employers on 'soft' skills, such as self-presentation, accent and self-confidence, as criteria in recruitment. Secondly, while having qualifications did facilitate access to employment, it appeared to be only those who had achieved high grades who had labour market success. By the post-boom period, more subtle signals, such as social class and grades achieved, had become less important. In the context of a booming economy, employers were not required to sift out so many potential employees. However, two sets of factors remained very important. The influence of having upper secondary qualifications became more marked with a growing polarisation between these leavers and those with few or no qualifications. Furthermore, the impact of father's employment status became more important. In a period of employment growth, those whose fathers are

not in employment may be a more residual group in terms of broader socio-economic characteristics and experiences.

What is most noteworthy is the continuing labour market disadvantage among those young people who leave school without any qualifications. Previous studies (Raffe, 1984; Gangl, 2002) have indicated that less qualified young people are more vulnerable to cyclical change in the labour market. They found that the gap widens between the qualified and the unqualified in times of economic downturn. The expectation then would be that the gap would narrow somewhat during a boom period. However, this has not been the case in Ireland; instead, the gap between the unqualified and those with upper secondary qualifications has continued to widen in the post-boom period. There are two possible explanations for this pattern. As well as changes in employment levels, there have been changes in the occupational distribution of the workforce, which may have impacted on those leaving school without qualifications. However, the fastest growth has been in jobs at both the top and the bottom of the occupational spectrum in professional and technical jobs but also in sales and other personal services (O'Connell and Russell, 2007). It would seem, at least in theory, that the occupational restructuring is not a wholly sufficient explanation of labour market disadvantage among the unqualified. A second potential explanation relates to the reabsorption of the adult unemployed back into employment and the emergence of new groups of labour market entrants following on from economic growth, namely, women returning to the labour force and immigrant workers. These groups may have become a preferred source of labour for employers over young people without qualifications.

In summary, typologies of educational and labour market systems have often been quite static in nature. They have acknowledged that broader economic conditions will differentially impact on young people but the way in which macroeconomic conditions may change the nature of the transition process has not been fully explored. The Irish case indicates that employers may rely on quite different signals in times of recession and boom, and that employment growth in itself is not sufficient to counter the marginalisation of less qualified young people within the labour market.

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Table 1: Factors predicting immediate labour market entry

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	1.983***	1.914***
Post-boom period	-0.377***	-0.257
Female	-0.160***	0.099
Female*post-boom		-0.441***
Social class:		
Higher professional	-1.197***	-1.372***
Higher prof.*post-boom		0.285
Lower professional	-0.693***	-0.654***
Lower prof.*post-boom		-0.053
Nonmanual	-0.396***	-0.327*
Nonmanual*post-boom		-0.096
Skilled manual	-0.041	-0.072
Skilled manual*post-boom		0.041
Farmer	-0.710***	-0.594***
Farmer*post-boom		0.113
(Ref.: semi/unskilled manual)		
Father employed	-0.102*	-0.174*
Father employed*post-boom		0.113
Mother employed	-0.007	0.044
Mother employed*post-boom		-0.085
Urban area	0.109*	0.401***
Urban*post-boom		-0.492***
No qualifications	-0.410**	-0.066
No qualifications*post-boom		-0.680*
Upper secondary	-1.389***	-1.556***
Upper secondary*post-boom		0.267
(Reference: Lower secondary)		
Grades (z-score)	-1.455***	-1.629***
Grades*post-boom		0.334***
N	13,180	13,180
Nagelkerke R^2	0.432	0.438

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 2: Factors predicting any experience of unemployment among labour market entrants

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	0.685***	0.485***
Post-boom period	-1.022***	-0.614**
Female	0.057	0.025
Female*post-boom		0.050
Social class:		
Higher professional	-0.266*	-0.614**
Higher prof.*post-boom		0.682*
Lower professional	-0.365***	-0.576***
Lower prof.*post-boom		0.435*
Nonmanual	-0.067	-0.368**
Nonmanual*post-boom		0.562**
Skilled manual	-0.132	-0.256*
Skilled manual*post-boom		0.298*
Farmer	-0.381***	-0.547***
Farmer*post-boom		0.388
(Ref.: semi/unskilled manual)		
Father employed	-0.401***	-0.237**
Father employed*post-boom		-0.414**
Mother employed	-0.165**	-0.248**
Mother employed*post-boom		0.125
Urban area	0.246***	0.149
Urban*post-boom		0.223
No qualifications	0.754***	0.674***
No qualifications*post-boom		0.424
Upper secondary	-0.288***	0.126
Upper secondary*post-boom		-0.802***
(Reference: Lower secondary)		
Grades (z-score)	-0.265***	-0.360***
Grades*post-boom		0.208*
N	7,732	7,732
Nagelkerke R^2	0.177	0.195

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 3: Factors predicting unemployment one year after leaving school (labour market entrants)

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	-0.302**	-0.461***
Post-boom period	-0.540***	-0.204
Female	-0.046	-0.091
Female*post-boom		0.104
Social class:		
Higher professional	-0.241	-0.467*
Higher prof.*post-boom		0.498
Lower professional	-0.273**	-0.495**
Lower prof.*post-boom		0.534*
Nonmanual	-0.115	-0.328*
Nonmanual*post-boom		0.455**
Skilled manual	-0.074	-0.184
Skilled manual*post-boom		0.321
Farmer	-0.209	-0.299*
Farmer*post-boom		0.355
(Ref.: semi/unskilled manual)		
Father employed	-0.478***	-0.370***
Father employed*post-boom		-0.344*
Mother employed	-0.239**	-0.278**
Mother employed*post-boom		0.057
Urban area	0.169**	0.252
Urban*post-boom		-0.191
No qualifications	0.991***	0.931***
No qualifications*post-boom		0.419
Upper secondary	-0.541***	-0.273**
Upper secondary*post-boom		-0.596***
(Reference: Lower secondary)		
Grades (z-score)	-0.339***	-0.423***
Grades*post-boom		0.235*
N	7,732	7,732
Nagelkerke R^2	0.162	0.176

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 4: Multinomial logistic regression of type of unemployment

(entrant and lost job v. no unemployment)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Entrant	Lost job	Entrant	Lost job
Constant	-0.616***	-1.586***	-0.827***	-1.685***
Post-boom period	-0.790***	-0.157	-0.366	0.095
Female	-0.130	0.092	-0.160	0.064
Female*post-boom			0.088	0.032
Social class:				
Higher professional	-0.310	-0.160	-0.643*	-0.160
Higher prof.*post-boom			0.833*	0.037
Lower professional	-0.390**	-0.140	-0.483**	-0.526*
Lower prof.*post-boom			0.269	0.721*
Nonmanual	-0.191	-0.016	-0.460**	-0.075**
Nonmanual*post-boom			0.629*	0.158
Skilled manual	-0.065	-0.105	-0.228*	-0.092
Sk. manual*post-boom			0.573**	-0.007
Farmer	-0.176	-0.264	-0.208	-0.404*
Farmer*post-boom			0.171	0.614
(Ref.: semi/unskilled manual)				
Father employed	-0.603***	-0.261**	-0.497***	-0.080
Father employed*post-boom			-0.398*	-0.442*
Mother employed	-0.374***	-0.071	-0.444***	0.029
Mother employed*post-boom			0.149	-0.180
Urban area	0.273***	-0.003	0.387***	-0.049
Urban*post-boom			-0.283	0.065
No qualifications	1.069***	0.758***	1.047***	0.600*
No qualifications*post-boom			0.342	0.586
Upper secondary	-0.565***	-0.502***	-0.212*	-0.406**
Upper secondary*post-boom			-0.950***	-0.154
(Reference: Lower secondary)				
Grades (z-score)	-0.361***	-0.307***	-0.445***	-0.378***
Grades*post-boom			0.159	0.198
N	7,732			
Nagelkerke R^2	0.164		0.182	

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 5: Multinomial logistic regression of severity of unemployment

(some and persistent unemployment v. no unemployment)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Some	Persistent	Some	Persistent
Constant	0.092	-0.162	-0.102	-0.389*
Post-boom period	-1.039***	-0.993***	-0.606**	-0.619*
Female	0.100	-0.037	0.076	-0.077
Female*post-boom			0.024	0.089
Social class:				
Higher professional	-0.197	-0.495*	-0.507*	-0.882**
Higher prof.*post-boom			0.581*	0.825
Lower professional	-0.317**	-0.512***	-0.533***	-0.676***
Lower prof.*post-boom			-0.420*	0.368
Nonmanual	-0.052	-0.100	-0.275	-0.546**
Nonmanual*post-boom			0.384	0.918***
Skilled manual	-0.136	-0.135	-0.201	-0.358**
Sk. manual*post-boom			0.109	0.663
Farmer	-0.453***	-0.245	-0.622***	-0.404*
Farmer*post-boom			0.352	0.488
(Ref.: semi/unskilled manual)				
Father employed				
Father employed*post-boom	-0.263***	-0.647***	-0.093	-0.476***
Mother employed			-0.402**	-0.490***
Mother employed*post-boom	-0.055	-0.413	-0.123	-0.519***
Urban area			0.094	0.174
Urban*post-boom	0.152*	0.428*	-0.008	0.435***
			0.370**	-0.039
No qualifications	0.292*	1.116*	0.246	1.084***
No qualifications*post-boom			0.270	0.373
Upper secondary	-0.096	-0.624***	0.286**	-0.128
Upper secondary*post-boom			-0.709***	-1.064***
(Reference: Lower secondary)				
Grades (z-score)				
Grades*post-boom	-0.171***	-0.454***	-0.251***	-0.555***
			0.159	0.221
N	7,732			
Nagelkerke R^2	0.202		0.221	

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 6: OLS regression model of unemployment duration among those unemployed one year after leaving school

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	41.641	41.697
Post-boom period	-5.241***	-5.765***
Female	-2.080*	-2.866**
Female*post-boom		2.115
Social class:		
Higher professional	-3.541	-5.135
Higher prof.*post-boom		3.461
Lower professional	-0.415	2.010
Lower prof.*post-boom		-4.925
Nonmanual	-0.009	-1.474
Nonmanual*post-boom		3.335*
Skilled manual	-0.580	-2.186
Skilled manual*post-boom		4.917*
Farmer	0.735	0.216
Farmer*post-boom		1.010
(Ref.: semi/unskilled manual)		
Father employed	-2.997**	-3.592**
Father employed*post-boom		1.010
Mother employed	-4.493***	-6.379***
Mother employed*post-boom		3.741
Urban area	0.670	1.600
Urban*post-boom		-2.067
No qualifications	3.060*	5.761*
No qualifications*post-boom		-4.425
Upper secondary	-5.961***	-4.533***
Upper secondary*post-boom		-3.992*
(Reference: Lower secondary)		
Grades (z-score)	-2.632***	-2.846***
Grades*post-boom		1.040
N	1,940	1,940
R^2	0.137	0.141

Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Year	Number	Title / Author(s) ESRI Authors / Co-authors Italicised
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