‘Recession, Precariousness and Inequality: Youth Employment Trajectories Before and After the 2008-2009 Recession’

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Abstract

The extent of youth unemployment in the UK in the years following the 2008 economic crisis, as well as the backdrop of longer-term concern regarding the rise of precarious work (Beck 2000, Standing 2011) prompted discussions of a 'lost generation' of young people set to feel the economic scars from embarking on their careers at a time of economic turmoil. The 2008-2009 recession was also (dubiously) labelled a 'mancession' and the first 'middle class recession'. Despite this, comparatively few sociology studies have adopted a quantitative approach to compare the class and gender dimensions of inequality in young people's employment trajectories prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession. This research makes an original contribution to the field by using longitudinal sequence analysis methods to contrast the employment trajectories of two cohorts of 16 to 24 year olds in the UK: a pre-recession and a recession cohort. In doing so, it establishes the extent to which the patterns of class and gender inequality amongst young people, not only in unemployment, but also in the movement in and out of 'precarious work', differed prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession. It finds that precarious employment was not as widespread as 'end of work' theorists suggested but that the recession brought an increased minority of young people who experienced employment difficulty. Furthermore, it argues that the recession did not advantage or disadvantage class or gender groups in a uniform way. Rather, changing trends in the recession highlighted a number of complex and shifting patterns of inequality amongst young people of different genders and from differing class backgrounds.

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Chapter One: Introduction: The Causes and Consequences of the Great Recession

The extensively documented levels of unemployment amongst young people following the 2008-2009 recession prompted rhetoric in the UK media of a 'lost generation' of youth at risk of economic scarring, mental health issues and becoming further reliant on living in the parental home (for example Bowcott 2011, The Daily Mail 2011). Youth unemployment was not the only symptom of the economic downturn, as part-time, temporary and routine employment amongst young people also increased (LFS 2002-2017: author's own calculations). However, unemployment and employment rates only present snapshots in time. This research is interested in understanding how unemployment and different employment forms fitted in to young people's employment trajectories over time. This research addresses a gap in sociological literature through a comparative approach, contrasting transitions in and out of unemployment and precarious employment for a pre-recession and a recession cohort of young people in the UK.

When commentators have spoken of a 'lost generation', who exactly did this refer to? Following the 2008-2009 recession, discussions of inequality suggested that *this time* patterns of disadvantage were different. This recession was (dubiously) painted by the media as being both a 'mancession' and 'the first middle class recession' (for example Appleyard (2008) "A very middle-class recession: One moment you're planning your holiday, the next you're on the abyss" and Peacock (2011) "Women do better as mancession hits"). Yet little quantitative research has explored how inequalities actually played out longitudinally for young people during this time and whether patterns of inequality were any different from before. This thesis addresses this gap to explore the extent to which transitions in and out of unemployment and precarious employment

differed by gender and class and the extent to which trajectories altered in the recession. This chapter introduces some of the key contextual background for this research and presents the aims and contribution of the thesis. It concludes with a summary of the thesis structure and a brief synopsis of each chapter.

1.1 The Causes and Consequences of Recession in the UK

The 2008-2009 recession occurred predominantly due to the collapse of the housing bubble in the United States following the mis-selling of mortgages to subprime borrowers, and the repackaging and sale of debt throughout the global financial sector which would later be defaulted on leaving a substantial monetary black hole in many world economies (Soros 2008, Crotty 2009). The 2008-2009 recession saw deeper losses of GDP in the UK than the previous two recessions (Jenkins 2010), overshadowing the recession of the 1980s which had brought so much social unrest on the back of youth unemployment levels, amongst other societal issues (Poynter 2016). In addition, it took longer for GDP to return pre-recession levels than it had in previous recessions, showing that as well as stark declines in GDP at the beginning of the recession, recovery was also very slow.

The ramifications of a shrinking economy were widely pervasive. The unemployment rate rose considerably from March to May 2008 to a peak of 8.5 percent in October to Dec 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2017a). Unemployment and employment rates were not the only indicators of a difficult labour market which emerged in the recession. The number of redundancies rose sharply in 2008 (Office for National Statistics, 2017b), whilst for those seeking to gain employment, the number of vacancies available in the labour market also declined substantially (Office for National Statistics, 2017c).

Despite clear increases in unemployment, the 2008-2009 recession and recovery was unique in the way that unemployment rates for the adult population in the UK did not rise as dramatically as may have been expected given the large declines seen in GDP (Gregg and Wadsworth 2010, Coulter 2016). One of the reasons for this was that people became employed on non-standard contracts instead of unemployed (Gregg and Wadsworth 2010, Grimshaw and Rafferty 2012). In the UK, increases were seen in employment in part-time, temporary and routine work (LFS 2002-2017: author's own calculations). Yet, it was amongst the young that unemployment and precarious work became most widespread. The youth unemployment rate had been rising slightly in the years prior to the recession, however the rate of young people who were unemployed rose by six percentage points between 2008 and 2009, and continued to rise steadily after that to a peak of 22 percent in 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2017d). Participation in part-time, temporary and routine work amongst young people also outstripped that of employees aged between 25 and 65 (LFS 2002-2017: author's own calculations).

1.2 The Changing Nature of Employment and Youth Trajectories?

Despite all of the employment changes which occurred for young people during the recession, the presence of non-standard employment is not something confined to periods of economic downturn. The 'end of work' has captured the sociological imagination since its foundations in the work of theorists like Marx (Strangleman 2007). Debates predominating in the 1990s and 2000s discussed a paradigmatic shift in the nature of employment since the 1970s which gave rise to the sense that work had become more 'precarious' and that widespread unemployment was impending (Rifkin 1995, Sennett 1998, Beck 2000, Bauman 2000, Standing

2011). These shifts occurred in the pursuit of a flexible economy with its weakening employment protection legislation, as well as on the back of increased globalisation and technological advancements. Much of this work is contested (Strangleman 2007) but the destruction of work is a theme that still looms large in the field of employment sociology. Further technological development in the form of app-based gig economies, further computerisation and the rise of robotics provide contemporary concerns for the future of employment (Frey and Osborne 2013, De Stefano 2015, Ford 2015).

Trajectories from youth to adulthood have also been discussed as fundamentally altering since the 'golden age' of youth transitions. It is taken as an almost sociological given that contemporary trajectories from education to work have become protracted, non-linear and increasingly individualised (Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Shildrick et al. 2010, Furlong et al. 2018) although evidence suggests that transitions from school to work before the 1970s were not necessarily short or easy (Vickerstaff 2003, Goodwin and O'Connor 2005, Goodwin and O'Connor 2007, Goodwin and O'Connor 2015). These changes in youth trajectories are attributed to longer periods of education, as well as due to problems in the youth labour market (Furlong 2017).

1.3 Previous Research on Youth Employment Trajectories

It is clear from quantitative sequence analysis research that most young people do move in to work quite easily, yet there can be a large minority who do experience more difficult early employment trajectories including spells of unemployment (Brzinsky-Fay 2007, Schoon et al. 2009, Quintini and Manfredi 2009, Duckworth and Schoon 2012, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015, Berloffa et al. 2017). Less work has focussed on how precarious

employment may affect the development of youth employment trajectories (Martin et al. 2008 and Berloffa et al. 2017 are exceptions). Broader research has suggested that part-time and temporary work may not be 'stepping stones' to more secure positions in some cases (O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2002, Gash 2008, Kelle et al. 2017). A clear gap in sociological literature is research which uses recent UK data to discuss how youth employment trajectories may differ in differing economic contexts, specifically before and after the 2008-2009 recession. This research addresses this gap.

1.4 Inequalities in Employment

The causes and nature of class and gender inequalities in employment in the adult population more generally have been extensively explored. Women are more likely to be in precarious employment forms than men whilst men are more likely to be unemployed in the UK (Bettio and Verashchagina 2014, Rubery and Rafferty 2014, ONS 2017e) due to a myriad of gendered processes including the division of labour in the home, the structure of the labour market, social closure and gendered education and employment 'choices' which are discussed in Chapter 3. Research has also considered employment inequalities amongst young men and women (Brinkley et al. 2013, O'Reilly et al. 2017) and the differential impact of recession on men and women (McKay et al. 2013, Rubery and Rafferty 2014). Longitudinal sequence analysis research has yielded interesting findings on the role of gender in shaping early economic status trajectories (Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016) and employment trajectories (Berloffa et al. 2017). However, there is a lack of quantitative research which focuses on gender inequalities in transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions (unemployment and precarious work) before and after the 2008-2009 recession in the UK. Schoon and Lyons-Amos (2016) did contrast

trajectories before and after the recession, but focused on economic status and family formation, rather than employment type.

In addressing class, this research draws on Bourdieu's forms of capital approach to explore how parental education as a form of familial cultural capital may be implicit in youth employment trajectories (Bourdieu 1986, Bourdieu 1990). Cultural elements of class became increasingly important in sociological understandings of class inequality and reproduction following Bourdieu's work (Skeggs 1997, Devine and Savage 2004, Savage 2013, Atkinson et al. 2013). Research which has interacted most with Bourdieu's work on capital and habitus has tended to focus on educational choice, experiences and outcomes for young people (for example Ball et al. 2002, Reay et al. 2005), but little has considered cultural capital in relation to early employment trajectories. This research is keen to explore the extent to which parental education as a form of familial capital may impact early employment. Much qualitative work on inequality has focussed on those most at risk of social exclusion (Johnston et al. 2000, Furlong and Cartmel 2004, MacDonald et al. 2005). Quantitative longitudinal work has considered the impact of class on early economic status trajectories (Dorsett and Lucchino 2015, Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016). However, as with gender, there is a lack of quantitative longitudinal research which compares transitions in and out of precarious employment as well as unemployment prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession.

1.5 Aims of the Thesis

The aims of this thesis are twofold. Firstly, to explore the extent to which transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession. Given the exacerbation of precarious work discussed by end of work theorists and the increased rates

of part-time, temporary and routine employment following the 2008-2009 recession, it specifically explores how precarious work, as well as unemployment, were situated in young people's trajectories. The comparison of trajectories prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession was done by exploring percentage point differences between a pre-recession cohort and a recession cohort in their transitions in and out of different economic and employment statuses. In seeking to understand how the young were not a homogenous group, the second aim is to establish the extent to which transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed along the dimensions of class and gender, prior to and following the recession.

In responding to these aims, this research contributes to knowledge in the following ways. It provides longitudinal quantitative evidence on precarious work to bolster qualitative work which has adeptly addressed this issue (Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Macdonald and Shildrick 2007, Shildrick et al. 2012) as well as adding to longitudinal quantitative work which has tended to focus on economic status rather than forms of employment. In doing so, it addresses sociological theory which has posited that employment forms and youth trajectories have fundamentally changed, and contributes further knowledge by providing a comparative approach assessing the extent to which early employment trajectories differed prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession. As a consequence, it highlights how discussions of economic cycles must be addressed when positing or interacting with macro theories. It also contributes to the understanding of class and gender amongst young people by addressing inequalities with a method which is both longitudinal and offers a comparative approach accounting for economic context.

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

There are seven chapters following this introduction:

Chapter 2, *Precariousness, Recession and Young People:* provides the theoretical and empirical background for the exploration of precarious employment and unemployment amongst young people following the 2008-2009 recession.

Chapter 3, *Class and Gender Inequalities in Employment:* critically engages with theoretical and empirical literature on class and gender inequalities in employment.

Chapter 4, *Methodology*: discusses how this research was undertaken and justifies the choices of methods and data used as well as exploring how key concepts were operationalised and describing the final samples used.

Chapter 5: *How Transitions in and out of Precarious Labour Market Positions Differed Before and After the 2008-2009 Recession:* explores the key differences in how employment developed for the pre-recession cohort and recession cohort of young people to discuss how, if at all, trajectories differed between the pre-recession and recession cohorts.

Chapter 6, *The Impact of Class on Youth Employment Trajectories in Recession*: discusses how transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed by class before the recession and the differential effect recession had on working class and middle class young people. It highlights the disadvantage of working class young people but also discusses how different class groups experienced and responded to differing employment issues.

Chapter 7, *The Impact of Gender on Youth Employment Trajectories in Recession*: discusses the extent to which transitions in and out of

precarious labour market positions differed by gender and the differential effect recession had on young men and women. It highlights in particular the recessionary effects on young men's part-time work and the lesser impact the recession had on young women on some measures.

Chapter 8, *Discussion and Conclusion*: discusses the main findings of the thesis. The predominant conclusion is that precarious employment was both uncommon and short-lived but that the recession brought an increased minority of young people who experienced employment difficulty. The secondary conclusions are that recession did not advantage or disadvantage class or gender groups in a uniform way. Rather, changing trends in the recession highlighted a number of complex and shifting patterns of inequality amongst young people of different genders and from differing class backgrounds.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided the context for this research including the causes and consequences of the recession as well as a brief overview of the sociological literature on the changing nature of work and youth trajectories and the implications of class and gender for employment. The aims and contribution of the thesis have been elaborated, and the structure of the thesis specified. The next chapter discusses the relevant literature for this thesis in more depth.

Chapter Two: Precariousness, Recession and Young People

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter gave an introduction to the social and sociological context in which this research is embedded and outlined the aims of this thesis. The aims are to explore the extent to which young people's early employment trajectories differed prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession, and the extent to which trajectories differed by class and gender in differing economic contexts. This chapter critically analyses the theoretical and empirical work from which this research draws and to which it contributes. It is comprised of two parts. Part one considers the debates surrounding precarious work and discusses how 'precarious' work is defined in the thesis. It then explores how the recession affected precarious work and how, and why, the consequences of recession were felt particularly amongst young people. Finally, it discusses conceptualisations of the shifting nature of youth transitions. Part two critically assesses research on employment inequality, including a discussion of Bourdieu's forms of capital theory, which provides the theoretical framework for understanding the implications of class in young people's employment. It then discusses gender inequalities in terms of the persistence of gendered care roles, the structure of the labour market, education and job 'choice' and discrimination.

2.2 The Precariousness of Work?

This thesis is focussed on precarious employment and unemployment before and following the 2008-2009 recession. Yet, the concern surrounding precariousness in work is something which emerged long

before the 2008-2009 recession occurred and endured after other markers of the recession, such as unemployment rates, decreased (as exemplified by current UK Prime Minister, Theresa May commissioning the Taylor Report (2017) on modern employment practices).

There is an established and contested debate on the 'end of work'. This thesis uses the term 'end of work' to mean not the dissolution of work entirely, but the threat to employment security and job quality for an increasing percentage of the population. Proponents of the end of work were particularly prevalent in the 1990s and early 2000s (Rifkin 1995, Sennett 1998, Beck 2000, Bauman 2000). Considerable interest in the subject of a precariousness as it related to a political class then peaked again following Standing's 2011 book "The Precariat: the new Dangerous Class". The fundamental argument of the end of work is that the nature of paid work in Western societies has changed since the 1970s in the wake of increased globalisation, technological advancement and the decline of trade unionism. In Sociology, perhaps the most influential proponent was Ulrich Beck, who referred to this process as the 'Brazilianisation of the West', envisaging the convergence between employment in the 'first world' and the 'third world'. He referred specifically to "the spread of temporary and insecure employment, discontinuity and loose informality into Western societies that have hitherto been the bastions of full employment" (Beck 2000:1). The supposed spread of insecure employment relations was allowed and encouraged in the political-economic landscape of free market principles and the concomitant decrease in employment protection legislation in the pursuit of labour market flexibility to make the economy function more efficiently. The pursuit of flexibility was a response to an increasingly globalised labour market with heightened competition in prices and wages.

As stated, the end of work was a prevalent concern in the 1990s and 2000s and consequentially many of these macro theories are, arguably, now outdated as well as having been criticised for a lack of evidence

(Strangleman 2007). However, the concern around precarious employment and its potential impact on the end of work endures. The continued development of technology in particular has also brought considerable new concerns. Computerisation and the use of robots have been discussed as putting whole occupations at risk of automation (Frey and Osborne 2013, Ford 2015). This is likely to be overstated, as other research has suggested that it is just particular job tasks which will be automated (Arntz et al. 2016). Other technological advancements too, in particular the use of smart phone apps, has resulted in an expansive 'gig economy' where workers work 'on-demand' via online platforms which match workers with gigs (Coyle 2017). High profile examples include taxi drivers and couriers working for companies like Uber and Deliveroo (Di Stefano 2015). The use of new modes of employment, such as zero hours contracts and false self-employment (employment disguised as self-employment in order for employers to circumvent particular employer responsibilities (Thörnquist 2011)) have afforded employers even further room to manoeuvre staff, leading to 'hyper-flexibility' (Harvey et al. 2016).

The end of work can be perceived in both a positive and negative light. The flexibilisation of employment is by no means viewed as a detrimental thing by everyone. Beck himself argued back in 2000 that, from an ideological perspective, the corrosion of traditional forms of employment could be potentially liberating for humanity, as employment may become decentralised from the focus of existence and people can come to live more fulfilling lives. Flexible work organisation can also allow employees to find a more pleasing work-life balance (Taylor 2017) and can allow for individuals to exercise choice and take control of their employment by building portfolio careers (Fraser and Gold 2001). This utopian vision typically sees a mixing of paid employment and voluntary work, with the state subsidizing a minimum income (Strangleman 2007).

The alternative view is that the rise of flexibility is more beneficial to the employer at the expense of the security of the employee. The appeal of

labour market flexibility to employers is that it enables companies to reduce costs by employing and dismissing employees more cheaply and to arrange employees' hours and contracts in the most cost-effective manner (Standing 2011). The initiative to reduce employment protection was also premised on the viewpoint that employment protection is a barrier to job creation (Heyes 2013). The UK has some of the weakest employment protection legislation in the European Union (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Indicators of Employment Protection; accessed 20th September 2017). The work of Standing (2011) has been particularly influential here. He highlighted three types of labour market flexibility linked to decreased employment protection which have been particularly important in the discussion of precarious work: numerical flexibility, functional flexibility and wage system flexibility. With regards to the issue of youth unemployment and underemployment in this research, numerical flexibility is the most pertinent issue. Numerical flexibility refers to the use of temporary and part-time employees in order to meet firms' needs to rapidly adjust their employment structures (Standing 2011). This is not a particularly new trend, for example Piore and Doeringer's Dual Labour Market theory (1971) and core and periphery models proposed by Atkinson (1985) both discussed work flexibility. However, the issue of precarious employment appears to be increasing, and pervading employment spaces where it did not used to be, for example academia (Lopes and Dewan 2015).

The sentiment that work has 'ended' or at least is fundamentally different from the past has not gone unchallenged (Doogan 2001 and 2009, Fevre 2007, and Strangleman 2007). Statistical evidence alone shows that the majority of the UK working age population is employed and is typically employed in full-time, permanent work (Office for National Statistics 2017e), whilst routine employment accounts for around a third of employment (LFS 2017: author's own calculations). There are suggestions that in the sociological analysis of change, end of work theorists have

overstated the level of distinction of contemporary employment from employment relations in the past. For Strangleman (2007), there was nostalgia in "attempt[s]to make sense of the fragmentary present by its juxtaposition with a seemingly stable, intelligent past" (2007, 94). Strangleman suggested that "many, though not all, readings of workplace change…are actually based on simple and fairly crude readings of the past and present" (Strangleman 2007:95), a comparison of contemporaneous employment forms with employment forms which do not exist in an actual period of time, but rather just 'over the last hill' (Williams 1973: 9) as cited in Strangleman (2007). Strangleman (2007) highlighted that concern with the state of employment is something that has perpetually reoccurred in social science. Part of the problem of sociological endeavour is examining changes in employment in a way that does not conform to the dichotomy of 'all change' or 'no change'.

In theorising about broad, macro employment changes, end of work theories that dominated the discipline twenty years ago also did not take in to account how the labour market changes with business cycles. The discussion of overall fundamental changes to the nature of employment is contentious, but what is clear and will be discussed further below is that part-time, temporary and routine employment did increase in the UK following the 2008-2009 recession (LFS Survey 2017: author's own calculations). Furthermore, it is the youngest labour market participants who tend to be more likely to work in precarious employment (Bell and Blanchflower 2011, LFS 2017: author's own calculations). Before moving on to discuss the impact of recession, particularly on the employment of young people, it is useful to discuss exactly how 'precarious labour market positions' will be approached in this research.

2.3 Defining Precarious Labour Market Positions

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the precariousness of work, whilst only hinting at how this concept will be approached in this research. Many labels have been placed on work forms that deviate from standard employment including 'contingent', 'insecure', 'flexible' and 'non-standard' and further to this, these terms have subsumed many forms of employment and conditions of existence and have varied in complexity under different authors.

Unemployment is considered a precarious labour market position in this thesis. The definition of unemployment used in national statistics includes those who are looking for work and are available to take it up, but by extension cannot find it. This distinguishes unemployment from inactivity. It logically follows that those who are looking for work but cannot find it are precariously positioned compared to those who have paid work. Unemployment has also been shown to bring other disadvantages such as low household income (Goulden 2010), poor health (Vancea and Utzet 2017) and the risk of social exclusion (Atkinson 1998).

Defining precarious employment is more difficult. Writing nearly 20 years ago, Beck's (2000) work gave a sense that it was the opportunities for full-time, long-term employment which allow for a coherent sense of working identity that had dwindled and were being increasingly replaced by paid work that was short-term and contingent (Beck 2000:1). Standing's conceptualisation encompassed and moved beyond the focus on job hours and contract type offered by Beck to accentuate issues of mobility and employment rights. He postulated that, in addition to adequate income earning opportunities and protection against arbitrary dismissal (2011:10), that non-precarious employment brings the opportunity to retain a niche in employment, the opportunity for upward mobility, opportunity to gain skills, protection against accidents and illness in the workplace, assurance

of adequate stable income and possession of a collective voice in the labour market. Kalleberg's sustained and influential work on job quality (2000, 2011, 2016, with Dunn 2016, with Vallas 2017), provided a well-rounded conceptualisation of what it is to have a good quality job or a precarious job. What differentiates him as a sociologist is that he acknowledges that "jobs are comprised of bundles of different kinds of rewards" (2016: 112) with many potential benefits for employees beyond what might be easily empirically testable. Despite this, he did argue that "most people would agree that job quality depends heavily on…economic compensation such as earnings and benefits (e.g. health insurance and pensions); the degree of job security and opportunities for advancement to better jobs; the extent to which people are able to exercise control over their work activities and to experience their jobs as interesting and meaningful; and whether people's time at work and control over their work schedules permit them to spend time with their families and in other, non-work activities that they enjoy." (Kalleberg 2016:113). UK research has also discussed how the multiple ways in which jobs can be considered 'good' or 'bad' differ for different people (Taylor 2017).

At the simplest level definitions of precarious or insecure work describe work which deviates from "standard work arrangements in which it was generally expected that work was done full-time, would continue indefinitely, and was performed at the employer's place of business under the employer's direction" (Kalleberg 2000:341). It is easy then to assume that temporary contracts are a marker of precariousness. The prevalence of temporary employment contracts has been paramount to many discussions of precarious work (Fevre 2007, Scherer 2009) including the International Labour Organisation's (2012) symposium on precarious paid work which highlighted their concern for employment with limited duration, including fixed-term, short-term, temporary, seasonal, day-labour and casual labour. As such, temporary contracts are a key element of this research's focus.

What is distinctly more contentious is whether part-time work should be a marker of precariousness. Beck (2000) claimed that opportunities for full-time paid work were decreasing and framed this as problematic. However Standing (2011) only references 'adequate income earning opportunities', Kalleberg (2016) specifically argues that a 'good' job allows for time spent outside of work and Tilly (1996) argued that there are 'good' and 'bad' part-time jobs. These definitions suggest that perhaps part-time employment could be adequate or, in Kalleberg's case even preferable in order to maintain work-life balance. Part-time paid work can be seen as the best option for some people, particularly if they have responsibilities outside the workplace, such as childcare (Grant et al. 2005, Lyonette et al. 2011) or are participating in education. Even those that do not have caring or educational responsibilities may prefer (Hakim 2000) or be more satisfied with part-time employment, although a focus on preference as postulated by Hakim (2000) does not give a proper consideration to the structural constraints on women's part-time employment (Warren and Lyonette 2015). There are also gendered issues here – female part-time employees have higher life satisfaction levels than full-time female employees, whilst male part-time employees are typically less satisfied than male full-time employees (McManus and Perry 2012). Although 'satisfaction' may also be shaped by contextual factors (Warren and Lyonette 2015).

Despite the potential but contested role of preference in undertaking part-time paid work, other research has firmly framed part-time paid work as precarious (Quinlan et al. 2001, Furlong and Kelly 2005). Longitudinal research has demonstrated that part-time employment can be detrimental to subsequent development, providing a stepping stone to full-time work for some people but acting as a barrier to full-time employment for others (O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2002, Mansson and Ottosson 2011, Kelle et al. 2017, Kyyra et al. 2017). Part-time paid work is also related to participation in lower-status work (Warren and Lyonette 2015) as part-time arrangements

are often not possible in higher grade positions. Lyonette et al. (2011) for example found evidence of women having to downgrade from senior positions if they wanted to work part-time after maternity leave. Part-time employment can also involve shorter-term contracts (Fagan and Burchell 2002, Institute for Public Policy Research 2011). These patterns indicate that participation in part-time paid work needs to be considered in discussions of precarious employment. The increase in part-time employees who could not find full-time employment following the recession (Office for National Statistics, 2017f) as well as the potentiality of employers to cut employees' hours (van Wanrooy et al. 2013) or hire employees on part-time contracts that would previously have been offered full-time (Lyonette and Baldauf 2010) following the 2008-2009 recession also indicate that part-time employment can have negative connotations. Consequentially, part-time paid work will be taken as an indicator of precarious employment in this research.

This work also considers the socio-economic classification of employment as a measure of precarious work. Socio-economic classification (using the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification measure), considers a wide range of labour market situations to classify work such as occupation type and size of company as well as whether one supervises others (Rose and Pevalin 2005). Socio-economic classification has been chosen as it accounts for the 'bundle of rewards' that Kalleberg (2016) discussed, including status and position in employment relations, rather than just focussing on one dimension, for example pay. This echoes the call from Gallie et al. (2017) to broaden the definition of employment 'insecurity' to include "the threat of loss of valued features of the job" (Gallie et al. 2017: 37). Pay is, of course, an important factor, and one which has been discussed in influential work on youth employment such as Shildrick et al.'s 2012 work on low-pay, no-pay cycles, where the implication is that low-paid work offers little job security for young people. This is particularly important in an increasingly polarised labour market where the lowest-paid

jobs (and to a lesser extent the highest-paid jobs) are growing, but the jobs 'in the middle' which create a pathway for upward mobility are dwindling (Goos and Manning 2007, Sissons and Jones 2012) - a trend that continued following the 2008-2009 recession (Plunkett and Pessoa 2013). Other measures of job quality such as occupational status have also been linked to insecurity, as low-status jobs have the highest proportion of young temporary employees who would like permanent employment and part-time employees who would like full-time employment (Institute for Public Policy Research 2010).

2.4 Stepping Stones, Employment Traps and Scarring

The incidence of precarious work and unemployment are important parts of understanding precariousness. However, it is also pivotal to understand how unemployment and precarious work may affect young people longitudinally in terms of the likelihood that they will move on to better quality work.

In a longitudinal context, unemployment has been discussed in terms of scarring. Scarring can be understood as the detrimental effects of experiencing unemployment on subsequent experiences of unemployment, employment and earnings, which exist both in the short-term and long-term (Gregg and Tominey 2004, McQuaid et al. 2015) and can be exacerbated in periods of recession (Tumino 2015). McQuaid et al. (2015) found that amongst 18 to 24 year olds, experience of unemployment did lead to lower pay and further spells of unemployment in the future.

Part-time and temporary employment in a longitudinal framework are often discussed in terms of the extent to which they provide a 'stepping stone' or 'bridge' to full-time work or whether they result in a trap or lock-

in. In previous research and in this thesis, a stepping stone occurs when part-time or temporary employment are followed by full-time or permanent work, respectively. In contrast, a trap is defined as when upon finishing a temporary contract, a person becomes unemployed. A lock-in effect is identified when being in part-time or temporary work prolongs the period of time before finding full-time or permanent work respectively (Kyyra et al. 2017).

Previous research from European countries has shown inconsistent results, which may be due to the varying work-time regimes in different countries. Some authors have shown that part-time and temporary employment tend to provide stepping stones to full-time and permanent work, respectively (Gash 2008, De Graaf-Zijl et al. 2011, Cai, Law and Bathgate 2014), whilst other research has found evidence of both stepping stones and traps (Booth et al. 2002, Mansson and Ottosson 2011). Research has also highlighted that the characteristics of the employees, such as being female or disabled, may impact on whether precarious work is a stepping stone or trap (Mansson and Ottosson 2011).

Theoretical work provides explanations for these opposing viewpoints. Temporary work for example, has been discussed in terms of 'screening', as a kind of probationary period in which employers can decide whether to offer permanent work. On the other hand, dual labour market theory, beginning with Piore and Doeringer (1971), suggests that core and peripheral labour markets exist independently of each other and that the periphery offers a flexible workforce which has reduced access to standard contracts in the core.

Transitions through hierarchical classifications of work, for example from routine to intermediate employment, have been understood through career theories. Older career theories discussed how employees were upwardly mobile throughout their careers, attaining higher status and higher-paid work (Rosenbaum 1979) as they aged and gained more

experience and longer job tenure within the same company (Levinson 1978, Sullivan and Baruch 2009). The older form of career is rather male-centric as downward career mobility has been discussed as being likely to occur for those who take a career break, for example women leaving the labour market for childcare reasons and then returning to work (Lyonette et al. 2011). By contrast, more recent career theory such as the theory of boundaryless careers (Sullivan 1999) and protean careers (Hall 1996) maintains that this traditional model of career has dwindled. In contemporary understandings of boundaryless careers (Sullivan 1999), individuals can no longer expect to work in the same company for an extended period or experience promotion opportunities within one company. Instead, the protean career model (Hall 1996) maintains that people have to take charge of their careers, moving between companies and accepting lateral and downward mobility. More contemporary understandings are based on hybrid models, which suggest that individuals still desire upward mobility but are self-directed in their pursuit of this (Sullivan and Baruch 2009).

Quantitative research by Halpin and Chan (1998) tracked career class mobility for young people from the age of 15 to the age of 35. They found, in data from the British Household Panel Survey (a large representative household study which ran from 1991 to 2009), two particularly prevalent class careers. Firstly, those dominated by long spells in skilled manual work, typically entered from semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. Secondly, trajectories where the latter ten years was spent in management work. Event history analysis by Bukodi and Dex (2010) showed with 1958 and 1970 birth cohort data that there were gender differences in the likelihood of being upward mobile when employed at the lowest occupational level (Bukodi and Dex 2010). Research with more recent data has suggested that younger generations now experience more lateral and downward movements than older generations (Lyons et al. 2012).

Qualitative work has shown that rather than a stepping stone or an employment trap, precarious employment can be associated with 'churning', that is cycling between repeated spells of precarious employment and unemployment (Shildrick et al. 2010, Thompson 2015).

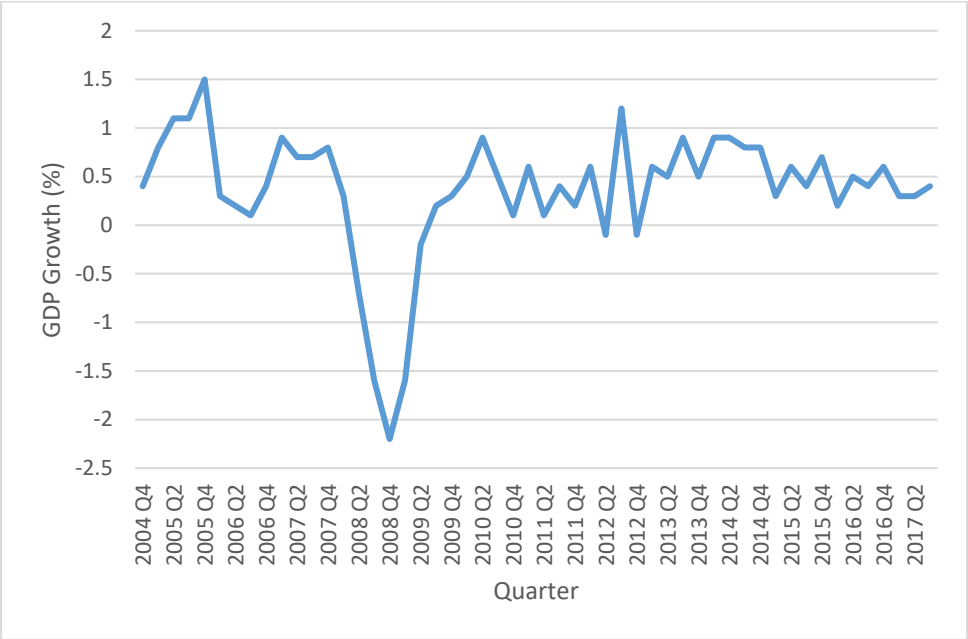
2.5 Intensifying Precariousness: The Impact of Recession on Young People

This section discusses how the recession impacted on the rates of unemployment and precarious employment in the UK, and how young people were disproportionately impacted by recession. What constitutes a 'young' person is strongly debatable, particularly given Arnett's (2004) influential theory of 'emergent adulthood' which suggested that the stage of youth is getting longer. This research focuses on those aged 16 to 24 to cohere with the Office for National Statistics' framework for delineating 'young' people from others in their employment research (Office for National Statistics 2017e).

There were clear increases in unemployment following the 2008-2009 recession amongst those aged 16 and over in the UK (Office for National Statistics 2017a). Despite this, the 2008-2009 recession and recovery was unique in the way that unemployment rates for the working-age population in the UK did not rise as dramatically as may have been expected given the large negative growth of GDP between quarter one of 2008 and quarter two of 2009 shown in Figure 1 (Gregg and Wadsworth 2010, Coulter 2016). It is important to note that unemployment did not rise equally across all areas of the UK and that there was a considerable amount of regional variation across the UK, with the North East and the East Midlands being particularly adversely affected (Trades Union Congress 2014). Writing in 2010, Gregg and Wadsworth theorised that the lower-than-expected rises in unemployment in the early period of the recession

were due to an 'unprecedented amount' of young people remaining in education in the autumn of 2009.

Figure 1: GDP Growth in the UK between 2004 and 2017



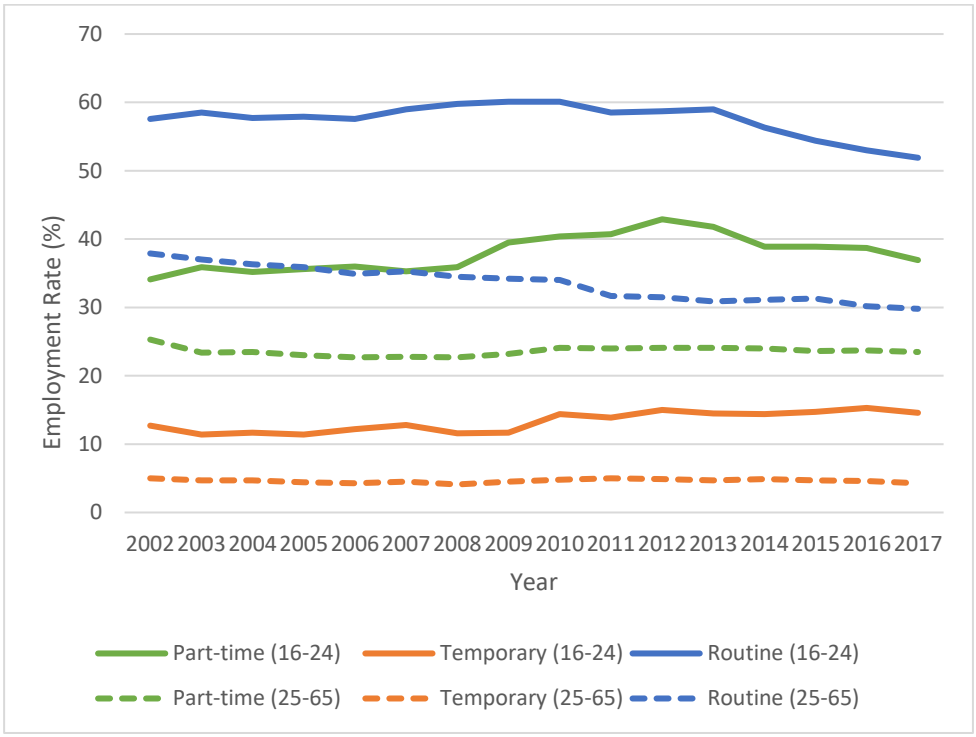
Source: ONS (2017a), unweighted. Author's own calculations.

Another pivotal characteristic of the 2008-2009 recession and recovery, which contributed to employment rates not reducing as much as expected, was that employers took measures to reduce spending whilst not necessarily reducing their number of employees. This lead to people being underemployed rather than unemployed. In particular, there were reductions in hours for existing staff. Results from the Work and Employment Relations Survey (van Wanrooy et al. 2013) found that 14 percent of surveyed employers reduced basic hours, with this trend being more prominent in the private than public sector. One of the findings which emerged from van Wanrooy et al. (2013) however, is that employers did not seek to up their usage of temporary staff. However, looking at national statistics, both temporary and part-time employment increased

following the 2008-2009 recession, although temporary employment was considerably less common than part-time work (LFS 2006-2017: author's own calculations Figure 2).

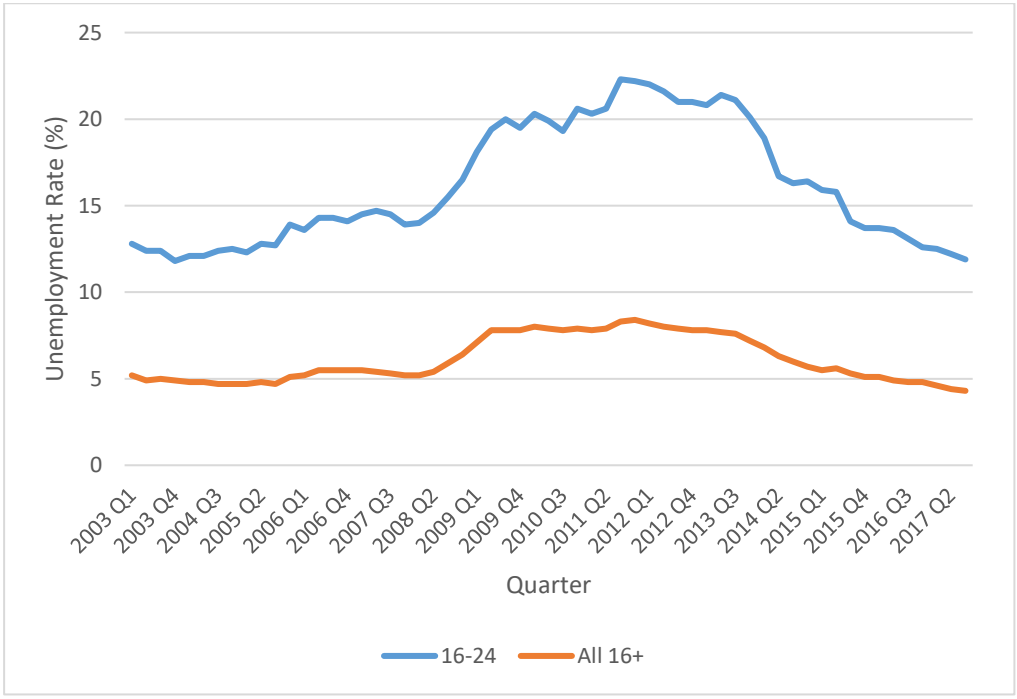
Although the impact of recession on employment and unemployment rates for the working age population as a whole were not as severe as may have been expected given the substantial decline in GDP and stilted recovery that was experienced in the UK economy, the severity of recession was undoubtedly felt strongly amongst young people. The youth labour market was not without its problems even prior to the recession; the youth unemployment rate had risen steadily between 2003 and 2007. Between 2008 and 2009 however, the unemployment rate for 16 to 24 year olds increased by six percentage points and continued to rise to a peak of 22 percent in late 2011 (see Figure 3). The severity of the youth employment issue comes to the fore when compared to the unemployment rate amongst everyone aged over 16. Between 2008 and 2009, the unemployment rate for everyone aged over 16 increased by just three percentage points to a peak of eight percent in quarter one of 2012. Young people also participated in more part-time, temporary and routine employment than employees aged 25 to 65 and saw more considerable increases in these employment forms following the recession (Figure 2). Temporary work, by its nature, is interrelated with unemployment, whilst part-time and routine employment may also bring less job security than full-time and higher classification employment (Barbieri 2009, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2010). It is important to highlight then that temporary, part-time and routine employment may not have risen so substantially for young workers following the 2008-2009 recession, as young people may simply have lost their jobs.

Figure 2: Rate of Part-time, Temporary and Routine Employment in the UK for 16-24 Year Olds and 25-65 Year Olds



Source: Labour Force Survey (2002-2017), weighted by PWT14 and PWT17. Author's own calculations.

Figure 3: UK Unemployment Rate for 16-24 Year Olds and Over 16s



Source: ONS (2017b), unweighted. Author's own calculations.

2.6 Why Were Young People So Adversely Affected Following the Recession?

Although precarious working is not a new concern and is not necessarily as widespread as some commentators suggest, Section 2.5 identified that young people were more likely to be unemployed and in precarious employment than those aged 25 to 65; a trend that was exacerbated in the recession. Why then is it that young people were so adversely affected before and following the recession? A considerable difficulty is that where younger people compete with prime-age individuals for job opportunities, they are more likely to lose out due to their likelihood of having less work experience (Gregg 2015), fewer contacts and, in the perceptions of employers, lacking necessary workplace skills (Bell and Blanchflower 2011, Hasluck and Armitage 2011). They may also be 'first out' if a company is making redundancies because it is cheaper for employers to make less senior employees redundant (Bell and Blanchflower 2011).

The manufacturing industry had been an important source of employment for young males with low skills as it offered an occupational route straight from education (Roberts 2011:26). However, the movement to an economy based on service and knowledge work has affected the opportunities available to young people. The sectors that are most accessible and therefore have the highest prevalence of younger people, such as retail and hospitality tend to be the lowest skilled positions (Office for National Statistics 2014a) and have a higher proliferation of precarious contracts (IPPR 2010). Higher skilled 'knowledge work' is available, and has grown as the labour market has polarized along the dimension of skill level (Plunkett and Pessoa 2013, Salvatori 2015). However, the knowledge economy has not expanded to the extent that it can accommodate the increasing number of graduates in the UK (Brown et al. 2008, Brown 2013). This is problematic not only because graduates' skills are not being used

effectively but also because it leads to credentialisation and increased competition which may harm those with lower educational attainment.

It cannot be assumed that all young people want a permanent, full-time and high socio-economic classification role at this time in their lives. In discussing the work of Elias (1962), Furlong et al. (2018) highlight the inclination of adult researchers to gauge younger people's experiences by their own problems, hence perhaps the inclination to focus on the 'gold standard' of full-time, permanent employment. Many young people choose to take part-time roles in order to balance employment with education, although this trend has been reducing since 2000 (Office for National Statistics 2014a). Young people may also enjoy the flexibility afforded by temporary employment (Morris and Vekker 2001). Research has suggested that young people may 'not want to commit [themselves] yet' (Du Bois-Reymond 1998) and distance themselves from an understanding of success which lies in employment. They are 'working to live' rather than 'living to work' and have lower labour market attachment compared to older generations (Zemke et al. 2000, Gursoy et al. 2013). However, this finding is not supported across all research (Bennett et al. 2017). Other research has suggested that it is specifically because of increased precariousness in the transition to adulthood, that young people's attitudes have changed. Bradley and Devadason (2008) argue that young people have 'internalised flexibility' with different expectations from their working lives compared to their parents' generation, in particular in not wanting a job for life and embracing the prospect of changing jobs and occupations. Having established that the recession was particularly detrimental to young people, the following section will discuss literature surrounding young people's employment in a longitudinal context.

2.7 Have Youth Trajectories Changed?

The headline figures of youth unemployment and precarious employment are useful for showing macro trends which occurred in the recession. However, what they fail to do is provide an understanding of how employment developed over time for young people during this period. This thesis offers an innovative approach to understanding youth employment in a recessionary context, going beyond the headline figures to give a longitudinal assessment of how young people moved in and out of precarious labour market positions year-to-year prior to, and following, the 2008-2009 recession. In doing so, it contributes to sociological knowledge regarding the changing nature of youth trajectories.

In sociological work, contemporary youth employment trajectories are characterised as complex. The idea of 'a transition' from school to work broke down as early movement from education to employment became discussed as protracted, fragmented, non-linear, or yo-yo-ised (Furlong et al. 2003, Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Shildrick et al. 2010, MacDonald 2017, Furlong et al. 2018). It is for this reason that the present research prefers the term 'trajectory'. Non-linear trajectories involve "breaks, changes of direction and unusual sequences of events. They can involve extended or repeated experiences of unemployment, frequent moves between jobs and returns to education and training after periods in employment." (Furlong et al. 2003: 25). The 'protraction' of youth trajectories is often discussed in terms of longer periods of education, although the inability of young people to find the permanent, full-time, well-paid work associated with the financial independence of adulthood is also pertinent (Furlong 2017). Influential theorist Jeffrey Arnett distinguished a new life-phase between that of childhood and adulthood called 'emergent adulthood' in which young people do not yet think of themselves as adults, and have not yet met markers of 'adulthood' such as home-ownership, parenthood and secure employment (Tanner and Arnett 2016). The prevalence of emergent

adulthood is contested however (Cote and Bynner 2008), and transitions to adulthood have been shown to be highly classed (Jones 2002) and gendered (Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016).

The discussion of youth trajectories as complex and non-linear is also problematic for three key reasons. Firstly, the portrayal of youth trajectories since the early 2000s has tended to juxtapose 'contemporary' trajectories with 'golden age' trajectories which are typically deemed to have been smooth and swift. Empirical research however, has demonstrated that transitions pre-1970 were not as straightforward and linear as suggested (Vickerstaff 2003, Goodwin and O'Connor's 2005, Goodwin and O'Connor 2007, Goodwin and O'Connor 2015). Secondly, as well as the fragmented nature of pre-1970s trajectories being understated, the fragmented nature of contemporary trajectories has also perhaps been overstated. Quantitative research that maps young people's employment development over time shows that a majority of young people have what could be termed as 'linear' transitions, which predominantly consist of a movement from compulsory education to paid work, or to post-compulsory education and then employment (Furlong et al. 2003 Quintini and Manfredi 2009, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015).

Thirdly, the discussion of youth trajectories as 'fragmented' or 'non-linear' rarely considers how the current economic context may affect how trajectories develop. This is an oversight considering that that Roberts' influential work on opportunity structures demonstrates that the opportunities available in the labour market are key to young people's employment options (Roberts 2009). Literature suggests that economic context is likely to affect the nature of trajectories; a prolonged period in education for example has been associated with lack of appropriate opportunities for young people in the labour market (Furlong 2017) whilst the collapse of the youth labour market in the 1980s has been cited as a source of long-term increases in education participation, as job opportunities dwindled, leading to a warehousing of young people

(Macdonald 2011). This research contributes to youth trajectory research by providing a comparative method which contrasts youth trajectories prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession.

2.8 Previous Research on Youth Trajectories

Evidence of fragmentation has been found in numerous studies (Johnston et al. 2000, Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Shildrick et al. 2012). These studies have typically been qualitative and focussed on the most disadvantaged in society, although quantitative studies that have considered broader samples have also found evidence of fragmentation and complexity. Quantitative studies using sequence analysis have found a large minority of respondents with trajectories characterised by changes of direction in terms of economic status or extended periods of unemployment (Furlong et al. 2003, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). However, by extension previous quantitative research has shown that fragmented trajectories are not the norm. Dorsett and Lucchino (2013) found that only ten percent of young people in their sample experienced a trajectory which they identified as a 'cause for concern'. Non-linearity relates strongly to protraction and precarious paid work. In their work on recurrent poverty Shildrick et al. (2012) found that the main reason for movement between jobs and unemployment benefits was participation in low-paid and low-quality work, whilst Johnston et al. (2000) highlighted that a key factor in the complexity of young people's trajectories was the temporary nature of the employment they entered.

Sequence analysis research which has considered the class and gender inequalities in young people trajectories in the UK have found consistent patterns. A common gender distinction is that young women spend more time in inactivity (that is, not in education, employment or looking for

work) than young men, especially after the age of 18 after leaving education (Martin et al. 2008, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). Women are also more likely to experience part-time employment, particularly movement from full-time to part-time work over the course of their early working lives (Martin et al. 2008). Young men, in contrast, tend to be full-time employed for a more prolonged period (Martin et al. 2008), but are also more likely to experience both short, and prolonged, spells of unemployment (Martin et al. 2008). Sequence analyses of UK data have also highlighted trajectory distinctions along dimensions of class inequality. Dorsett and Lucchino (2023) found that those whose parents had lower educational attainment were more likely to experience a 'cause for concern' trajectory, characterised by long-term worklessness or inactivity. Duckworth and Schoon (2012) showed that having three or more 'risk factors', such as having a parent with low educational attainment or a routine classification job, increased the likelihood of being NEET (not in education, employment or training) for six months or more between age 16 and 18.

2.9 The Limitations of Previous Research

There are several limitations or gaps in the above literature which this thesis addresses. Firstly, no sequence analysis research using UK data has contrasted trajectories before and after the 2008-2009 recession. Some sequence analysis research has considered economic context. Martin et al. (2008) contrasted cohorts, but used data from the 1958 and 1970 British Cohort Study and did not analyse temporary contracts or the classification of employment. Duckworth and Schoon (2012) used the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England which contained more recent data on young people born in 1989 and 1990, but contrasted it with 1970 British Cohort Study data. Lyons-Amos and Schoon (2017) used recent data and focussed on contrasting trajectories in several life domains including fertility prior to

and following the 2008-2009 recession along the dimension of gender. However, this research did not explore the type of employment young people participated in. Research is therefore required to contrast how trajectories may have differed prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession, considering the higher rates of unemployment, part-time, temporary and routine employment in recession which were discussed above but also in the evidence provided by qualitative research. Small scale qualitative research has found the recession altered the trajectories of some young people but not all. Edwards and Weller (2010) looking at the early years of recession found that young people who experienced 'long period of youth' or 'short youth' trajectories were little affected by the recession because of their higher levels of parental financial support. This research will address the gap in quantitative analysis through its comparison of a pre-recession and recession cohort of young people. In doing so it will add to macro debates on whether the nature of work has changed, or is changing, by exploring how economic context may be implicated in shaping the precariousness of employment.

Secondly, it is a problem more generally that quantitative work on youth trajectories has tended to focus on economic status rather than the type of work that young people participate in (Martin et al. 2008 excepted). Qualitative work has been more concerned with employment type, such as Shildrick et al. 2010 and Macdonald 2017, which highlights the necessity of considering type of employment. Quantitative work, such as event history analysis, has focussed on movement between employment types in terms of how long a transition takes to occur (Gash 2008, Cockx and Picchio 2012, Kyyra et al. 2017). However, event history analysis tends to focus on just one transition at a time, such as the transition from part-time to full-time work, and has not contrasted pre-recession with a recession cohort. Furthermore, of the aforementioned event history research, only Gash (2008) uses data from the UK. Some sequence analysis has considered

career progression, such as Halpin and Chan's (1998) sequence analysis research. However, their work is now outdated. This research addresses the aforementioned gaps in literature by focussing on part-time, temporary and routine employment as well as unemployment and by contrasting a pre-recession and a recession cohort of 16 to 24 year olds to identify class and gender differentiations.

2.10 Part One Conclusion

Part One of this literature review critically explored pivotal contextual themes for this thesis. Firstly, it discussed the debates regarding the rise of precariousness and the end of work and the definition of precarious labour market situations. This chapter explored how temporary, part-time and low socio-economic classification work can all be considered undesirable labour market situations using Kalleberg's (2016) broad understanding of 'good' and 'bad' jobs. Secondly, it explored the adverse effect of the 2008-2009 recession on young people's employment and thirdly, the characterisation of contemporary youth trajectories. It identified limitations in the previous literature and stated how this thesis contributes to existing work. So far, the literature review has focussed more so on young people as a homogenous group. However, inequalities continue to be highly important. Chapter 3 now discusses the second part of the literature review, focussing on how class and gender inequalities continue to pervade young people's employment.

Chapter Three: Class and Gender Inequalities in Employment

3.1 Introduction

The previous literature chapter critically assessed the debates regarding employment and youth trajectories which provide the context for this thesis. Drawing on work by Giddens (1991), Beck (1994), Bauman (2001), Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001), trajectories have also been discussed as increasingly 'individualised' (Furlong and Cartmel 2007, Furlong 2017). As choices abound, people are removed from traditional societal markers, such as class, as sources of identity, and the onus is put on the individual to direct their own biography. Individualisation theorists came under a substantial amount of fire for this assertion for disregarding the continued importance of class and gender in shaping conditions of existence (see Dawson 2012). Whilst it is maintained here that Beck seems to imply that it is class and gender as markers of identity, rather than of a condition of existence that has eroded, this chapter discusses how class and gender are still significant determinants of both identity and conditions of existence. As such, they have direct implications for youth trajectories. Class and gender are not the only important facets of employment inequality. Ethnicity and disability are also pivotal (Stafford et al. 2007, House of Commons Work and Pensions Committee 2017, Corlett 2017). However, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, it was not possible to consider these issues in this thesis.

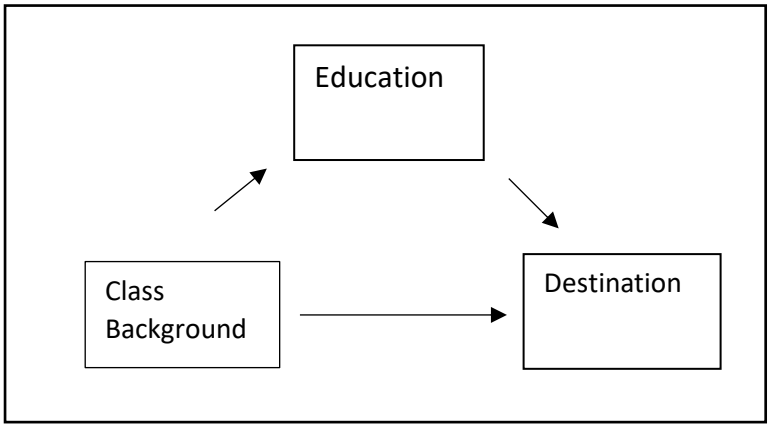
This research proceeds from the assumption that gender and class inequalities are reproduced intergenerationally (and intragenerationally). This is not to say that inequalities cannot be resisted (Lawler 2004) or that there is no intergenerational social mobility (Goldthorpe and Jackson, 2007). However, this chapter discusses how societal inequalities are still

important in impacting employment. This thesis proceeds from Roberts (2009) opportunity structures framework in that it seeks to understand how young people's background characteristics in conjunction with opportunities in the labour market shape young people's early employment experiences. It begins by discussing class, and then goes on to consider gender implications for youth employment.

3.2 Class

Class inequalities have been central to sociology since its inception. It has been analysed in numerous ways, which have understood class in both economic and cultural terms; as identities borne out of group formation and as positions in social structure. A major theoretical influence for this research, given its focus on employment outcomes, is the Weberian notion of class. Max Weber stated that "a class situation is one in which there is a shared typical probability of procuring goods, gaining a position in life, and finding inner satisfaction" (Weber 1978[1922]: 302) As such, class situation relates to a commonality of life-chances which are dictated by the market, and which are determined by what resources people have to bring to the market. This conceptualisation is useful as it may encompass both material and cultural resources and it does not presume that life-chances *necessarily* lead to class-consciousness or an overt sense of class conflict. The model of social reproduction of class used here is exemplified in Figure 4, which is an adaptation of the origin-education-destination triangle described in Goldthorpe (2013). Class background is assumed to affect employment directly, but also indirectly through education. Education is likely to be particularly salient in young people's employment because of their relative lack of employment experience.

Figure 4: Model of Social Reproduction



Source: adapted from Goldthorpe (2013)

3.2.1 Social Closure

Weber's concept of 'social closure' (Weber 1978[1922] and developed by Parkin 1974) is also highly relevant when discussing employment outcomes, as the 2008-2009 recession brought increased redundancies and declines in the number of job vacancies in the UK labour market (Office for National Statistics 2017b, Office for National Statistics 2017c). The theory of social closure suggests that dominant groups can preserve their position by restricting the access to resources and the associated employment rewards. Assuming that employers prefer certain candidates over others in regard to myriad skills, competences and attitudes, as described and debated in numerous theories such as job competition theory (Thurow 1976), signalling theory (Spence 1973) and human capital theory (Becker 1974), the ability to be the most desirable candidate is dependent on access to particular resources that allow a person to gain and demonstrate these desirable traits.

Weber's (1978[1922]) theory insinuates that social closure is intentional, where a group of insiders purposely exclude outsiders in order to secure their positions. It has been shown that the middle class' mobilisation of

resources to support their children's education and employment will subsequently give their children access to the highest paid and highest status jobs (Devine 2004, McKnight 2015). Parents from all class backgrounds value education as a vehicle for their offspring's future success (Irwin and Elley 2011). However, as this chapter now discusses, not all have equal resources to support their child's education or employment.

3.2.2 Cultural Capital

Pierre Bourdieu's work has been pivotal in influencing sociological understandings of the reproduction of class inequality and what exactly class is. His forms of capital approach offered an understanding of how the perpetuation of class advantage operates along dimensions that are cultural as well as economic, influencing a plethora of subsequent theorists and researchers (for example Skeggs 1997, Reay et al. 2005, Atkinson et al. 2013, Savage et al. 2013). This research too draws on Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' by using a measure of parental education to explore class patterns (see Chapter 4 for information regarding operationalisation).

Bourdieu's theory of capital was an important component of his broader theory of social reproduction which is pertinent to the accessing of good jobs. Bourdieu's logic of practice holds that `(Habitus*Capital) + Field=Practice' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101). Bourdieu posited that people have differing levels of capital which can be exchanged for certain advantages, opportunities and rewards in particular fields. Fields have their own logic of what is considered valuable, such that different forms of capital may be rewarded in some fields and not others. Bourdieu delineated four forms of capital; economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Economic capital is self-explanatory as economic resources such as money or assets. Social capital pertains to "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of…relationships of

mutual acquaintance and recognition" (1986:51). The volume of social capital available relates to the size of the network and the amount of economic, cultural and symbolic capital held in the network.

Cultural capital refers to assets that are abstract, but is also "convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital" (1986:47). Bourdieu postulates that individuals can possess cultural capital in three forms. Firstly, 'embodied' cultural capital, which is "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (1986:47) for example ways of speaking. Secondly, 'objectified' cultural capital, which consists of cultural goods such as books and instruments and thirdly 'institutionalised' cultural capital in the form of qualifications, which provides the bearer with an "officially recognised, guaranteed competence" (1986:47). Cultural capital also functions as symbolic capital where it is "unrecognised as capital and recognised as legitimate competence" (Bourdieu 1986:49) because "the social conditions of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital" (Bourdieu 1986: 49). This gives the sense that those who have the 'right' cultural capital have it because they are naturally gifted. The functioning of cultural capital as symbolic capital coheres with the ideology of meritocracy in that those who rise to the top are assumed to be there because of their ability and hard work.

At the same time as individuals have forms of capital, they also have a habitus which goes some way to underpinning how class culture permeates inclinations, experiences and outlooks, and shapes the way that individuals may deploy their capital. The habitus is described as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures redisposed to function as structuring structures" (1977:72). The habitus structures practices in such a way that "the most improbable practices are excluded, as unthinkable, or at the cost of double negation which inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is to refuse what is anyway refused and to love the inevitable" (1977:77). The habitus is produced out of the conditions of an

individual's existence and past experiences, so that a class habitus emerges from "the homogeneity of the conditions of existence" (1977:80).

In adopting a Bourdieusian approach to social reproduction, it is assumed that parental education is a form of cultural capital that transfers to offspring by impacting the offspring's outcomes. Parents' educational attainment has been found to relate to offspring's educational attainment in particular, even when income is controlled for (Sullivan 2001, Chevalier 2004) and has also been shown to directly affect offspring's socio-economic employment status (Erola et al. 2016). Parents with higher educational attainment may be better placed to assist their children in their education, through their knowledge and experience of the education system and via things like assisting with schoolwork (Lareau 2011). Parents with high levels of capital may be more likely to strategically plan their children's education and to employ economic and cultural resources for the 'concerted cultivation' of their children through things like extra-curricular activities (Lareau 2011, Irwin and Elley 2011). Parental education has been found to increase offspring's cultural participation and their access to cultural goods (Kraaykamp and van Eijck 2010). Parents with higher educational attainment are also more likely to have higher socio-economic status jobs (Goldthorpe 2013). Parental education and employment shapes offspring's 'imagined futures' and expectations regarding their own education and employment (Devine 2004, Pimlott-Wilson 2011).

3.2.3 Critiquing Bourdieu

Bourdieu's work has been incredibly influential in sociology, but has come under considerable criticism. It has been described as being structuralist and consequentially deterministic (Jenkins 1982). Bourdieu always maintained that the habitus was flexible and adaptable when encountering

new situations, however (Bourdieu 2002). When confronting a situation of unfamiliarity in 'dialectical confrontation', space is created for reflexivity and adaptation of the habitus (Bourdieu 2002:31). This is exemplified in Ingram and Abraham's work on the 'reconciled habitus' experienced by some working class higher-education participants who moved between their home life and their university life, which allowed them to "internalise and adapt to structures in both fields" (Abrahams and Ingram 2013:11). Even in his concession that habitus can be changed, Bourdieu arguably strayed too far away from rationality, placing too much weight on the unconscious, pre-reflexive elements of practices. Sayer's (2005) work is useful in broadening Bourdieu's conceptualisation, allowing for an understanding of how habitus can function semi-consciously, but also that conscious reflexivity can arise in everyday experiences in the form of conversations we have with ourselves about our feelings, motivations and morals in reacting to situations and actions.

Bourdieu's writing on capital is also particularly vague. Firstly, it is not always clear what cultural capital comprises of. At different points in his work cultural capital was used to denote many different things and cultural capital is on the verge of becoming a catch all to determine a number of facets that may bring or maintain advantage (Lamont and Lareau 1988). It is difficult to establish what exactly it is about the middle class household's resources that comprises cultural capital (Sullivan 2002). Although Bourdieu's work is open to criticisms, it is beneficial in that it does offer an approach to understanding the reproduction of class that accounts for more than just economic elements of reproduction. This has led researchers using Bourdieu to develop their own interpretations of what habitus and capitals consist of, which has yielded beneficial research, particularly in how education is implicit in social and cultural reproduction (Ball et al. 2002, Reay et al. 2005, Reay 2012, Bradley and Ingram 2012). Within this thesis, cultural capital is measured by parental education. From previous research it is also assumed that parental education can be

representative of cultural capital in the home more broadly (Sullivan 2001, Chan and Goldthorpe 2007) as well as being likely to be associated with economic and social capital, as discussed by Bourdieu (1986).

3.3 Education and the Reproduction of Class

Education is one of the key areas in which class inequalities are reproduced and disrupted and is particularly important when discussing how class pertains to youth trajectories (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). It is well-established that education has a direct consequence for employment (Jackson et al. 2005, Jackson and Goldthorpe 2008, Goldthorpe 2013). Furthermore, education has been shown to be 'protective' within difficult economic contexts in preventing income loss (Cutler et al. 2015). Capitals and habitus are highly visible in the post-compulsory educational choices that families are able to make, and in how the young people 'get on' in post-compulsory education. Decisions made here drive young people from middle class and working class backgrounds in different directions. In terms of university attendance for example, working class young people tend to attend post-1992 universities, whilst middle class students have a large representation in 'elite' institutions (Reay, David and Ball 2005). Habitus is implicit in these decisions, or 'non-decisions' in the case of middle class young people to go to university (Bradley and Ingram 2013). The habitus, as displayed through a sense of 'not belonging' in elite institutions, means that non-traditional students gravitate towards post-1992 institutions (Reay, David and Ball 2005). Cultural capital in the form of qualifications is also required to access further and higher educational institutions. The more elite institutions require higher entrance grades, thus excluding those who do not meet the entrance criteria. Economic capital is also a key consideration for those from less financially advantaged backgrounds. This is not only in the increasingly high cost of tuition fees, but also in the cost

of transport to and from the higher education institution, the potential of having to contribute financially to their household, and in the greater necessity for combining work with study, affecting ability to 'get on' (Reay et al. 2005, Reay 2016). Economic factors often channel young people with less economic resources towards institutions that are closer to home. Social capital in the form of parental involvement has also been seen as pivotal for young people's educational choices. Being part of particular social networks shape young people's expectations regarding their education as well as providing other resources such as knowledge of educational options. The lack of social reference for those who are the first in their family or peer group to consider post-compulsory education is a distinct disadvantage in accessing higher education (Clarke 2017).

3.4 The Implications of Class in the Labour Market

The educational pathways taken by those from differing class backgrounds go a considerable way to directing young people from different classes in to differential and unequal labour market positions (Goldthorpe 2013, Wakeling and Savage 2015). As described earlier in this chapter, the limited graduate opportunities available in the labour market cannot match the number of young people gaining degrees (Brown, Lauder and Ashton 2008). Where this is the case, young people may require additional capital, other than their qualifications, to maintain a 'positional edge' (O'Connor and Bodicoat 2017). The ability to access and take advantage of extra-curricular activities is inevitably unequal across groups and has been shown to be drawn along class divisions. The middle class young are more likely to take part in extra-curricular activities, knowing how 'to play the game', having more financial and social capital to maximise extra-curricular opportunities and gain access to the extra-curricular activities which will give them the most advantageous opportunities in the labour market

(Purcell et al. 2013, Bathmaker, Ingram and Waller 2013). Not having as much capital can lead to difficulties for working class graduates when thinking about their futures (Greenbank and Hepworth 2008). In this respect, human capital theory (Becker 1974) does not account for the intricacies of how people get hired. This can be seen to play out during the hiring process. Hiring managers seek candidates who are culturally similar to themselves in terms of interests and self-presentation styles (Rivera 2012). This can have the effect of reproducing class, as exemplified elite employers headhunting Oxbridge candidates to ensure that applicants 'fit' with the company's ethos (Tholen et al. 2013). Even 'postcode discrimination' has been discussed as being detrimental for young people from areas with 'bad reputations', although this has been invalidated (Tunstall et al. 2014).

Social capital, particularly in the form of networks, provides inroads in to employment for some people. Social networks facilitate obtaining information about job opportunities (Granovetter 1995). Lack of contacts has been shown to be a key disadvantage for young people in general (Hasluck and Armitage 2011). However, there will also be inequalities amongst young people in terms of who has the connections to access the most desirable employment. Furlong and Cartmel (2004) highlighted that where the socio-economically disadvantaged young men in their sample did learn about job opportunities from contacts (which was an uncommon occurrence), these jobs were of low status and were not preferable to the respondents, whilst graduates from non-traditional backgrounds are less likely to receive helpful advice from family and friends for accessing graduate level work (Purcell et al. 2012). In contrast, students at elite universities have been shown to be able to mobilise networks and connections in order to access the most exclusive jobs at the upper end of the graduate labour market (Tholen et al. 2013), whilst middle class graduates are more inclined to utilise their networks to gain initial access to companies than working class graduates are (Abrahams 2017). This is

not to say that social capital is not used to access more traditionally working class occupations, but use of social networks inevitably reproduces existing class patterns (Furlong and Cartmel 2004). Lack of economic capital also constrains job search (Tunstall et al. 2014). Transport is a key factor in which vacancies people apply for. Reliance on public transport because of lack of access to a car ties some people to the very local labour market where job opportunities may be limited. Lack of internet access is also a large drawback in being able to respond to vacancies quickly, which has been shown to be vital for effective job search (Tunstall et al. 2014).

3.5 Gender

Amongst the broader UK population, men are more likely than women to be officially unemployed, whilst women are more likely to be economically inactive, that is, not in paid employment or seeking paid employment (Office for National Statistics 2017e). Within employment itself, it has been well-established that women are more likely to be in part-time work than men (Office for National Statistics 2017e) and are less likely than men to be in higher socio-economic positions (Office for National Statistics 2013a, LFS 2017: author's own calculations). Women are also more likely to be in temporary work (Office for National Statistics 2017e). Why these patterns occur is highly complex. This chapter discusses four predominant themes in the explanation of gendered work: the structure of the labour market, the gendering of work roles in the home including women's continued responsibility for caregiving, the gendering of education and employment and the organisational practices of exclusion.

3.5.1 The Structure of the Labour Market

The structure of the labour market itself is inherently gendered. Both horizontal segregation and vertical segregation in occupational types, as well as organisational structures of core and peripheral employees, contribute to women's higher likelihood of being in part-time, temporary and routine roles. Horizontal segregation refers to the over or underrepresentation of particular groups in occupations that are not hierarchical (European Commission 2013). The UK has stronger gender segregation than other EU countries (European Commission 2013). Table 1 shows the occupation groups which were dominated by men and women in the UK in 2013 (Office for National Statistics 2013a). Female-dominated occupations were caring and leisure services, administration and customer service. Male-dominated occupations were managers and senior officials, process, plant and machine operative and skilled trades. Horizontal segregation is problematic, as 'women's work' is undervalued and hence is less well-remunerated (Grimshaw and Rubery 2007). Part-time work, is more likely to be available in lower skilled work, thus dissuading women from higher skilled work (Warren and Lyonette 2015). Part-time work and temporary work forms are also more likely to exist in the sectors within which women are overrepresented, such as public administration, education and health (IPPR 2010). Vertical segregation refers to the distribution of men and women within the hierarchy of organisations in terms of power, status, income or other desirable attributes. The gender hierarchy within organisations has tended to include both 'glass ceilings' and 'sticky floors' for women, which consign them to the lower rungs of the organisational ladder (Berheide 1992, Booth et al. 2003). Men are not exempt from employment difficulty, however. In particular, the overrepresentation of men in cyclically sensitive occupations makes them more likely to be unemployed at the start of an economic downturn (McKay et al. 2013). This was key to the rhetorical response that the 2008-

2009 recession was a 'mancession', although the pattern of higher unemployment for men at the beginning of the recession had been the same in previous recessions, and women's unemployment rose after the initial hit of the recession as public sector funding was cut (McKay et al. 2013). Sector differences are likely to be less apparent for youth employment as young men have become more likely to work in traditionally female-dominated service work such as customer-service since the 1990s (Brinkley et al. 2013). Why the labour market is structured in such a way pertains to the remaining key themes stated above.

Table 1: Percentage of Men and Women in Different Occupations in the UK in 2013

	Men	Women
Managers and Senior Officials	13.1	7.3
Professional Occupations	18.5	20.7
Associate Professional And Technical Occupations	14.9	12.5
Administrative And Secretarial Occupations	4.9	18.2
Skilled Trades Occupations	18.1	2.3
Caring, Leisure And Other Service Occupations	3.1	16.1
Sales And Customer Service Occupations	5.6	10.6
Process, Plant And Machine Operatives	10.6	1.5
Elementary Occupations	11.2	10.6
All occupations	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Office for National Statistics 2013a

3.5.2 The Gendering of Domestic Responsibilities

The continued gendering of domestic responsibilities in a context of little or expensive childcare provision means that women are more likely to work part-time to accommodate childcare than men in the UK. This is seen in employment patterns where 42 percent of women in the UK work in part-time roles, compared to only 13 percent of men (Office for National Statistics 2017e). The role of women as primary caregivers works in conjunction with the structure of the labour market to influence women's

access to full-time and permanent roles, as well as having implications for women's socioeconomic status development. On the demand side, employers have been shown to be less inclined to hire women and less inclined to make investments in them because they are assumed to be higher cost workers. This is because of current or anticipated care responsibilities which shape the perception that women are 'less committed' to the labour market, more likely to require days off, more likely to be late, less likely to work additional hours, have higher turnover rates and may require additional facilities at work (Anker 1998). In taking careers breaks to have children, women returning to work may also experience downward mobility (Dex, Ward, Joshi 2008) and working mothers are often offered less training opportunities and opportunities for promotion. Working mothers are the victims of 'ambient stereotypes' which see them as perceived as warm but incompetent (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick 2004). On the supply side, women may 'preference' flexible working arrangements to maintain work-life balance (Hakim 2000), although this is strongly contested for ignoring the constraints of class and gender inequality on women's 'choices' (McRae 2003, Crompton and Lyonette 2005). In the past women have been conceptualised as a flexible labour reserve who may withdraw from the labour market in response to reduced labour demand, voluntarily or involuntarily (Rubery and Rafferty 2013). Rubery and Rafferty's research in 2013 suggested however, that there was no evidence that women were voluntarily withdrawing from employment or moving to flexible work following the 2008-2009 recession.

A pivotal drawback of focussing so heavily on the implications of domestic gender roles for employment is that it is less applicable for younger people who are less likely to be coupled or have children at this point in their lives. However, expectations regarding having children in the future may shape young women's education and employment choices (Lehmann 2007), as

well as negatively impacting employers' willingness to hire young women (Young Women's Trust 2017).

3.5.3 Gender, Subject and Job 'Choice'

Traditionally, theoretical perspectives on the supply side maintained that women's lower investment in education was something that prevented them from gaining the best jobs. This is no longer the case as girls outperform boys at school (Adcock et al. 2016) and women outnumber men in higher education (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2017). However, gender is something that is 'done' in interaction with others (West and Zimmerman 1987, 2009), and following Sayer (2005), in the interaction with oneself within social spaces that are gendered (Skeggs 1997). The 'doing' of gender can be seen in the subject choices that young people make, where science-based subjects such as Physics are constructed as male and arts and humanities subjects constructed as female. Where subjects are coded as male, such as in the case of Mathematics, this leads to girls underestimating their competence in these subjects, thus contributing to subsequent choices in education and employment (Correll 2004). However, this is also classed, as working class students, both male and female, opt not to take science and technology based subjects (Codiroli McMaster 2017).

The subjects that young people take can shape the job opportunities that they have. Occupations themselves are stereotyped by gender, both explicitly such in the case of teaching (female) and engineering (male) but also implicitly in the case of accountancy which is implicitly gendered as male (White and White 2006). Although recent work on engineering has shown that the stereotyping of roles can change with increased representation (Bonaldi and Silva 2014). Studies highlight the emotional burden of working in roles associated with, and dominated by, the other

gender, for example in studies of men in childcare, nursing and retail work (Cross and Bagilhole 2002, McDowell 2011, Huppatz 2012). The gendering of employment choices has consequences for continued inequality between the sexes as many of the jobs offering most desirable benefits, for example high wages, are in sectors associated with male-dominated subjects such as engineering.

3.5.4 Gender Discrimination

The nature of occupational 'choice' is also strongly shaped by hiring and organisation practices and the existence of gender discrimination cannot be ignored. It is not difficult to see that discriminatory practices in the past functioned as direct social closure as unionised men sought to keep women out of work to ensure their own positions (Hartman 1976). Older research upheld the position that discrimination stemmed from the strategic and intentional exclusion of 'others' by those in dominant positions (Reskin 1988, Tomaskovic-Devey 1993, Tilly 1998), although Reskin (2000) discussed the potential of non-conscious discrimination. Anti-discrimination legislation is supposed to mediate against this, yet it is difficult to legislate for something that can exist implicitly within the attitudes of employers and recruiters. Mahler and Pessar succinctly state "employers' and recruiters' ideas about who make ideal labourers for different jobs sculpt the labour force and shuttle workers into different employment niches that reflect ideologies of gender, race, class, and civilization" (Mahler and Pessar 2006:49). Gender discrimination may also function more implicitly, permeating the structure of organisations through interactions in a way that positions women as other and typically subordinate, negating their abilities and typically disadvantaging them in promotion opportunities. Acker (2006) showed that inequality regimes exist which serve to exclude women from promotional opportunities. Inequality regimes may be defined as "loosely interrelated practices,

processes, actions and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender and racial inequalities within particular organisations." (Acker 2006: 443). They provide a means by which in and out groups are formed, based on things such as common interests, through which men are offered opportunities that women are not. Within female-dominated sectors, men are advantaged in attaining management positions because qualities associated with hegemonic masculinity may be more positively regarded and rewarded than those associated with femininity, providing men a 'glass escalator' (Williams 1992). Where women do cement management roles, it has been shown that these are more likely to be in less valued facets of the company (McDowell 1997). Although much of the conversation regarding difference in employment by gender focuses on men and women's employment in differing occupations or sectors, as highlighted above, the shape of the labour market has shifted such that young men and women are more likely now to be working in the same service sectors (Brinkley et al. 2013). There have therefore been interesting shifts in how discriminatory attitudes and actions pertain to gender inequality. Attributes that are associated with masculinity may no longer present advantages in an economy which is dominated by service industry that is based on interactive work. Employers require staff to have attributes that are typically associated with femininity, such as deference and docility, which means that young men may be disadvantaged (McDowell 2011). Working class men in particular may be particularly excluded from these roles, with the requirements of such roles potentially conflicting with their conceptualisations of their identities as men (McDowell et al. 2014), although research on Irish men by Goodwin (2002) highlighted that, for men, any job is better than no job.

3.6. Limitations of Previous Research

Qualitative work has addressed the impact of social disadvantage on transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions, showing in particular the prevalence of 'churning' amongst young people disadvantaged by low educational attainment and coming from working class families or high deprivation areas (Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Shildrick and Macdonald 2007, Shildrick et al. 2012). However, this research has focussed on small samples in restricted geographical areas. Longitudinal sequence analysis research has shown that class disadvantage impacts on young people's trajectories, leading to more fragmented and difficult trajectories (Dorsett and Lucchino 2015, Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016). However, this research has focussed solely on economic status outcomes rather than employment status or has used older data. This thesis addresses this gap by exploring parental education as a possible marker of advantage and disadvantage in transitions in and out of precarious employment as well as unemployment. Furthermore, in addressing class inequality in differing economic contexts, it offers an additional contribution in approaching class inequality as something which may have differed prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession.

What the above literature on gender has shown is twofold. Firstly, there are gender differences in education which then direct males and females into differing job roles. Secondly, there are gender differences and inequalities in employment overall, which often relate to the division of labour in the home. What previous research distinctly lacks however, is a focus on the impact of gender on employment trajectories specifically amongst younger people before and after the 2008-2009 recession. Where sequence analysis research *has* focussed on employment amongst young people, it has tended to focus on gender difference in economic status rather than employment type (Billari and Piccaretta 2007, Schoon and Lyon-Amos 2016) or has considered employment type, but not how gender

inequalities differed in recent comparative economic contexts (Martin et al. 2008). This thesis offers a unique contribution to knowledge on the role of gender in youth employment in two ways. Firstly, it considers participation in different forms of employment rather than just economic status amongst young people using a sequence analysis of UK data. Secondly, it situates the discussion of gender inequality within specific economic contexts by comparing a pre-recession and a post-recession cohort of young people in the UK.

3.7 Thesis Research Questions

In light of the gap in literature highlighted in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, this thesis addresses four research questions:

1) To what extent did young people's transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ before and after the 2008-2009 recession?

2) To what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by class and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?

3) To what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by gender and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?

4) What does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?

3.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter discussed the pivotal theoretical and empirical backdrop to this thesis. Part one critically assessed the debates regarding the rise of precariousness and the end of work, the adverse effect of the 2008-2009 recession on young people's employment and finally the characterisation of contemporary youth trajectories. Part two addressed existing theoretical and empirical work on class and gender inequality in employment. Furthermore, this chapter identified the limitations of previous literature and highlighted how this thesis contributes to existing knowledge. Finally, it stated the research questions for this thesis. The following chapter describes the methodological approach to address the research questions of this thesis.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This research explores whether youth trajectories changed following the onset of the 2008-2009 recession and if and how class and gender shaped precariousness amongst young people. In order to do this, it answers the following research questions:

1) To what extent did young people's transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ before and after the 2008-2009 recession?

2) To what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by class and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?

3) To what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by gender and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?

4) What does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?

The research approaches these questions by using a comparative secondary longitudinal quantitative design, using panel data from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) (University of Essex 2010) and the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) (University of Essex 2017). It uses two datasets in order to contrast a pre-recession cohort of young people and a recession cohort of young people to explore patterns and identify any differences in their employment trajectories. This chapter first details the design of the research. It then discusses how the key concepts of precarious labour market positions and class background were operationalised. Thirdly, it describes the two cohorts used in the analyses and provides details of the samples. Finally, it outlines the analysis procedures of sequence analysis used in this thesis.

4.2 Research Design

This section addresses and justifies the approach taken towards answering the research questions.

4.2.1 Quantitative Analysis

This research used a quantitative approach for two particular reasons. Firstly, a known strength of quantitative methods are the large sample sizes they allow which a qualitative approach simply would not have accommodated (Bryman 2015). A large sample was necessary here as the focus on inequality required an adequately large number of both young men and women and of respondents from differing class backgrounds in order to contrast employment experiences between these groups in relation to research questions two and three. Using large sample sizes allows for generalisation to the wider population (Bryman 2015). Secondly, this research is comparative, both across cohorts and across gender and class groups, it therefore required data that could be easily compared across diverse groups. Quantitative data is more reliable in terms of the stability of measurement than qualitative data (Bryman 2015). Although a quantitative approach was the most appropriate for this research, in Chapter 8 it is recommended that future research could use qualitative methods to explore in more depth some of the pertinent issues that emerged in the process of this analysis.

4.2.2 Secondary Analysis

This research is a secondary analysis of the BHPS and UKHLS. These are longitudinal household panel surveys which, as discussed in Section 4.2.3, follow the same individuals over time. The specific benefits of secondary analysis to this particular research centre on the impossibility of gathering such a vast amount of quality data within the time constraints of doing a PhD (Heafner et al. 2016). Firstly, it would not have been possible to attain the necessarily large sample size within the PhD timeframe. Secondly, this project is longitudinal in design. By using secondary data, the research was able to cover four years of young people's employment; it would not have been possible to collect longitudinal data which encompassed such a long observation period if using primary research. Thirdly, the use of secondary analysis also means that the measures used are potentially more rigorous than would be allowable within the constraints of doing a PhD project by a solo researcher; the BHPS ran for 18 years, whilst the UKHLS has run for eight years meaning that the validity of questions could be improved over a number of years and that the data were cleaned and weighted by a professional team (Cheng and Phillips 2014). Both surveys were also produced, piloted and coded by an entire research team, hence mitigating the impact which might be made by having a singular researcher making these important decisions. Given their funding and large team of interviewers, the BHPS and UKHLS also had more scope to gain a nationally representative and stringently-designed sample.

4.2.3 Longitudinal Panel Analysis

Longitudinal data offer a number of benefits that cross-sectional data cannot. Longitudinal data can capture change over time (Frees 2004). This was imperative for addressing the present research questions which deal

with if, and how, young people move in and out of precarious positions. There are many ways in which to derive longitudinal analysis, with repeated cross-sectional, retrospective designs and panel surveys being common examples.

This research employs a panel study design which is favourable for reasons discussed below. A panel survey is a particular kind of longitudinal analysis wherein the same respondents are interviewed over multiple waves of data (Taris 2000). The term 'wave' is used to denote each interview in the series, so that the first interview would be Wave 1, the second would be Wave 2 and so on. This is highly beneficial compared to a repeated cross-sectional design, which acquires a new sample at each wave, as it allows the *same* individuals to be followed over time (Frees 2004, Bryman 2015). Many variables are repeated at each wave, allowing the researcher to explore how key variables like employment develop over time for individuals. In the context of this research, this feature of panel surveys was crucial to exploring this study's research questions as it allows for an extended observation of the same young people as they move through early economic and employment statuses over a period of four years. The BHPS and UKHLS do collect job history data based on recollection of employment between interviews, however this was not used for reasons discussed in Section 4.6.

4.2.4 Cohort Research

As highlighted above, a panel survey interviews the same individuals in each wave of data, allowing for an assessment of changes for those individuals over time. The BHPS and UKHLS are household panel surveys which means that households rather than individuals are the sampling units. Individuals who live within the household are surveyed. If they move house, they remain in the sample. This research uses panel data as its data

source, but has a cohort design. A cohort study is similar to a panel in that it requires repeated data from the same individuals (Glenn 2005). However, where a cohort design differs is that it refers to research which follows "an aggregate of individuals (with some population definition) who experienced the same event within the same time interval" (Ryder 1965: 845). For example a birth cohort study may study a group of people born within the same week of the same year, such as the 1970 British Cohort Study (University of London 2016).

The primary defining characteristic of the cohorts in this study is that the recession cohort were aged 16-24 in 2009 and hence experienced a 'specific historical setting' (Taris 2000:13), the economic recession and recovery, whilst sharing biographical characteristics of age. As such, they may be seen as akin to Mannheim's notion of 'generation' (Mannheim 1936) which is apt given the media's labelling of young people affected by the 2008-2009 recession as a 'lost generation' as discussed in Chapter 1. The pre-recession cohort on the other hand share age characteristics in a historical setting of relative economic stability, being aged 16 to 24 in 2003.

Cohort research typically suffers from the issue of not being able to establish age, cohort and period effects. In analysing change in a group over time it is difficult (if not impossible, see Bell and Jones 2013) to distinguish which effect is responsible for the observed changes. Age effects refer to changes in people as they get older (Bell and Jones 2013), so for example people may become less liberal as they age. A cohort effect can occur because people of different ages are socialised at different times, and hence in different social contexts (Bell and Jones 2013). For example, those born in the 1940s are likely to have had different teenage experiences to those born in the 1980s. Finally, a period effect occurs because of a particular event which affects people at a point in time irrespective of age (Bell and Jones 2013), for example, an economic recession could produce period effects.

It was specifically a period effect that the research aimed to explore. That is, the research aimed to establish whether there was a distinct difference in employment trajectories for young people experiencing different economic and labour market contexts. There remained the challenge of distinguishing between cohort and period effect. However, the samples were chosen to minimise cohort effects, by positioning the cohorts as close together as possible, as will be detailed further in Section 4.4.

4.2.5 The British Household Panel Survey and UK Longitudinal Household Survey

The pre-recession cohort was drawn from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) whilst the recession cohort was drawn from the United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS). Both are household panel surveys. The BHPS ran from 1991 to 2008, whilst the UKHLS began in 2009 and continues at the time of writing (2018). Both surveys are designed to be nationally representative of households and use complex sampling strategies to ensure a broad representation of the UK population. The BHPS began as a sample of 10,300 individuals from 5,500 households in 250 areas of Great Britain. An additional sample of 1500 Welsh and 1500 Scottish households was added in 1999, and a further Northern Irish sample of 2000 households added in 2001 (Taylor et al. 2010). As noted, the BHPS ended in 2008. In the final wave of interviews, BHPS respondents were asked if they would like to join the new UKHLS study. 6700 BHPS participants joined the UKHLS and were interviewed for the first time in Wave 2 of the UKHLS. The UKHLS began in 2009, focussing on a considerably larger sample and containing more wide-ranging topics than the BHPS. The initial UKHLS sample was approximately 40,000 households, which covered areas of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. In

addition, the UKHLS includes an Ethnic Minority booster sample and more recently an Immigrant and Ethnic Minority booster sample.

This research uses the general population samples of the surveys, both of which involve multi-stage sampling techniques using stratification and clustering methods to gain sub-stratas of the UK population in order to reflect different national areas, different socio-economic classifications of workers in the household, different population densities of geographical areas and, with regards to the UKHLS, ethnic minority density of local areas (Taylor et al. 2010, Knies 2017). From there, systematic random sampling of each postal sector was performed to select the final sample of households. Both surveys include probability weights to adjust for selection probability which are used in this thesis. This assists this research in producing more nationally representative analyses.

4.2.6 Why the BHPS and UKHLS over Other Labour Market Surveys?

Other surveys contain data on the labour market in the UK, most notably the Labour Force Survey (Office for National Statistics Social and Vital Statistics Division 2017) and the Workplace Employment Relations Survey (Department for Business Innovation and Skills 2011). However, the BHPS and UKHLS were more appropriate for this research. The Labour Force Survey provides nationally representative data on a range of specific issues regarding employment, unemployment and inactivity. In focussing more specifically on employment, it contains more questions which would have been beneficial to the present study, such as attitudes about employment, whilst the BHPS only has a limited amount of satisfaction questions. However, the Labour Force Survey only retains the same sample of participants over five waves at three-monthly interviews, thus following respondents for a period of a year. Given the author's concern with longer-term trajectories of young people and across a period of recession and

recovery which is arguably still occurring, a longer panel was required. Both the BHPS and UKHLS could provide this. The Workplace Employment Relations Survey provides data regarding employment relations within organisations, including inequalities at work and provides specific information about the recession such as redundancies made. However, whilst this survey is excellent for understanding precarious work, it does not detail unemployment – a key measure in this thesis.

4.3 Operationalising Variables

In this project difficulties were encountered in comparing variables across two datasets, which though related were not identical. There were two main challenges. Firstly, how variables were created across the two surveys and secondly how many respondents had valid data for variables of interest. The following section describes how the key concepts were operationalised as well as some of the problems incurred in comparing variables from two different datasets.

4.3.1 Operationalising Precariousness

The aim of this research was to explore precarious employment. In Chapter 2, it was highlighted that precarious work has been conceptualised in different ways and that there are problems in defining precarious labour market positions, particularly in the justification of part-time employment as a precarious employment position. As previously discussed, the four measures of precariousness explored in this thesis are unemployment, part-time employment, temporary employment and routine employment. The four measures were defined using the following criteria.

4.3.1a Unemployment and Employment

Both unemployment and employment were defined based on respondents' self-reporting of their statuses from the options in Table 2 in response to the question:

Which of these best describes your current employment situation?

Table 2: Categories for Current Economic Status in BHPS and UKHLS

BHPS	**UKHLS**
Self-employed	Self-employed
In paid employment (full or part-time)	In paid employment (full or part-time)
Unemployed	Unemployed
Retired from paid work	Retired
On maternity leave	On maternity leave
Looking after family or home	Looking after family or home
Full-time student/at school	Full-time student
Long term sick or disabled	Long term sick or disabled
On a government training scheme	On a government training scheme
Something else	Unpaid worker in a family business
	Something else

Source: BHPS Wave 13 and UKHLS Wave 1.

In both cohorts, unemployment was taken at face value, so if respondents described themselves as unemployed, they were deemed so, even if they had participated in employment in the previous week. The definition of 'unemployment' is problematic in that prominent surveys have more specified definitions. The International Labour Office as well as the Labour Force Survey conceptualise unemployed people as those who do not have a job but have been seeking employment in the past four weeks and are available to start work in the next two weeks (Office for National Statistics 2017g). However, this level of detail is not available in the surveys used here.

The employed status was also derived from the above question, regardless of whether respondents answered that they had worked in the past week

or not in response to a subsequent survey question. This overcomes the issues of respondents being on holiday or off work temporarily for another reason. A particular difficulty in defining the employed status for young people is the number of young people working whilst also studying. Like unemployment, the employed status was taken at face value, so if respondents stated they were employed, they were deemed as such, whilst those describing themselves as being a 'full-time student' were eliminated from analyses through case-wise deletion. It was not of interest for this research to consider the employment of students in great detail because students are more likely to be working part-time work in order to maintain balance with their education. They may also be working towards other specific occupations in the future rather than being long-term committed to their current job.

Those on maternity leave were included in the 'employed' category. Those who were self-employed were not included in the employed category. This was for two reasons. Firstly, this research was more focussed on the contracts offered by employers. Secondly, self-employment can often be very different to employment. Research from 2014 showed that the full-time self-employed were more likely to work very high (over 45) or very low (under eight) hours per week compared to the employed (Office for National Statistics 2014b). Combining the two statuses could have skewed the analysis. Rates of self-employment amongst young people in both categories was also very low, and although it is an interesting topic, particularly in a recessionary context where self-employment rose on a national level (Office for National Statistics 2014b), detailed analysis of self-employment was not possible due to the small sample sizes of self-employed young people. In a similar vein, those working as unpaid workers in a family business in the UKHLS were not included in the employed status as they were not contracted, paid employees.

4.3.1b Part-time Employment

Part-time working was operationalised as working less than 30 hours in a normal week based on the respondent's answer to the question:

How many hours, excluding overtime and meal breaks, are you expected to work in a normal week?

Overtime was measured in the surveys via additional questions, however, overtime was not included in the operationalisation of part-time work here because, by its nature, it falls outsides of contracted time. Setting the distinction between part-time and full-time working at a threshold of 30 hours per week is somewhat arbitrary and there is no official UK governmental definition of part-time work. Working part-time has been quantified as being both lower and higher than 30 hours in other research, however this delineation was chosen because it conforms to the division made by a number of surveys and research centres including the OECD (2018) and UK Census data (Walling 2007). If the final sample size in each cohort had been larger, it would have been ideal to separate working hours in to more categories to explore the impact of working a particularly low number of hours per week in order to understand how young people's differential working hours relate to transitions in and out of particular jobs.

4.3.1c Temporary Employment

Temporary and permanent employment were distinguished based on the respondent's answer to the following question in both surveys:

Leaving aside your own personal intentions and circumstances, is your job:
1) A permanent job

2) Or is there some way that it is <u>not</u> permanent?

Ideally, the research would have considered the type of temporary employment respondents participated in, particularly given the concern with zero-hours contracts (Taylor 2017, Ball et al. 2017) and the rise of the gig economy (De Stefano 2015). However, only the UKHLS included this level of specificity, and hence a cohort comparison could not be established.

4.3.1d Current Socio-economic Classification

As well as the part-time and temporary nature of employment contracts, this research is concerned with the hierarchical classification of employment as a measure of job quality. The classification of employment was done through the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) which was available in each dataset. The NS-SEC is a classification schema which has been available in large datasets since 2001 with an update to its operationalisation in 2010 (Rose and Pevalin 2005, Rose and Pevalin 2010). It is a classification of employment which takes its conceptual framework from Goldthorpe's class schema (Goldthorpe 1980, Erickson and Goldthorpe 1992). The Goldthorpe schema was chosen as the basis of the NS-SEC because it had been validated as a predictor of important outcome measures such as health and education, and was also widely used in a comparable international context (Rose and Pevalin 2005).

Conceptually, the NS-SEC aims to group labour market positions by 'employment relations and conditions' (Rose and Pevalin 2005). Specifically, NS-SEC accounts for the type of occupation that respondents have, based on the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) measure, but also their position as either an employer, supervisor, or self-employee, as well as the size of the workplace. The two cohorts' NS-SEC measures use difference SOC measures, the BHPS using SOC2000 and the UKHLS using the updated SOC2010 schema (Rose and Pevalin 2010).

This research used a three-level collapse of NS-SEC specified using the Office for National Statistics (Online, accessed 2015) guideline which places respondents in to the following categories:

1) Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations

2) Intermediate occupations

3) Routine and manual occupations

The three level classification was chosen because of the relatively small sample size when performing bivariate analyses. When performing analysis with five-level classification, cell counts became low, particularly in the 'small employees & own account workers' category. As outlined above, self-employment was uncommon amongst both samples of young people, so this was an anticipated result. In reducing the NS-SEC to a three-level version, self-employment is essentially eliminated as a focus of analysis. This is not problematic for the current research given the low level of self-employment amongst the cohorts. As well as this, a three-level classification has its own benefit in that, unlike the other categorisations, it can be thought of as an ordinal hierarchical measure (Office for National Statistics, online, accessed 2015).

The Office for National Statistics highlight the issue of assigning unemployed respondents and those who have never worked in to the routine employment category (Office for National Statistics, accessed 2015). In the present research, those who have never worked or are long-term unemployed were filtered out from the current job analysis, and hence the issue of which category to assign unemployed people to was bypassed.

4.3.2 Researching Inequalities

As well as a concern with precarious work amongst young people, this research considers the implications of class and gender on early employment trajectories. Clearly these factors only go part of the way to addressing sources of inequality in the labour market. As highlighted in Chapter 3, some key issues of inequality are not approached here, namely ethnicity and disability. Considering these elements was not possible due to the very low levels of ethnic minority respondents and respondents with disabilities, particularly in the BHPS. Educational attainment was also not analysed in this thesis, as young people's qualifications were changing over the course of the analysed waves. As such, it was not possible to use education in bivariate analyses of young people's transitions because it was not possible to know at which point the young person gained their qualification in comparison to when they experienced a particular employment transition. Although the implications are that this research is not as broad in its assessment of labour market inequality, this has allowed for the research to gain a more specific focus on the issues of gender and class, creating space for a more in-depth and nuanced analysis of classed and gendered issues.

4.3.2a Gender

In both surveys, gender was categorised as a binary male or female distinction. This is problematic as gender is increasingly acknowledged to be more than a singular binary distinction – this is particularly relevant given the potential employment difficulties faced by transgender people (Wittle et al. 2007). However, it was the only available variable to measure gender.

4.3.2b Class Background

This thesis looks at two elements which could be thought of as class measures. Firstly the socio-economic classification of current work discussed in Section 4.3.1 and secondly the class background measure which will be discussed here. To clarify the distinction between the two, socio-economic classification is used as a hierarchical measure of occupation to give a sense of the 'bundle of rewards' (Kalleberg 2016) a job may have. Class background instead is intended to give a sense of the class group a young person belongs in.

In Chapter 3 it was discussed that class background impacts employment chances. There are challenges in the measurement of class, not least because of the sociological debates of what 'class' is (see for example Goldthorpe and Jackson 2004, Crompton 2008, Savage et al.'s (2013) Great British Class Survey and the subsequent critique by Bradley 2014). This thesis uses Bourdieu's forms of capital as a theoretical framework and operationalises class using a binary measure of parental education. The use of a parental education is beneficial for both theoretical and practical reasons. Theoretically, it provides a measure of the institutionalised form of cultural capital discussed by Bourdieu and correlates with both economic capital including income and social capital as discussed in Chapter 3.

It would have been ideal to operationalise class based on a mix of economic and cultural measures as cultural factors have been shown to only be part of the equation of social reproduction, both in Bourdieu's theory and in empirical analysis (Sullivan 2001). It was initially intended that class would also be measured by parents' occupations when the respondent was 14. However, there were two particular problems with using a parental employment measure. Firstly, the parent occupation variables available in UKHLS relied on respondents' own conceptualisation

of what their parents were doing when they were 14, which could be unreliable. Secondly, the proportion of each sample with valid data for measures of mother's and father's occupations was low, especially among the pre-recession cohort. When filtering the analysis by the various employment measures, it was not possible to generate meaningful analysis using the parental occupation measures, as often cell counts were very low. The measure of parental education was based on respondent's answer to the following question (asked separately in relation to father and mother). *Which best describes the type of qualifications your father/mother gained?* Response categories are in Table 3.

Table 3: Categories for Mother's and Father's Educational Attainment in BHPS and UKHLS

BHPS	**UKHLS**
He/she did not go to school at all	He/she did not go to school at all
He/she left school with no qualifications or certificates	He/she left school with no qualifications or certificates
He/she left school with some qualifications or certificates	He/she left school with some qualifications or certificates
He/she gained further qualifications or certificates after leaving school (e.g. an apprenticeship, nursing or teaching qualification, City and Guilds certificates)	He/she gained further qualifications or certificates after leaving school (e.g. an apprenticeship, nursing or teaching qualification, City and Guilds certificates)
He/she gained a university degree or higher degree	He/she gained a university degree or higher degree
Don't know	Other
	Don't know

Source: BHPS Wave 13 and UKHLS Wave 1

The parent with the highest level of education was chosen as the measure of class, unless only one parent's education level was known. This produced a higher number of valid responses compared to using each parent's educational attainment as a separate measure. From this, a final binary variable was created which distinguished between respondents whose parents had at least a further education qualification and those whose parents did not.

It had been intended to use a three level operationalization of parental education, however for practical reasons this was not possible. Preliminary analyses resulted in low cell counts, particularly due to the comparatively low number of parents with degrees. A binary measure is still highly beneficial. The majority of the pre-recession cohort's parents were born in the 1950s or early 1960s and the recession cohort's typically in the 1960s. As such, they will most likely have finished their compulsory education in the 1970s or 1980s (to note, the school-leaving age increased to 16 in 1972). Further education participation was not nearly as widespread during this time as it is today. At the beginning of the 1970s only around a third of students stayed on past compulsory age, whilst by the end of the 1980s it was still only around the 50 percent mark (before rising more substantially in the 1990s following policy reforms) (Machin and Vignoles 2006). Furthermore, class was a distinct marker of 'staying on' during the 1970s and 1980s. Between the 1970s and 1980s those from the top 20 percent of parental incomes were most likely to stay on in education and saw the largest increases in staying on between a 1958 and 1970 birth cohort (Machin and Vignoles 2006).

Using a measure of parental education rather than work has its advantages. It means that this research avoids excluding female work, which has been shown to be a problem in class schemas in general and particularly when using the highest socio-economic classification of work within a household, which can often eliminate the mother's work (see Crompton 2008 for discussion). It also avoids the issue that parental work can be interrelated, for example if one parent works in a high socio-economic classification job, with the concomitant high wages, this may allow the other parent to work in a lower socio-economic classification job. However, it has a downside in that it cannot also take account of economic facets of class which can be advantageous for highlighting the relational nature of class – an omission that has been identified in more recent conceptualisations of class (Bradley 2014).

4.4 Sample and Cohorts

This research focuses on two cohorts, a pre-recession and a recession cohort, which are delineated from the BHPS and UKHLS respectively. The pre-recession cohort uses Waves 13 to 17 of the BHPS. This means that the pre-recession cohort roughly spans the time period of 2003-2007. The recession cohort uses Waves 1-5 of the UKHLS, which roughly spans the period of 2009-2013. Only an estimate of the time period is given because the schedule for interviewing respondents straddled two years. So, for example, in Wave 13 of the BHPS, some respondents would have been interviewed in 2003 and some would have been interviewed in 2004 (with a small proportion being interviewed for the first time in 2005). In the first wave of each cohort, the young people were between age 16 and 24. Hence, by the last wave of each cohort, the young people were between the ages of 20 and 29.

The year 2003 was chosen as the base year for the pre-recession cohort for two reasons. Firstly, it was essential that the two cohorts were as close together as possible. This was because there are a number of long-term trends affecting the position of young people in the labour market (for example the amount of young people staying in post-compulsory education has increased over time). In order to minimise factors associated with long-term trends and to identify a distinct recession effect, the cohorts needed to be close together. Secondly, the study sought to explore a four-year period for the pre-recession cohort that did not overlap in to the recession period (although 77 young people in the pre-recession cohort did participate in their final interview in 2008).

The recession cohort begins in 2009. It was initially intended that it would begin in 2008, however UKHLS participants were only first interviewed in 2009. As effects of recession tend to lag (Vaitilingham 2009), it is not anticipated that omitting 2008 from the analysis will obscure the dominant

recessionary trends. For example, the youth unemployment rate did not hit its peak of 22 percent until 2011 (Office for National Statistics 2017d) and the largest percentage increase in unemployment came between the final quarter of 2008 and the first quarter of 2009 (Office for National Statistics 2017d).

The ages included in the cohorts are based on a somewhat arbitrary division between 'young' and 'prime-age'. It is problematic specifying what 'young' means when there are suggestions that the period of youth has become prolonged (Arnett 2004, Tanner and Arnett 2017). By using 16 to 24 as the marker of youth, this research followed the division used by other nationally representative statistical work, such as that by Office for National Statistics. This research is also mindful that the difference in labour market experiences between 16 and 24 year olds may already be so disparate that age becomes the key factor affecting employment rather than allowing for an assessment of gender and class. As such, limiting the age range was beneficial in unpicking class and gender inequalities.

Only respondents with five full interviews were included in these cohorts. This was because the analysis needed to track young people across all waves and proxy interview data did not include all of the required job information. The final sample size of the pre-recession cohort was n = 1170 and the recession cohort was larger at n = 1622. Table 4 shows a breakdown of the samples, detailing gender, age, class, educational attainment at Wave 1, educational attainment at Wave 5, percentage with childcare responsibilities at Wave 1 and percentage with childcare responsibilities at Wave 5 for each cohort.

Table 4: Demographic Characteristics of the Pre-recession and Recession Cohorts

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
	n (mean)	% (standard deviation)	n (mean)	% (standard deviation)
Age at Wave 1				
16	144	12.5	213	13.2
17	134	11.6	180	11.1
18	132	11.4	131	8.1
19	141	12.2	143	8.8
20	120	10.4	185	11.4
21	99	8.5	160	9.9
22	108	9.3	177	11.0
23	145	12.6	202	12.5
24	134	11.6	227	14.0
Total	1156	100.0	1618	100.0
Age at Wave 5				
19	4	0.4	6.3	0.4
20	145	12.7	211	13.0
21	134	11.7	182	11.3
22	129	11.3	135	8.4
23	136	11.9	139	8.6
24	124	10.9	189	11.7
25	97	8.5	159	9.8
26	100	8.8	180	11.2
27	149	13.0	185	11.5
28	122	10.7	218	13.5
29	3.5	0.3	13	0.8
Total	1144	100.0	1618	100.0
Mean Age (Wave 1)	(19.9)	(.078)	(20.1)	(.068)
Mean Age (Wave 5)	(23.9)	(.079)	(24.1)	(.068)
Male	551	47.7	761	47.0
Female	605	52.3	857	53.0
Total	1156	100.0	1618	100.0
Middle Class	614	56.3	914	59.7
Working Class	478	43.7	617	40.3
Total	1105	100.0	1531	100.0
Educational Attainment (Wave 1)				
No Qualifications	90	8.0	80	5.0
Other Qualifications	82	7.2	40	2.5
GCSEs	322	28.6	542	33.5
A Levels	327	29.0	614	37.9
Other HE	201	17.8	132	8.1
Degree	106	9.4	211	13.1
Total	1127	100.0	1618	100.0

Educational Attainment (Wave 5)				
No Qualifications	45	4.0	43	2.6
Other Qualifications	59	5.3	42	2.6
GCSEs	171	15.3	366	22.6
A Levels	292	26.1	584	36.1
Other HE	318	28.5	176	10.9
Degree	233	20.8	407	25.2
Total	1117	100.0	1618	100.0
Childcare Responsibilities (Wave 1)				
Yes	87	7.5	173	10.7
No	1090	92.5	1445	89.3
Total	1156	100.0	1618	100.0
Childcare Responsibilities (Wave 5)				
Yes	165	14.5	340	21.0
No	979	85.5	1278	79.0
Total	1144	100.0	1618	100.0

Source: BHPS waves 13 and 17 weighted by mXRWTUK1 and qXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1 and 5 weighted by a_indinus_xw and e_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

4.4.1 Demographics of the Cohorts

4.4.1a Age

The mean ages of the cohorts at Wave 1 and Wave 5 were very similar, so overall one cohort is not considered 'older' or 'younger' as a whole. However, there are some differences in the distribution of different ages within each cohort. The recession cohort has a higher proportion of the very youngest and the very oldest participants, whilst the pre-recession cohort has a more even representation of different ages. Both cohorts see lower levels of those age groups who might be presumed to be in higher-education. In the pre-recession cohort, there is a particularly low proportion of 21 year olds, whist in the recession cohort, there are lower proportions of young people from the middle of the age distribution (aged

18, 19 or 21). Within the UK-wide population of 16 to 24 years olds in 2003, there was approximately 11 percent of each single age year (author's calculations based on Census 2011, Office for National Statistics, 2013b), whilst in mid-2009, the distribution of 16 to 24 year olds was similar, except for a slightly higher percentage of 24 year olds. As such there is an under-representation of some ages and an over-representation of others in the present samples, even when data is weighted.

4.4.1b Gender

In both cohorts the data is skewed towards female participants, with this being the case particularly in the recession cohort. This is unsurprising given that men are more likely to attrite and to be non-responders (Uhrig 2008). It therefore does not reflect the UK-wide gender trends where approximately 50.5 percent of 16-24 year olds in 2003 were male and 49.5 percent female, and in 2009 where 50.3 percent were male and 49.7 percent were female (author's own calculations of Census 2011, Office for National Statistics, 2013b). In the weighted data (Table 4), the gender split is more even than in the unweighted data (Appendix 1), however women are still over-represented, constituting 52.3 percent of the pre-recession cohort and 53.0 percent of the recession cohort. The percentage of participants with childcare responsibilities is low in both cohorts but, as would be expected, this percentage is higher by the last wave of data as the participants got older. The percentage of respondents with childcare responsibilities is higher in the recession cohort. This is likely due to the higher percentage of women in this cohort compared to the pre-recession cohort, as the vast majority of those with childcare responsibilities are female (Appendix 2).

4.4.1c Class Background

The recession cohort contains a larger proportion of respondents from middle class homes. Considering the operationalisation of class, and the increasing participation in further and higher education during the early 1970s and late 1980s (Bolton 2012), it is not surprising to find a higher proportion of respondents whose parents have at least a further education qualification in the recession cohort. Although both cohorts are skewed toward middle class participants, there is still a suitably large percentage of working class participants. As highlighted above, the percentage of parents with further educational qualifications is higher in the sample than might be anticipated given the statistics on post-compulsory participation in the 1970s and 1980s (Machin and Vignoles 2006), which could be indicative of middle class people being more likely to participate in social research (Uhrig 2008).

4.4.1d Educational Attainment of Respondents

A large proportion of both cohorts had higher education qualifications by Wave 5 and every level of qualification was represented in both cohorts. However, there are differences in educational attainment between cohorts. The recession cohort can be seen to have higher educational attainment than the pre-recession cohort both at Wave 1 and Wave 5, having lower levels of respondents with 'no or other qualifications'. What is striking however, is that the recession cohort has a distinctly smaller percentage of respondents with 'Other HE' qualifications, and more respondents with degrees. This is suggestive of a general shift towards university participation rather than vocational higher education participation.

4.5 The Process of Analysis

All analysis chapters use descriptive analyses of rates of participation in different economic and employment statuses, and then sequence analysis methods to establish transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions. Chapter 5 analyses if and how the pre-recession and recession cohorts differed in order to answer Research Question 1. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 then provide bivariate analyses where rates of employment and sequence analyses of transitions in and out of statuses are analysed by class and gender in order to answer Research Question 2 and Research Question 3.

4.5.1 Sequence Analysis

A large facet of this research is based on the use of sequence analysis methods (Abbot and Tsay 2000). Sequence analysis allows this thesis to answer the question of how transitions in and out of precarious labour market statuses differed before and after the recession and by class and gender. It has been found beneficial for the study of youth trajectories (Brzinsky-Fay 2007, Dorsett and Lucchino 2013).

Sequence analysis works by accounting for a respondent's status at each wave. For example, in this research, sequence analysis methods can identify if respondents transition from education to employment at any point within the five waves of data. Where sequence analysis provides particular benefits beyond other longitudinal methods is that it is 'holistic' in that it can account for numerous changes of status, unlike event history analysis for example (which models the duration until a singular transition occurs (Blossfeld et al. 2014)). It also permits the researcher to assess how a particular status fits into the overall structure of a trajectory, allowing for an understanding of the ordering and duration of spells of interest as well

as the frequency with which they occur. This is beneficial for analysis of young people's employment trajectories, particularly given the discussion in Chapter 2 that trajectories have become more complex and can no longer (if ever) be accounted for by one single transition from education to employment.

Sequence analysis in this research was used to perform two kinds of analysis. Firstly, it was used to create and analyse 'strings' of data. Strings combine the economic status recorded for each respondent at each wave of data (which roughly equates to on an annual basis). As an example, the combination UUEEE would show that a respondent was unemployed at the first two interviews and was then employed at the subsequent three interviews. Secondly, sequence analysis was used to explore multiple transitions in and out of different economic and employment statuses, for example the transition from unemployment to part-time work and the transition from part-time to full-time work. The benefit of using sequence analysis for this purpose was that it allowed for the analysis of transitions in and out of statuses at any point across the five waves of data for each cohort. This allows for an assessment of the statuses young people were in prior to and following precarious labour market positions, regardless of where this occurred in a young person's trajectory. So for example a respondent who moved from unemployment to employment between Wave 1 and Wave 2 would be counted alongside someone who made this transition between Wave 4 and Wave 5.

4.6 Limitations of Research Design

The methods discussed in this chapter allow this thesis to answer the research questions stated in Section 4.1. However, there are some limitations to the approach taken in this research. This section briefly discusses limitations of the methodology.

Firstly, there are limitations to using panel data. The most significant issue being sample attrition, that is, participants leaving the survey. The UKHLS, like all large panel surveys, has experienced problems here. Lynn et al. (2012) show that 76 percent of those interviewed at Wave 1 were enumerated at Wave 2. However, 20 to 29 year olds had lowest enumeration; 21 percent of those interviewed at Wave 1 were not interviewed at Wave 2. A particular concern is that where attrition occurs, it may be because young people leave the family home to attend university (Uhrig 2008) which may skew the demography of the samples towards those who did not attend higher education. As section 4.4.1d demonstrates the key difference between cohorts was in the lower percentage of young people in the recession cohort with 'other higher education' qualifications.

Secondly, parental education is not an ideal measure of capital. Research has shown that other forms of parental cultural capital such as cultural participation can have an effect on offspring (Sullivan 2001). Offspring also accumulate their own cultural capital throughout their lives (Sullivan 2001).

Thirdly, this research focuses on employment at each wave of data (which roughly equates to on an annual basis) Taking measures of economic status at each wave does not account for employment in between waves, which is potentially important given the evidence that young people's early employment trajectories can be characterised by multiple changes (Shildrick et al. 2012, Furlong 2017). Despite only accounting for annual snapshots of employment, these findings give an idea of if, and how, young people moved between different labour market statuses. Both datasets did actually record respondents' work histories between interviews. Although this information was rich, it was not used because there was more missing data in the job history variables than in variables about current employment.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research design of this project, highlighting the decisions to perform a secondary quantitative longitudinal analysis of the BHPS and UKHLS datasets to answer the study's research questions. It has described how key concepts were operationalised given the available data and has discussed the cohort design of this research including describing the two cohorts of interest. Finally, it discussed how the analysis was performed using sequence analysis. The following three chapters will now discuss the results of the analysis. Chapter 5 discusses the general differences established between youth employment trajectories before and after the 2008-2009 recession. Chapter 6 discusses how the development of youth employment trajectories differed by class. Chapter 7 discusses how the development of youth employment trajectories differed by gender.

Chapter Five: How Transitions In and out of Precarious Labour Market Positions Differed Before and After the 2008-2009 Recession

5.1 Introduction

Contemporary youth trajectories are often contrasted with the 'golden age' of youth employment prior to the 1970s, where trajectories were characterised by a swift and linear transition from education to employment (see Chapter 2). The extent to which transitions *ever* actually occurred swiftly and linearly is highly debatable (Vickerstaff 2003, Goodwin and O'Connor 2005, Goodwin and O'Connor 2007, Goodwin and O'Connor 2015). Contemporary understandings of young people's employment trajectories are also discussed against a backdrop of the 'end of work' with increasing attention given to precarious working conditions. As discussed in Chapter 2, the extent to which work has fundamentally changed since the 1970s is highly debatable. As recession brought increased unemployment, part-time, temporary and routine employment to the youth of the UK however, there is a need to explore how young people's early careers played out in a time of economic uncertainty. This thesis contributes to sociological knowledge by exploring the extent to which transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed before and after the 2008-2009 recession. No previous UK research has assessed the effect of recession in a comparative way that contrasts a pre-recession with a recession cohort of young people and accounts for employment status.

This chapter answers Research Question 1: *'To what extent did youth transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ before and after the 2008-09 recession?'* and Research Question 4: *'What does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?.* It finds that the recession brought an employment context in which there was an increased minority of young

people for whom employment trajectories became more difficult, but that on the whole there was substantial similarity between cohorts in terms of how young people tended to move in to non-precarious positions over time.

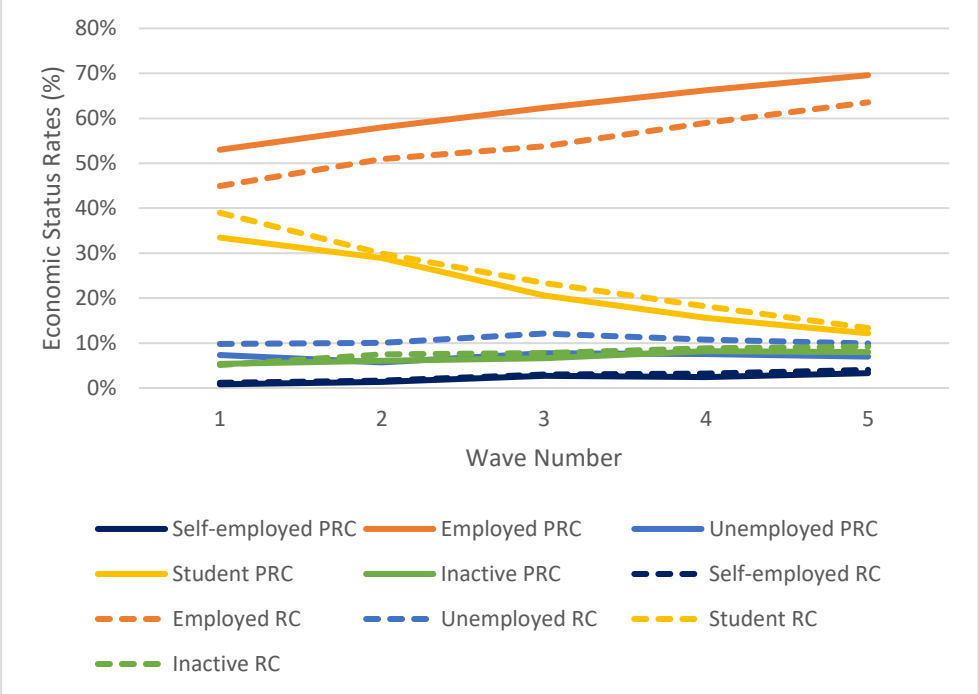
The first part of this chapter discusses economic status trajectories, focussing on the trend for the majority of young people to move from education to employment, thus reflecting the concept of a 'golden age' trajectory. It then focusses more specifically on movement in and out of unemployment before and after the recession. The second part of the chapter will then discuss the types of employment that young people worked in. It will consider if, and how, the recession affected entrance to the labour market and subsequently discuss the position of part-time and temporary employment as stepping stones to full-time and permanent contracts. Finally, this chapter discusses the impact of the recession on career progression.

5.2 Part One: The Persistence of Golden Age Trajectories?

The dominant picture which emerged in both cohorts is that young people's early trajectories were more akin to 'golden age' trajectories characterised by the movement from education to employment, rather than non-linear or fragmented trajectories discussed by many social researchers (for example Furlong and Cartmel 2007, Shildrick et al. 2012, Furlong 2017). Figure 5 shows the rates of differing economic statuses across each wave of the data and Table 5 shows the ten most common trajectory 'strings' for each cohort. As discussed in section 4.5.1, strings combine the economic status recorded for each respondent at each wave of data. Despite the limitations of offering annual snapshots of employment afforded by recording economic statuses at each wave, these findings give an idea of how employment develops. They show if, and which, respondents experienced changes in early employment.

The analysis shows that in both cohorts the majority of young people were employed and that employment increased over time as education participation decreased (Figure 5). At the peak of employment in these samples, 70 percent of the pre-recession cohort (PRC) and 64 percent of the recession cohort (RC) were employed. This finding is further substantiated by the trajectory strings (Table 5), which show that the most common string type in both cohorts included five waves of employment. Furthermore, many respondents in both cohorts were in education for five waves or participated in education and then employment. This finding aligns with previous quantitative work which has shown that, in large samples, the majority of young people are seen to fare well in their early trajectories, tending to participate in education and employment rather than unemployment (Brzinsky-Fay 2007, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015).

Figure 5: Economic Status Rates for the Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Despite the tendency for young people to participate in education or employment, there were indications that young people in the RC faced increased difficulty in gaining employment compared to the PRC. One key difference between cohorts was the lower rate of employment amongst the RC across the entire observation window. RC young people had between six and eight percentage points less employment than the PRC at equivalent waves (Figure 5). The RC also showed a five percentage point lower rate of respondents in five waves of employment compared to the PRC (Table 5). The lower levels of employment amongst the RC were predominantly offset by two trends: higher levels of both unemployment and education. Levels of unemployment amongst the RC peaked at 12 percent in 2011. Cohort differences also appeared in the increased presence of unemployment seen in the RC's strings, including the appearance of two percent of young people who were unemployed in every wave of data (Table 5).

It is easy to conclude the higher prevalence of unemployment is suggestive of increased difficulty in employment trajectories for the RC. The extent to which increased education participation can be understood as being related to employment difficulty is more complex. Increased levels of participation in education can be attributable to at least three different trends. Firstly, they can reflect the longer-term increase in further and higher education participation in the United Kingdom (Bolton 2012), particularly given policy initiatives to widen participation in post-compulsory education (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills 2014). Secondly, increased rates of education may be attributable to labour market fluctuations; research has suggested that when the labour market is difficult, such as during recession, young people may seek to increase their human capital because they do not stand to gain a great deal from participating in the labour market at that time, whilst increased education may improve their future job prospects (Taylor and Rampino 2012). Finally,

education participation may also serve as a warehouse for young people who cannot gain adequate employment (Fergusson 2014).

Rates of self-employment were low in both cohorts. This is surprising given the increased rate of self-employment in the UK as a whole following the 2008-2009 recession (Office for National Statistics 2017h). Shapiro (2014) highlighted the increase of self-employment during recession, particularly as a mitigator of unemployment, as part of what marked the period following the 2008-2009 recession as a 'jobless' recovery. Self-employment was evidently not an important part of how young people mitigated labour market difficulty during this period. This is possibly because they lacked the access to forms of capital required to set up in business (Sheehan and McNamara 2015) at this early point in their working lives.

The above findings indicate that, in terms of the extent to which the pre-recession and recession cohorts differed, there was an increased minority of young people who experienced employment difficulty as indicated in higher rates of unemployment. The increased prevalence of unemployment, the emergence of five waves of unemployment in the ten most common trajectory strings and the importance of unemployment in discussion of precariousness warrants further elaboration of how unemployment fitted in to longer term trajectories. This chapter will now analyse where young people entered unemployment from, and what their subsequent destination was. It will highlight the difficulties experienced in particular by education-leavers in the recession.

Table 5: Economic Status Trajectory Strings for Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort

Pre-recession Cohort			Recession Cohort		
String Type	%	Count	**String Type**	%	Count
EEEEE	36.3	357	EEEEE	30.9	499
SSSSS	7.2	71	SSSSS	7.4	120
SEEEE	5.0	49	SEEEE	4.9	79
SSEEE	4.4	43	SSEEE	3.8	61
SSSSE	3.3	32	SSSEE	3.4	55
SSSEE	3.0	29	SSSSE	3.3	54
IIIII	2.6	26	UEEEE	2.4	39
UEEEE	1.7	17	IIIII	2.1	33
SSUEE	1.2	12	UUUUU	1.7	27
SSSES	0.9	8	SSUEE	1.3	22
Total	65.5	644	Total	61.2	989

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Key: U = Unemployed, S = Student I = Inactive, E = Employed

5.2.1 Unemployment and the Burden of Education-Leavers

The majority of trajectories for both cohorts were characterised by employment or the movement from education to employment. However, these 'golden-age' trajectories were not apparent for everyone, and the recession did increase the amount of young people experiencing more precarious trajectories. The higher levels of unemployment for the RC, as well as the large increases in youth unemployment at a national level during this time (Office for National Statistics 2017d) necessitate further consideration of how unemployment fitted in to longer term trajectories. As discussed in Chapter 2, unemployment in a longitudinal context is often discussed in terms of 'scarring'. The findings here suggest that in the recession, unemployment became discernibly easier to enter but also harder to escape from than it had been prior to the recession.

In the RC, where respondents did become unemployed, unemployment was more difficult to escape, as identified by the larger percentage of RC young people who recorded two consecutive waves of unemployment (11 percent) (Table 6), which was six percentage points higher than it had been amongst the PRC (five percent). Further to this, five percent of RC respondents recorded three consecutive waves of unemployment, which was three percentage points higher than for the PRC (Table 6). It is not possible to establish if these consecutive waves indicate repeated spells of unemployment or continuous unemployment. Regardless, an increase in consecutive waves of unemployment signals that *some* young people in the recession faced increasingly protracted and precarious trajectories, being either more likely to be long-term unemployed or becoming trapped in cycles of unemployment. This reflects national upturns in long-term unemployment following the 2008-2009 recession (Office for National Statistics 2017i). It also adds to other research which has shown, in cohorts born in the 1980s, that unemployment-based trajectories have become a more pervasive feature over time in general (Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016), by showing that business cycles can also exacerbate this trend. Despite this, the majority of those who left unemployment were employed in the following wave, at a rate of 62 percent in the PRC and 67 percent in the RC (Table 7). As well as this, the vast majority of young people who transitioned from unemployment to employment, were also employed in the subsequent wave (Table 8). Despite this, 16 percent did return to unemployment (although the cell counts here are very small). This suggests that churning (Shildrick et al. 2012) was not a common occurrence, although it must be acknowledged that what young people did in between interviews was not considered here. There was little difference between cohorts, suggesting that the recession had little impact on this form of churning.

Table 6: Percentage of Respondents in Consecutive Waves of Unemployment

Number of Consecutive Waves	Pre-recession Cohort %	Recession Cohort %
1	20.0	28.7
2	5.0	10.6
3	1.7	5.2
4	0.7	1.7
5	0.5	1.4
n	986	1618

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Table 7: Economic Status in Wave after Leaving Unemployment[1]

	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
	%	Count	%	Count
Self-employed	10.0	15	3.4	12
Employed	61.9	95	67.4	233
Student	5.8	9	11.8	41
Inactive	26.3	40	21.2	73

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

[1]Tables which show transitions from one state to another can see overlap between categories so that individuals may appear in more than one category. In Table 7 for example, a respondent could have a transition from unemployment to inactivity and a transition from unemployment to self-employment within their trajectories and would be counted under both headings.

Table 8: Economic Status in Wave after Transition from Unemployment to Employment

	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
	%	Count	%	Count
Self-employed	0.2	0	4.1	7
Unemployed	16.0	12	16.3	26
Employed	83.0	62	75.3	120
Student	5.4	4	3.4	5
Inactive	2.4	2	2.3	4

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Of particular importance is that the pattern of entry in to unemployment and exit from unemployment was not experienced equally across the RC, but rather it was education-leavers who were more likely to enter unemployment. This indicates that the extent to which the recession affected trajectories was dependent on a young person's prior level of integration in to the labour market. The analysis reveals that leaving education in the recession was particularly detrimental. In the RC, 29 percent of education-leavers were unemployed in the next wave, compared to only 16 percent of education-leavers in the PRC (Table 9). Furthermore, there was a 14 percentage point lower rate of RC respondents who subsequently entered employment following the initial transition from education to unemployment, whilst remaining unemployed became more common (Table 10).

Education-leavers were distinctly disadvantaged compared to other groups in the RC compared to the PRC; there was little cohort difference in rates of moving to unemployment for those who were already employed (Table 9). That those entering the labour market during the recession experienced particular employment difficulty is something which has been considered in other research (Cribb et al. 2017). The findings here indicate that the school-to-work transition became protracted in the recession, substantiating the suggestion that 'golden age' trajectories declined amongst the RC but still highlighting that this occurred for the minority.

Table 9: Transitions from Education or Employment to Unemployment for the Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
Transition	%	Count	%	Count
Education to Unemployment	16.1	50	28.5	180
Employment to Unemployment	11.4	89	11.1	123

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Table 10: Economic Status in Wave after Transition from Education to Unemployment

	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
	%	Count	%	Count
Unemployed	12.4	4	38.8	57
Employed	59.1	21	45.1	66
Student	7.4	3	10.3	15

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

5.2.2 Summary of Economic Status Trajectories

Part one of this chapter focussed on contrasting the economic statuses of the PRC between the years of 2003-2007 with the RC between the years of 2009-2013. Overall, the thesis suggests that the non-linearity of contemporary trajectories highlighted in sociological literature has been overstated and that the majority of young people in both cohorts experienced trajectories which are more akin to 'golden age' trajectories involving the movement from education to employment. This finding substantiates other quantitative sequence analysis research, which has shown that the majority of young people have fairly linear trajectories (Furlong et al. 2003, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). This thesis adds to that body of research by suggesting that there was an increased minority of young people for whom trajectories were precarious in the recession, in that unemployment became a more likely feature of young people's trajectories and it also became longer-term or recurring. For those who already had a job, the likelihood of becoming unemployed was not greater than it had been for the PRC. It was instead those leaving education who were most affected.

For the majority, unemployment was not a feature of trajectories. For those who did experience unemployment, it tended to be temporary. This chimes with Schoon and Lyons-Amos' (2016) assertion that there are many

diverse trajectories between polarized conceptions of youth trajectories as either ‘optimal’ involving education to work transitions or ‘problematic’ involving extended unemployment. As argued in Chapter 2, unemployment in itself is not the only marker of precariousness. This chapter will now consider the extent to which transitions in and out of part-time, temporary and routine employment may have differed before and after the 2008-2009 recession.

5.3 Part Two: Precarious Employment

The majority of young people explored in this thesis experienced 'golden age' trajectories characterised by employment or the movement from education to employment. This pattern persisted but was slightly diminished in the recession, resulting in an increased minority of young people experiencing precariousness in the recession. The rest of this chapter asks whether the PRC and RC differed in their transitions in and out of precarious employment (as discussed in Chapter 2, precarious work is defined as part-time, temporary or routine employment). It discusses how the ‘increased minority' pattern was also emulated in the way young people moved through different types of employment. It shows that the majority of young people were in full-time and permanent work. Where young people did experience part-time or temporary employment, this was typically short-lived and, over time, young people tended to move in to standard employment contracts and higher socio-economic classification work. As suggested, this did diminish in the recession. However, it was still only an increased minority who did not gain ‘better’ employment over time. In terms of intra-generational upward mobility, routine employment was the norm for young people in both cohorts. Amongst the RC, there was less evidence of movement to intermediate or management employment. To begin, this section explores the rates of precarious work, and then continues by discussing how young people moved in and out of part-time,

temporary and routine employment, and to what extent this altered in the recession.

5.3.1 Rates of Employment Types

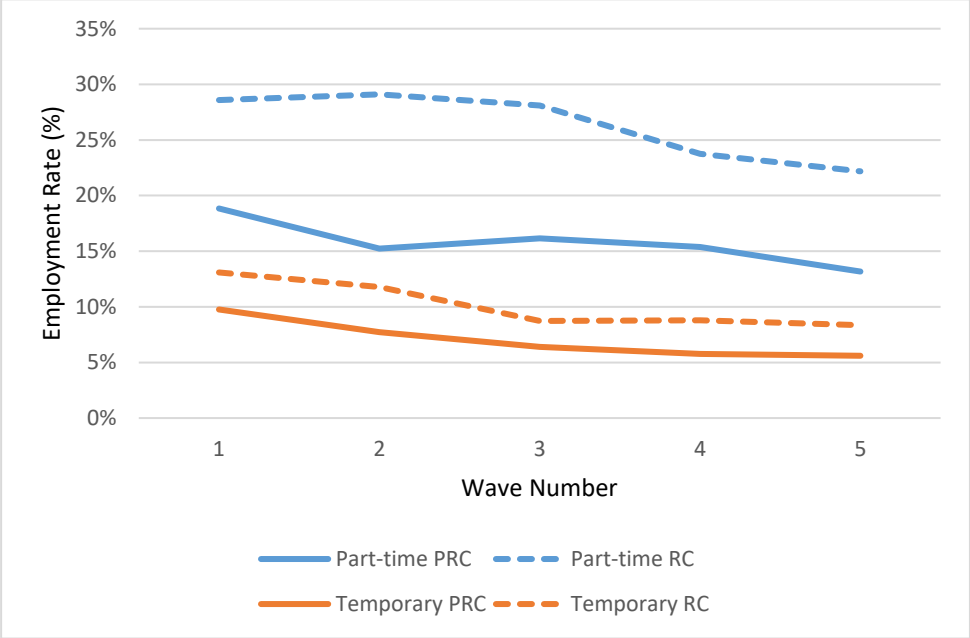
Precarious work was more prevalent for the RC cohort. Rates of precarious work were higher in the RC across all waves than they had been for the PRC (Figures 6 and 7). This conforms to national trends which showed increases in all of these employment forms over time (LFS 2002-2017: author's own calculations). A strength of *this* thesis is that it follows the same individuals over five waves of data. Because rates are for the *same* young people over time, the findings here can show whether employment trajectories of individuals were hindered in the recession. Precarious work decreased over waves in both cohorts, indicating that as both cohorts grew older, their employment improved. There were indicators that the RC were more disadvantaged than the PRC. Amongst the RC, precarious work did not decline as rapidly wave on wave, showing that the recession made it more difficult for young people to move in to non-precarious employment (full-time, permanent and intermediate or management work). The percentage of young people in part-time or temporary work were the minority even in the recession (Figure 6). This was particularly the case in reference to temporary employment, which peaked at just 13 percent amongst the RC. Part-time work was more widespread in the RC, undertaken by 29 percent of young people at its peak. The findings substantiate research which suggests that the end of work is rather overstated (Fevre 2007). This is especially true considering that young people are more likely to be at risk of precarious employment and unemployment than other groups (Taylor 2017, Office for National Statistics 2017d). Furthermore, as there were clear changes between the PRC and RC, it shows that any discussion which pertains to fundamental changes to the nature of employment must be

sensitive to the effects of business cycles, rather than contrasting the past with the present.

Although rates of part-time and temporary employment were lower than full-time or permanent employment, routine employment (defined as the lowest employment type in the three-level hierarchical National Statistics Socio-economic Classification schema) was the key socio-economic employment type amongst young people in both cohorts (Figure 7). However, there were three particular distinctions between cohorts which indicated that RC young people were disadvantaged compared to their PRC counterparts. Firstly, the rates of routine employment amongst the RC were even higher than they had been in the PRC (Figure 7). Further to this, rates of routine work did not decline as rapidly as they had done for the RC. Thirdly, the higher rate of routine employment in the RC was offset by the decline in intermediate employment. These findings suggest strongly that the hollowing out of the labour market which has been discussed as a longer-term, national labour market trend (Goos and Manning 2007, Sissons and Jones 2012) as well as something that was exacerbated during the recession (Plunkett and Pessoa 2013) was also being exacerbated amongst young people. This conforms to expectations given that younger employees may be less likely to have the experience and, for some, not yet have the educational qualifications to allow them to compete with workers aged 25 and over for higher socio-economic classification work.

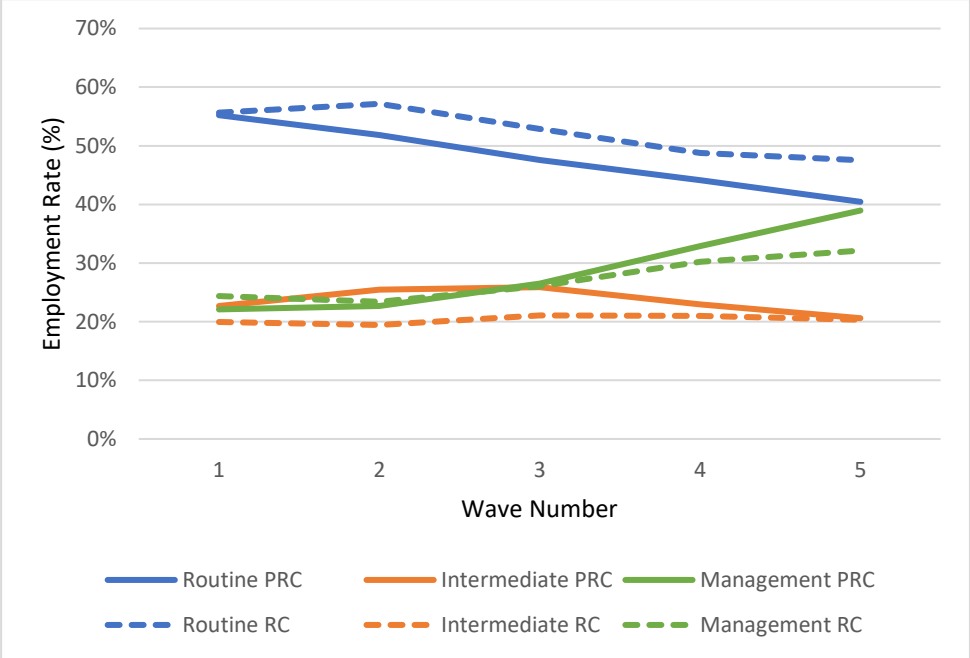
Another national trend which occurred as part of the hollowing out of the labour market was the rise in management or highly paid employment (Goos and Manning 2007, Sissons and Jones 2012). However, this research shows that amongst the RC, the rates of management were lower than for the PRC, suggesting that this element of 'hollowing out' was not a trend that occurred for younger employees.

Figure 6: Rates of Employment in Part-time and Temporary Employment for Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Figure 7: Rates of Employment in Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment for Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

As seen above, part-time and temporary employment became more prevalent in the recession, although temporary employment in particular was not nearly as widespread amongst young people as end of work theories might imply. Part-time, temporary and routine employment levels decreased across waves in both cohorts. This does not mean however that part-time, temporary and routine work were not related with employment precariousness. The following section discusses how part-time and temporary work were situated in longer term trajectories and how this altered in the recession. Here, in order to not conflate the experiences of young people who were working whilst still in education with those who were not working alongside education, this analysis focuses solely on those who state their economic status as 'employed' rather than 'in education'. It begins with a discussion of the pertinence of part-time, temporary and routine employment as routes in to the labour market, before discussing the extent to which part-time, temporary and routine employment provided stepping stones to non-precarious employment.

5.4 Routes in to Employment

The type of job that young people enter when gaining employment has been shown to have ramifications for subsequent employment (Booth, Francesconi and Frank 2002, Bukodi and Dex 2010), whilst broader discussions of stepping stones and employment traps suggest that the type of employment taken affects subsequent employment (Gash 2008, De Graaf-Zijl et al. 2011, Mansson and Ottosson 2011, Cai, Law and Bathgate 2014). It is therefore pivotal to understand what type of work young people entered when taking a job.

Part-time and temporary work forms are often discussed in terms of whether they lead to subsequent standard employment contracts or not (O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2002, Booth et al. 2002, Gash 2008, Mansson and

Ottosson 2011), which will be explored in a subsequent section of this chapter. However, can part-time and temporary employment indicate employment precariousness in another way? This section discusses how part-time and temporary employment became a more likely destination for those entering employment during the recession. It is argued that young people entering employment found it more difficult to become fully integrated in to the labour market. It was education-leavers again who saw an increased likelihood of entering precarious rather than non-precarious work in the recession. Leaving education during a recession produced short-term scarring to a greater extent than unemployment did. As such it is likely that the 'increased minority' of the RC was constituted to a large extent by education-leavers.

5.4.1 Entering Part-time Work

The transition from unemployment to part-time employment can be viewed positively in that part-time employment can be seen as offering a route out of unemployment and acting as a 'bridge' to full-time employment (Kyyra et al. 2017). In this research, the RC had higher rates of transition from unemployment to part-time rather than full-time work when they entered a job. Those leaving unemployment and entering work in the RC were ten percentage points more likely to enter part-time employment rather than full-time employment than their PRC counterparts (Table 11). This demonstrates that the employment opportunities in full-time work for young unemployment-leavers worsened in recession. The unemployed may be more likely to accept precarious jobs (Boheim and Taylor 2002). Employers may also perceive candidates with a history of unemployment as a risk (Hasluck 2011), which may reduce opportunities for the unemployed to gain more secure work. The finding in this thesis suggests that this is even more likely to occur when the wider economic context is poor. Those leaving inactivity and entering work were also eight

percentage points more likely to enter part-time employment than their pre-recession counterparts (Table 11).

What is particularly striking however was the percentage of education-leavers entering part-time rather than full-time employment amongst the RC. Education-leavers were 19 percentage points more likely to enter part-time employment when they entered paid work than PRC education-leavers were (Table 11). As well as this, following the initial transition from education to part-time work, RC respondents were less likely than their PRC counterparts to experience a subsequent stepping stone in to full-time work. It would appear that education-leavers faced more difficulty integrating in to employment in the recession, experiencing more short-term scarring than those leaving unemployment.

5.4.2 Entering Routine Work

As shown above, it was typical for young people to participate in routine employment and amongst the RC, levels of routine employment were even higher than they had been for the PRC. As the majority of those in employment in both cohorts were in routine employment, it was unsurprising to find that the majority of those leaving education, unemployment or inactivity to enter employment participated in routine work (Table 11). The recession did bring alterations in the socio-economic destinations of young people entering employment, however. Specifically, the lower rates of intermediate employment seen amongst the RC created a polarising effect, where a proportion of young people in the RC actually found themselves better off upon entering employment relative to their PRC counterparts.

Table 11: Transitions from Education and Unemployment to Part-time, Temporary, Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
	%	Count	%	Count
Education to Part-time Employment	26.2	65	44.8	181
Unemployment to Part-time Employment	23.5	21	34.2	70
Education to Temporary Employment	21.2	55	23.7	97
Unemployment to Temporary Employment	15.6	15	24.6	51
Education to Routine Employment	51.6	134	60.4	243
Unemployment to Routine Employment	57.3	54	63.6	131
Education to Intermediate Employment	25.5	66	16.7	67
Unemployment to Intermediate Employment	27.2	26	17.8	37
Education to Management Employment	25.6	66	24.0	96
Unemployment to Management Employment	16.6	16	18.8	39

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Education-leavers were once again those most detrimentally affected in the recession. RC education-leavers were eight percentage points more likely to enter routine employment than their pre-recession counterparts (Table 11). In addition, their rates of transition in to management did not alter substantially between cohorts, meaning that where intermediate employment became a less likely destination, education-leavers were taking routine jobs rather than gaining opportunities for management.

Movement to intermediate employment also declined for those leaving unemployment. However, the increase in movement to routine employment for unemployment-leavers was not as large as for education-leavers and, unlike education-leavers, unemployment-leavers in the RC were also marginally more likely to enter management.

In contrast, those leaving inactivity in the recession were actually better off than their PRC counterparts. The number of inactivity-leavers was small in both cohorts and so the analysis should be approached cautiously, however it can be seen that a higher percentage of inactivity-leavers in the RC entered management employment. In addition, although rates of intermediate employment were lower amongst the RC in general (see Section 5.3.1), inactivity-leavers in the RC were no less likely to enter intermediate work than their PRC counterparts. A possible explanation for this is that inactivity-leavers, on average, were older than both education and unemployment-leavers (Table 12). As such, inactivity-leavers may have been in a better position to enter intermediate or management employment because they had more work experience or higher qualification levels.

Table 12: Mean Age of those Entering Employment

	Pre-recession Cohort	**Recession Cohort**
Education-leavers	18.4	18.7
Unemployment- leavers	19.5	20.1
Inactivity-leavers	21.7	21.4

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

5.4.3 Entering Temporary Employment

As mentioned above, education-leavers were the most disadvantaged group upon entering employment in the RC. However, the pattern is somewhat different in the case of temporary work, which saw unemployment-leavers as comparatively disadvantaged in the recession.

Amongst the RC, unemployment-leavers saw a nine percentage point higher rate of movement to temporary rather than permanent work compared to PRC unemployment-leavers (Table 11). By comparison RC education-leavers only saw a four percentage point higher rate of entering temporary work compared to their PRC counterparts. This had the effect of bringing the two groups closer together, meaning that in the RC, 25 percent of both education-leavers and unemployment-leavers moved to temporary rather than permanent work when entering employment. Although the pattern is slightly different in the case of temporary work, once again it is shown that young education-leavers were at least as precarious as young unemployment-leavers in the recession.

5.4.4 Summary: The Scarring effect of Leaving Education in Recession

Education-leavers have been identified as the group who faced the most severe disadvantage in the recession upon entering employment in that they were more likely to enter part-time and routine employment. RC unemployment-leavers were also less well off than their PRC counterparts, particularly in their higher likelihood of entering temporary work. The potential scarring effects of unemployment are well known (McQuaid et al. 2015, Tumino 2015, Cribb et al. 2017) but it is argued here that it was those leaving education in the recession that experienced a greater degree of short-term scarring, resulting in a higher likelihood of entering precarious work. This finding can be partially explained solely due to increased rates of precarious employment amongst the RC. However, as education-leavers were repeatedly identified as the key disadvantaged group in the recession, especially in relation to working in part-time jobs, it is likely that there was something particular about education-leavers which made them less employable in non-precarious jobs. Education-leavers may have been too much of a risk for employers at that time; education-leavers were on average younger than both unemployment-leavers and inactivity-

leavers. Research in 2011 also showed that under 25 percent of UK employers had recruited someone aged 24 or under directly from education (UK Commission for Employment and Skills 2011). Education-leavers may have less work experience and may be viewed detrimentally by employers as potentially lacking soft and vocational skills (Bell and Blanchflower 2011, UK Commission for Employment and Skills 2011).

5.5 Part-time and Temporary Employment: Stepping Stones, Traps and Downgrades

As highlighted in Chapter 2, part-time employment and temporary work are often discussed in terms of whether they provide a stepping stone to full-time and permanent employment, or whether they lock people in to precarious employment at the expense of potentially moving on (O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2002, Booth et al. 2002, Gash 2008, Mansson and Ottosson 2011, Fremigacci and Terracol 2013). Implicit is the assumption that full-time and permanent employment forms are preferential. As discussed in the literature review, part-time employment in particular may actually be desirable for young people in order to balance employment with education or childcare but does have ramifications such as lower pay and fewer opportunities for training and advancement. The following section will consider the extent to which the recession affected moving on from part-time and temporary employment for young people.

5.5.1 Sinking and Polarising Stepping Stones

In the recession, part-time employment was less of a stepping stone to full-time work than it had been for the PRC. This is indicated firstly by the higher rates of consecutive waves of part-time work for young people in the RC. The percentage of young people in part-time employment who were also part-time employed at the subsequent interview was 13

percentage points higher for the RC compared to the PRC. Although measuring the number of consecutive waves of part-time employment cannot indicate what respondents were doing in between interviews dates, the change in number of consecutives waves does show that respondents either had longer spells or more repeated spells of part-time employment than PRC young people, which is noteworthy in itself. Secondly, part-time employment was less of a stepping stone to full-time employment and was more likely to be followed by unemployment in the RC (although the distinctions between cohorts on these measures were not large). This could be due to a number of factors. The number of full-time workers declined in the early years of the recession at a national level (Office for National Statistics 2017j). This suggests that full-time opportunities were less available for young people to move in to. If full-time work was less available for the entire labour market, young jobseekers or employees could have missed out in the competition with prime age individuals due to their relative lack of workplace experience.

There were similarities and differences between how temporary and part-time work acted as a stepping stone in these samples. The overwhelming pattern in young people's temporary employment was that it was followed by permanent work in the next wave (Table 13). This substantiates previous research which has found that temporary employment can provide a stepping stone to permanent work (Booth et al. 2002, Gash 2008). Unlike part-time work, in the recession temporary work became an even better stepping stone to permanent work, with a higher percentage of temporary employees moving to permanent work (at a rate of 70 percent compared to 64 percent in the PRC). Temporary employees in the RC were also less likely to be unemployed in the following wave (at a rate of 11 percent compared to 14 percent for the PRC). In the recession, temporary employment gave young people a more secure footing in the labour market than it had done for PRC young people.

Although temporary work was more likely to be followed by permanent employment amongst the RC, there was also a larger proportion of temporary workers in the RC who were temporary-employed in the subsequent wave, potentially experiencing a lock-in effect. Amongst the RC, 26 percent of those in temporary employment were still in temporary work in the subsequent wave, compared to only 14 percent in the PRC (Table 13). Considering that there were not vastly higher rates of temporary employment in the recession overall (see Section 5.3.1), it may be postulated that continuation in temporary employment was an effect of participating in temporary work in the first place, rather than being a by-product attributable to higher levels of temporary work overall. The contradiction of the above findings indicates that there was a diversity of experience for temporary employees that intensified in the recession. It is possible that this diversity was due to differences between forms of temporary work. This is something that has been established by previous work on French data, which showed that fixed-term contracts provide better access to permanent work than agency work (Givord and Willner 2015), although the countries are not directly comparable. This finding of diversity in the effect of temporary work on subsequent employment is reflected in Fremigacci and Terracol (2013), but the results here suggest that diversity intensifies further in the recession.

In the recession, young people were less likely to return to education after working, even if their roles had been part-time or temporary (Table 13). Dissatisfaction with current work has been identified as a large factor in the decision to return to higher education, with the motivation to increase skills to gain subsequent labour market security a particular influence (Stein and Wanstreet 2006). This thesis highlights that where young people had already entered employment, in the recession they were more inclined to remain in the jobs they had, even if they were in a precarious contract.

Table 13: Transitions from Part-time, Full-time, Temporary and Permanent Employment

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
	%	Count	%	Count
Part-time to Part-time Employment	33.6	73	46.5	233
Part-time to Full-time Employment	51.5	112	48.6	243
Part-time to Unemployment	6.9	15	11.1	55
Part-time to Education	21.2	46	17.1	86
Full-time to Full-time Employment	84.5	542	84.4	684
Full-time to Part-time Employment	10.5	67	16.6	134
Full-time to Unemployment	9.7	62	8.3	67
Full-time to Education	8.4	54	4.2	34
Temporary to Temporary Employment	13.7	18	25.9	67
Temporary to Permanent Employment	64.4	84	69.6	180
Temporary to Unemployment	13.4	18	10.7	28
Temporary to Education	17.8	23	8.8	23
Permanent to Permanent Employment	84.5	619	85.2	851
Permanent to Temporary Employment	6.7	49	10.2	102
Permanent to Unemployment	9.3	68	9.2	92
Permanent to Education	10.3	75	9.7	97

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

5.5.2 Employment as Protection and Downgraded Employment

Part-time employment was less of stepping stone to full-time work amongst the RC, and temporary employees faced increased polarisation in their subsequent labour market experiences. Where young people were already in full-time or permanent employment however, were they actually more secure than part-time and temporary employees, and did this alter in the recession?

The analysis indicates that full-time employment offered protection against unemployment for young people, and that in the recession this protection was even stronger, as the percentage of respondents moving from full-time work to unemployment was actually two percentage points lower amongst the RC compared to the PRC (Table 13). This protection from unemployment appeared to come at a cost however, as full-time employees in the RC were seven percentage points more likely to move in to part-time work in the subsequent wave than the PRC were. This indicates that young people were either losing their full-time jobs and then picking up part-time work, whether voluntarily or not, or that their full-time hours were being cut down to part-time hours. These patterns suggest a form of 'downgrading' of work amongst young people in the recession, which saw some young people who worked full-time move to part-time work and some who worked part-time move to unemployment. This highlights that full-time work did offer a level of security to young people but, as seen in national trends, the 'jobless recovery' relied in part on the increased use of part-time employment contracts and decreased working hours, which helped keep unemployment lower than may have been expected (van Wanrooy et al. 2013).

As seen with full-time work, permanent work also offered protection against unemployment (Table 13). Those with permanent contracts were unlikely to move to temporary work even in the recession. Amongst the PRC, 93 percent of those in permanent jobs were still permanently employed in the subsequent wave. In the RC, the rate of transition from permanent to permanent employment was three percentage points lower than in the PRC but remained high at 90 percent. Furthermore, permanent work was less likely to be followed by unemployment than temporary employment in both cohorts. There was little change between the PRC and RC in the rates of transition from permanent employment to unemployment.

5.5.3 Summary of Stepping Stones from Part-time and Temporary Employment

Both temporary and part-time employment tended to offer a secure footing in employment, where the predominant pattern was for young people to move in to permanent and full-time work in the subsequent wave. This was the case in both cohorts, although there were dissimilarities between cohorts in how these forms of work provided a stepping stone. Young part-time employees were less likely to move into full-time employment in the RC, whilst young temporary employees were *more* likely to move to permanent work in the RC compared to the PRC. These findings add further weight to the assertion that the end of work was overstated, showing that participation in precarious work was likely to be short-lived and followed by non-precarious work, even amongst the young who tend to be among the most vulnerable workers. It was the case that the non-precarious employment forms did provide more security, in particular being less likely to be followed by unemployment. The above findings also have ramifications for understandings of youth trajectories, highlighting that the recession does affect trajectories. This supports Cote and Bynner's (2008) assertion that employment opportunities will affect the broader movement to adulthood such that youth trajectories must be situated and assessed within broader economic contexts.

5.6 Socio-economic Status: Precariousness and Stability

5.6.1 Leaving Employment: Precarious Routine Workers and Entrepreneurial Managers

Part-time and temporary employment forms were 'secure' in that it was likely that they would be followed by further employment, although the extent to which they provided stepping stones to non-precarious employment varied. This section discusses transitions from work of different socio-economic classifications of employment.

A consideration of the socio-economic classification of employment revealed three main findings. Firstly, the majority of young people in *any* classification of work were employed in the subsequent wave; more often than not they were employed in the same classification of work. Secondly, it was apparent that routine employment was comparatively insecure relative to intermediate and management work. Thirdly, there were also differences between the PRC and RC which highlighted how young people's trajectories differed based on the socio-economic classification of their employment.

In both cohorts, routine employees were more likely to leave employment than intermediate or management employees (Table 14). In particular, routine employees were the group most likely to be unemployed or in education in the subsequent wave. This reflects the known association of low paid or skilled work with spells of unemployment identified in qualitative research (Shildrick et al. 2012, Thompson 2015). Although routine employment was the most likely type of work to be followed by unemployment or education-participation, there was little difference between the PRC and RC on these measures. As such, it was not the case that the recession brought increased precariousness for young routine employees.

Table 14: Transitions from Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
	%	Count	%	Count
Routine to Self-employment	3.9	20	4.2	28
Routine to Unemployment	12.8	64	13.1	87
Routine to Education	13.8	69	12.6	83
Routine to Inactivity	5.5	28	4.5	30
Routine to Routine	61.2	307	74.9	496
Routine to intermediate	16.0	80	8.5	56
Routine to Management	15.2	76	11.4	76
Intermediate to Self-employment	3.3	8	2.3	6
Intermediate to Unemployment	4.8	12	8.7	23
Intermediate to Education	8.2	21	8.1	22
Intermediate to Inactivity	3.5	9	2.4	6
Intermediate to Routine	16.4	41	11.6	31
Intermediate to Intermediate	56.7	143	73.0	198
Intermediate to Management	38.4	97	24.0	65
Management to Self-employment	3.0	8	6.2	21
Management to Unemployment	4.3	11	2.8	9
Management to Education	4.6	12	4.4	15
Management to Inactivity	0.7	2	1.1	3
Management to Routine	11.7	30	11.8	39
Management to Intermediate	20.4	52	10.5	35
Management to Management	76.5	186	81.8	272

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Although in both cohorts young people were most likely to leave employment if they had been routine employed, the recession brought changes that shaped the trajectories of a small minority of intermediate and management employees. Firstly, the percentage of intermediate employees who became unemployed was four percentage points higher in the RC compared to the PRC (Table 14). Restricting the analysis to those

who *did* leave employment highlights the shifting relationship between intermediate employment and unemployment for young people more sharply. Amongst the RC, intermediate employment-leavers were 18 percentage points more likely to become unemployed than intermediate employment-leavers in the PRC. This indicates the heightened precariousness of intermediate employees in the recession. Where rates of intermediate employment declined in the recession, it is possible that those who would expect to be in intermediate employment found themselves involuntarily out of employment.

Those in management became slightly less likely to be unemployed in the wave after leaving work in the recession (Table 14). This trend was offset by a higher rate of movement from management employment to self-employment. Amongst the RC, six percent of management employees were self-employed by the next wave, compared to only three percent in PRC. Again, restricting the analysis specifically to those who did leave employment highlights the relationship between management and self-employment more strongly. Amongst the RC, 43 percent of those in management who left employment were self-employed in the subsequent wave. This compares to only 13 percent of those leaving routine employment and 11 percent of those leaving intermediate employment. That there was a discernible trend for those leaving management to enter self-employment highlights that those with higher classification jobs may be better positioned take up self-employment rather than become unemployed within a tough labour context. Assuming that those with higher classification jobs are more likely to come from advantaged families (Goldthorpe and Jackson 2007, Social Mobility Commission 2017), it may also highlight a further class dimension to entrepreneurship. This has been uncovered in research that describes the importance of family social, cultural and financial capital for young people's ability to start their own businesses (Edelman et al. 2016). This group may also have benefited from policy arrangements. In 2011, the Coalition government introduced

subsidies for those wishing to start their own businesses, including the New Enterprise Allowance (2011) for those claiming benefits including Jobseeker's Allowance or Employment and Support Allowance.

5.6.2 Career Progression

It was likely that young people in *any* socio-economic classification of employment were also employed in the following wave. It is therefore beneficial to explore how the recession affected upward and downward mobility for those in two consecutive was of employment. Previous research has indicated that as young people get older, the classification of employment that they can expect to obtain will increase, as they gain more education or work experience (Halpin and Chan 1998). It was discussed above however that amongst the RC, rates of intermediate and management employment were lower than they had been amongst the PRC. Where intermediate and management opportunities declined, young workers may have lost out to prime-age workers who may have more work experience, and stronger impetus to gain promotion because they have more developed social networks and a demonstrable work history (Bell and Blanchflower 2011, Gregg 2015). Where rates of intermediate and management employment were lower amongst the recession cohort, how did this affect their trajectories?

The picture of socio-economic mobility in both cohorts shows that it was typical for young people to remain in the same classification of employment across multiple waves rather than experiencing upward or downward mobility. This is exemplified both when considering sequence strings of those employed across five waves of data (Table 15) as well as in the wave-to-wave movements of respondents who were not necessarily employed at all waves. For ease of expression this will be referred to as 'stability'. As routine employment was the most frequently occurring

classification of employment in both cohorts, most young people employed in five waves of data were in routine work across all waves (

Table *15*). This corroborates Halpin and Chan's (1998) work on socio-economic trajectories, which showed that people were most likely to be in long spells of skilled or semi-skilled employment between the ages of 15 and 35. It was likely that young people employed in intermediate or management were also in the same classification of employment in the following wave (Table 15). In the recession, the stability of employment was exacerbated, with higher rates of RC respondents remaining in the same classification of employment in wave-to-wave movements (Table 15).

Table 15: Career Progression Strings for Respondents with Five Waves of Employment

Pre-recession Cohort			**Recession Cohort**		
String Type	%	Count	**String Type**	%	Count
RRRRR	31.9	108	RRRRR	39.7	165
MMMMM	13.0	44	MMMMM	18.4	77
IIIII	8.6	29	IIIII	11.8	49
IIIMM	4.2	14	RRRMM	2.2	9
IIMMM	3.1	10	RRIII	2	8
IMMMM	2.9	10	RMMMM	1.9	8
RRMMM	2.9	10	RRRRM	1.8	7
MIMMM	1.9	7	IIIIM	1.5	6
MIIII	1.7	6	MMMMI	1.5	6
RMMMM	1.6	6	IIIMM	1.3	5

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations. Key: R = Routine, I = Intermediate, M = Management.

Of particular interest is that the lower level of intermediate employment seen amongst the RC brought both positive and negative consequences for young people. It restricted the upward mobility of those young people in routine employment, but also meant that management employees were less likely to be downwardly mobile in the recession. Upward mobility from

routine employment was 14 percentage lower in the RC compared to the PRC, with movement from routine work to intermediate *and* management work both declining (Table 16). Those in management were less likely to be downwardly mobile in the recession and were six percentage points more likely to stay in management work. It is possible that young managers fared well in this regard as higher status employees may have been less likely to lose their jobs in the recession. Research suggests that employers may have been keen to hoard their high skilled employees following the 2008-2009 recession (Chamberlin 2010). Although there was a restriction of the movement of young people from either routine or management in to intermediate work in the RC, those already in intermediate employment in the recession were able to maintain this level. Intermediate employees were 16 percentage points more likely to also be intermediate employed in the subsequent wave than their PRC counterparts (Table 16). They did not see higher levels of downward mobility, but also did not see as much upward mobility to management employment as intermediate employees in the PRC.

Table 16: Transition from Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment to Subsequent Employment Classification

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
Transition	%	Count	%	Count
Routine to Routine	76.5	320	90.3	485
Routine to intermediate	20.0	83	10.2	55
Routine to Management	19.0	80	13.8	74
Intermediate to Routine	18.9	43	13.0	31
Intermediate to Intermediate	65.6	148	81.9	197
Intermediate to Management	44.5	101	27.0	65
Management to Routine	12.5	30	12.6	39
Management to Intermediate	22.0	52	11.3	35
Management to Management	82.3	195	87.9	270

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

5.6.3 Summary of Movement from Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment

Employment tended to be followed by further employment regardless of its classification. This was the case in both cohorts. The recession brought a greater tendency for intermediate employees to become unemployed and management employees to become self-employed. The recession had a clear and considerable effect on career progression. In the PRC it was most likely that young people would be in consecutive waves of the same employment type, and in the RC this trend was further exacerbated. Consequentially, both upward and downward mobility was less likely amongst the RC. This finding contributes to discussions of how career mobility has changed over time, for example Lyons et al. (2012), by highlighting that upward and downward mobility may be affected by economic context as well as longer term changes to career patterns.

5.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter explored how the recession shaped the employment trajectories of young people, answering research question one '*to what extent did youth transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ before and after the 2008-2009 recession?'* and research question four *'what does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?'.* It was inspired by debates on whether the nature of work and youth trajectories had changed since the 1980s. It showed the persistence of patterns of 'golden age' trajectories in the recession typically involving the movement from education to employment. It then went on to discuss the entrance in to work and explored whether part-time, temporary and routine work provided stepping stones to 'better' work. It highlighted in general, that

the majority of young people in both cohorts were not in precarious work and that where young people did experience precarious work, they were typically able to move to non-precarious employment in subsequent waves. Focussing on the extent to which recession altered trajectories, the findings indicate that the recession resulted in an increased minority of young people facing difficulty rather than bringing broad and severe changes to employment trajectories.

Although trajectories were reasonably secure even in recession, this chapter contributes three main findings on how trajectories differed following the 2008-2009 recession. Firstly, part-time work permeated young people's employment trajectories to a greater extent in the RC. The percentage of young people working part-time was larger and the likelihood of moving out of part-time in to full-time employment diminished. Secondly, it became easier to move in to, and harder to move out of, unemployment. It might be expected that the above two trends would occur in a context within which employment opportunities diminished, however the third specific trend is particularly striking; education-leavers were recurrently found to be more disadvantaged in the recession compared to their pre-recession counterparts and compared to people leaving other economic statuses. This was indicated by the higher prevalence of education-leavers moving to unemployment, part-time work and routine work in the recession. Previous research has shown that only 23 percent of employers hired those under the age of 24 directly from education (Hasluck and Armitage 2011:3). This analysis suggests that this trend may be even more likely in recession, where competition for a reduced number of job vacancies may intensify.

Despite the finding that precarious employment and unemployment were not particularly pervasive amongst young people over time, it is clear that those who were in precarious forms of work did face more employment insecurity than those who were in non-precarious forms; those in precarious forms of work were more likely to leave employment. In the

recession these trends altered somewhat, with a notable difference in the lower percentage of young people returning to education after precarious work thus suggesting a decline in part-time work and temporary work as stop gap jobs.

These findings tell us a considerable amount about the end of work and youth trajectories. Firstly, precarious work was not nearly as widespread for young people as end of work theorists suggested that it could be. Temporary employment contracts in particular were not widespread in either cohort. Secondly, and building on the first point, precarious work was often followed by a non-precarious form of work, suggesting that a major facet of youth trajectories is still the movement towards 'career jobs' rather than 'survival jobs' (Blossfeld et al. 2008). This highlights that although young people did take precarious roles that have been theorised as belonging on the periphery of the labour market (Piore and Doeringer 1971), often these roles did provide a stepping stone to the 'core' of better quality work.

The findings in this chapter add to theoretical work described above and also contribute to empirical work on youth trajectories. Broadly speaking, this chapter coheres to previous quantitative research, which has tended to emphasise the linearity of youth trajectories (Quintini and Manfredi 2009, Duckworth and Schoon 2012, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). In highlighting the tendency for linearity and movement to non-precarious work, this chapter challenges qualitative research that has emphasised fragmentation (Macdonald et al. 2005, Shildrick et al. 2012). What this thesis adds is a comparative quantitative perspective on the impact of the recession within a broader longitudinal perspective that also accounts for the type of work young people do. It shows that trajectories can, and do, change in differing economic contexts. The extent to which the recession affected trajectories highlights the importance of exploring trajectories with an appreciation of the wider economic and labour market context to

understand the changing opportunity structures (Roberts 2009) within which young people move.

This chapter examined the extent to which employment trajectories differed before and after the recession amongst two samples of 16 to 24 year olds. As discussed in Chapter 3, sociological literature indicates that young people are not a homogenous group. As such, the following chapter now discusses the effect of class background on young people's movement in and out of precarious employment, and how this altered in the recession.

Chapter Six: The Impact of Class on Early Employment Development

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6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter indicated that, despite concerns regarding the end of work discussed by sociologists such as Sennett (1998), Beck (2000) and Standing (2011) as well as commentators such as Rifkin (1995), participation in precarious employment and unemployment tended to be both uncommon and short-lived as young people progressed towards better quality work, both prior to, and following the 2008-2009 recession. Even following the 2008-2009 recession where rates of unemployment, part-time, temporary and routine employment increased, the proportion of young people experiencing precarious transitions still only constituted an 'increased minority'. Yet, who comprised this increased minority?

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are complex ways in which class has been understood to impact employment. Class origin affects employment destinations both directly, and indirectly through educational attainment, with working class young people frequently being discussed as relatively disadvantaged. Qualitative and quantitative research shows that markers of disadvantage such as parental education and a person's own qualifications can affect early employment trajectories (Furlong et al. 2003, Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Shildrick and Macdonald 2007, Schoon et al. 2009, Shildrick et.al. 2012 and Dorsett and Lucchino 2013). Early on, the 2008-2009 recession was predicted to be a 'middle class recession' primarily because it began in the financial sector (Vaitilingham 2009). This was disputed at the time as there were large increases in unemployment in elementary occupations (Muriel and Sibieta 2009). Despite this, how young people's transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed by class in a recessionary context is unknown. The benefit of the datasets analysed here is that they provide longitudinal data across four

years. As such, the data allow for an assessment of how young people from different class groups moved in and out of economic and employment statuses prior to and following the recession. This chapter explores the implications of class to answer Research Question 2: '*to what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by class and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?'* and Research Question 4: *'what does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?'.*

This chapter draws upon Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital to explain how class background in the form of parental education levels may mean that working class and middle class young people have differing resources to draw upon when finding employment. It also draws on Roberts' (1968, 2009) opportunity structures theory in exploring how class background may interact with job opportunities available to shape young people's trajectories.

This chapter is divided in to two parts. Part one explores patterns in economic statuses which see working class young people experience trajectories associated with unemployment, whilst those from middle class backgrounds tend to participate in education. Part two discusses class differences in the type of employment young people undertook. Firstly, it considers rates of employment in part-time, temporary and routine employment by class. Secondly, it explores how transitions in and out of part-time, temporary and routine employment differed by class.

The chapter concludes that trajectories did differ by class but that the recession did not consistently disadvantage or advantage one group relative to the other. As such, trends based on class background were complex and it was impossible to discern a singular idea of the extent to which the recession affected class inequality. It shows that working class young people were disadvantaged in comparison to middle class young people on a number of measures and that it was often the case that this

group suffered disproportionately in the recession. However, middle class young people were not immune to employment difficulty in either cohort and, in the recession, there were complex changes meaning the two groups diverged on some measures and converged on others.

6.2 Part One: Class and Economic Status

This section explores the distinctions between working class young people on measures of economic status. It focuses specifically on unemployment and education participation as they were the key sites of difference between class groups. It begins with a discussion of how unemployment was more likely amongst working class young people before discussing the association of education participation with the middle class.

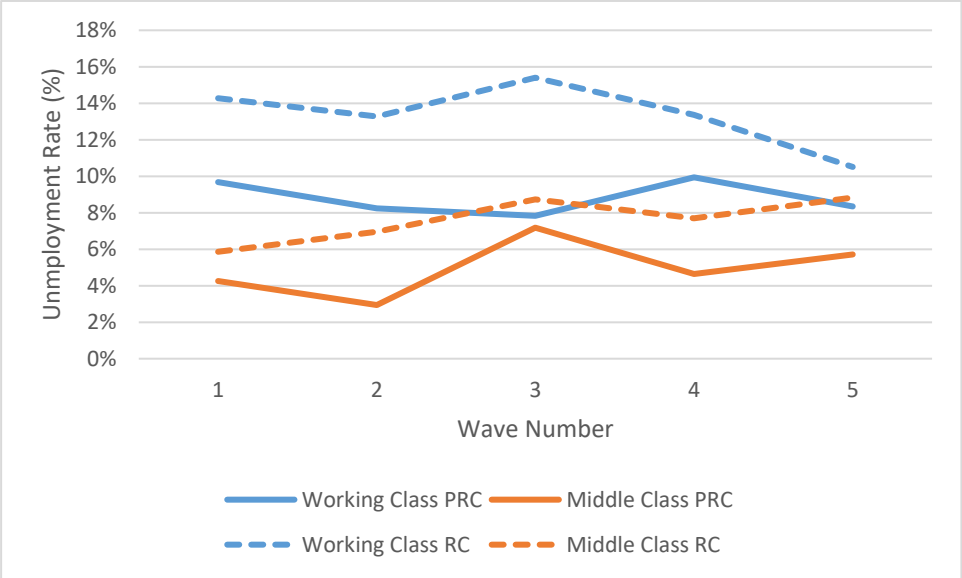
6.2.1 Unemployment: The Preserve of the Working Class?

Qualitative research which has examined 'low-pay, no-pay' cycles has shown that the most disadvantaged are at risk of experiencing cycles in and out of low-paid employment, poor training opportunities and unemployment (Shildrick & Macdonald 2007, Shildrick, et al., 2012). Sequence analysis research has also shown that background affects the likelihood of experiencing a trajectory characterised by unemployment (Schoon et al. 2009, Dorsett and Lucchino 2013). This thesis adds to previous research by discussing both working class and middle class young people and by elucidating if, and how, the implication of class background on transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions varied in differing economic contexts.

The evidence demonstrates that working class young people experienced higher rates of unemployment in both cohorts (Figure 8). Furthermore, there were large increases in rates of unemployment for working class

young people in the recession cohort (RC) relative to their pre-recession (PRC) counterparts, whilst amongst middle class young people, rates of unemployment did not increase so substantially.

Figure 8: Rates of Unemployment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Class



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations

6.2.2 Entering Unemployment

It is important to consider how unemployment fitted in to the longer term trajectories of young people. The economic status of an individual prior to entering unemployment offers an indication about particular labour market problems incurred by differing groups. For example, Chapter 5 discussed how leaving education became more problematic in the recession as a higher rate of education-leavers entered unemployment. This chapter reveals that there were disparities between working class and middle class young people.

In the previous chapter, a key finding was that, amongst the RC, there was a higher rate of education-leavers who became unemployed in the

subsequent wave. An analysis by class indicates that this trend occurred evenly across both class groups in the PRC (Table 17). In the RC however, working class respondents were substantially worse off compared to both their PRC counterparts and compared to middle class RC respondents. Amongst the RC, nearly a third of working class education-leavers were unemployed in the subsequent wave of data – some 19 percentage points higher than the rate seen amongst working class young people in the PRC. In contrast, middle class young people only saw a four percentage point higher rate of this transition relative to their PRC counterparts. This suggests that in the recession, working class youth had particular problems gaining a secure foothold in the labour market after leaving education.

There were also class differences in the percentage of young people who became unemployed after working. In the PRC, working class young people were four percentage points more likely than middle class youth to leave employment and become unemployed (Table 17). The recession also exacerbated class disparity on this measure but to a lesser extent than in regard to education-leavers. Amongst the RC, the gap between working class and middle class youth widened by two percentage points (Table 17). The widening of the gap between classes was due to middle class employees being one percentage point less likely to become unemployed than their PRC counterparts, whilst working class employees were one percentage point more likely to become unemployed than their PRC counterparts. Although changes were subtle, class inequalities were evident in the PRC and widened in the RC, suggesting that employees from working class backgrounds became even less secure in the labour market.

Table 17: Transitions in to Unemployment, by Class

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Education to Unemployment	12.2	17	14	34	30.6	77	18.3	96
Employment to Unemployment	13	42	9.1	38	14.1	64	7.8	47

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

6.2.3 Leaving Unemployment

Whilst the above section discussed the movement of young people in to unemployment, this section focuses on their movement out of unemployment. Previous research has considered the scarring effects of unemployment for subsequent employment prospects (McQuaid et al. 2015, Tumino and Taylor 2015). However, this analysis contributes to previous literature by discussing if, and how, movement out of unemployment varied by class before and after the 2008-2009 recession. Using this data, it is not possible to specify whether consecutive waves of unemployment represented repeated spells of unemployment or one spell of long-term unemployment, however this analysis offers interesting insight in to the prevalence of unemployment in young lives over a period of four years.

Only a small percentage of young people from either class background were unemployed in successive waves of data in the PRC (Table 18). However, working class young people were again at a disadvantage relative to middle class youth; they saw higher rates of consecutive waves of unemployment in the PRC compared to middle class young people. Amongst the RC, it became more difficult for young people to become integrated in to the employment, regardless of their class background.

Again, working class young people were more detrimentally affected in the recession; they experienced an eight percentage point increase in two consecutive waves of unemployment relative to their PRC counterparts. By contrast, middle class young people saw only a four percentage point higher rate of two waves of unemployment compared to their PRC counterparts (Table 18). Despite this, both class groups experienced a similar percentage point increase in three consecutive waves of unemployment between the PRC and RC. As mentioned, is not possible to specify whether consecutive waves of unemployment represented repeated spells of unemployment. Regardless, consecutive waves of unemployment are suggestive of difficulty in finding or keeping jobs. Repeated spells of unemployment could reflect research by Furlong and Cartmel (2004), Shildrick et al. (2012) and Thompson (2015), which indicates that part of the problem disadvantaged young people experienced was that the jobs that they accessed did not offer labour market security.

Table 18: Percentage of Respondents in Consecutive Waves of Unemployment, by Class

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
Number of Consecutive Waves	Working Class %	Middle Class %	Working Class %	Middle Class %
1	25.2	17.6	36.8	22.1
2	8.2	2.8	15.7	7.0
3	3.6	0.1	7.3	4.2
n	404	526	639	891

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

In addition to class inequalities in the number of consecutive waves of unemployment young people experienced, there were also class differences in economic status after unemployment, which are suggestive of further disadvantage for working class young people. In the PRC, where respondents left unemployment, similar percentages of each class group

were employed in the subsequent wave. However, working class young people were five percentage points more likely than middle class young people to be inactive, whilst middle class young people were more likely to be in education or self-employment. Participation in both education and self-employment may require economic, cultural capital and human capital (Edelman et al. 2016). The findings here suggest that having a parent with higher levels of education may have provided access to the necessary capital to enter these positions.

Amongst the RC, the disparities were even more distinct. This was because middle class young people in the RC enjoyed a more advantageous position compared to their PRC counterparts, whilst the rates of transition for working class young people did not change between cohorts. Middle class unemployment-leavers were 12 percentage points more likely to become employed, seven percentage points more likely to transition to education participation and 13 percentage points less likely to become inactive than their PRC counterparts. For working class young people, such differences did not occur (Table 19).

Table 19: Economic Status in Wave Following Unemployment, by Class

	Pre-recession Cohort				**Recession Cohort**			
	Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Self-employed	9.4	7	13	8	4.7	9	1.6	2
Employed	62.5	47	61	39	63.5	116	73.5	96
Student	4.2	3	8.7	6	9.1	17	16.4	21
Inactive	27.6	20	22.6	14	28.3	52	10.3	13

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

This section has shown that unemployment tended to be a larger feature of the early employment experiences of working class young people

relative to middle class young people. In the recession, class inequalities intensified amongst the sample as youth unemployment rose nationally. This can be attributed to two particular trends. Firstly, low status work was particularly impacted by job loss in the recession (Muriel and Sibieta 2009) which may have had a more substantial impact on youth from less advantaged backgrounds. Secondly, drawing on Bourdieusian theory, it may be that working class young people's levels and type of capital, such as their skills, attributes and social networks were not as advantageous as middle class young people's for finding work. The issue of disadvantageous social networks has been seen as a key problem for some young people trying to find work (Macdonald et al. 2005).

This is not to say that middle class young people were exempt from experiencing unemployment, as they also saw increases in rates of unemployment, more consecutive waves of unemployment and movement in to unemployment in the recession. However, they were able to maintain their advantageous labour market position, as most clearly demonstrated in the higher likelihood of becoming employed following unemployment in the RC compared to their PRC counterparts. As intimated above, the lower levels of unemployment amongst middle class young people may be linked to their likelihood of participating in education rather than the labour market. This chapter will now go on to discuss the ramifications of class and education in trajectories.

6.2.4 Education and the Middle Class

Whilst unemployment was a more pervasive feature of employment trajectories for working class young people, for those from middle class backgrounds the development of employment trajectories centred more strongly on education participation, both before and after the recession. This conforms to expectations regarding youth, class and education

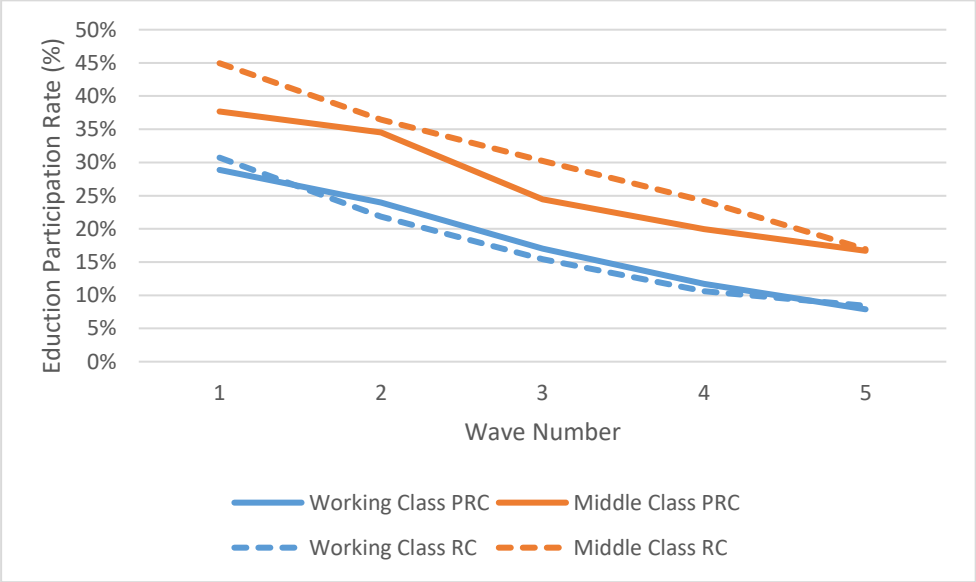
established before the recession (Jones 2002). Policy efforts have been made to promote 'widening participation', which aims to increase the participation of under-represented groups in higher education (Department for Education and Skills 2015). Rates of participation in post-compulsory education have increased over time, as seen in the increasing rates of higher education enrolment (Bolton 2012). Despite the upturn in participation, class inequalities in enrolment in further and higher education still persist, with those from more advantaged backgrounds being more likely to stay in post-16 education (Boliver 2011).

Class inequality was indicated in the higher rates of education participation for middle class young people across the entire observation window in both cohorts relative to working class youth (Figure 9). The recession brought an increase in the rates of education participation amongst middle class young people as well as more consecutive waves of education participation compared to trends seen in the PRC (Table 20). Working class youth experienced the exact opposite trend, seeing slightly lower levels of education participation relative to their pre-recession counterparts. As well as this, those from a working class background were not staying in education for as long in the RC as working class youth in the PRC. This was evidenced in the lower percentages of working class respondents in multiple consecutive waves of education (Table 20).

There are a number of potential explanations for this. The value of education may decline if it is expected that education is less likely to lead to particular labour market gains after education (Rampino and Taylor 2012, Tumino and Taylor 2015). In particular, those whose parents have low educational attainment have been shown to be less likely to want to remain in post-compulsory education, whilst those whose parents have high educational attainment have been shown to be more inclined to want to stay in education in the recession (Rampino and Taylor 2012). The cost of education is a concern for disadvantaged young people in general (Ball et al. 2002, Callendar and Jackson 2008, Bradley and Ingram 2012) but may

be particularly the case if the recession increased financial hardship. There were also policy changes which occurred over this time which may have negatively affected less affluent young people's inclinations to remain in education. The dissolution of the Educational Maintenance Allowance in England in 2010 and the rise in the tuition fees cap to £9,000 in 2012 may have affected less affluent groups to a greater extent than those with higher levels of economic capital.

Figure 9: Education Participation Rate for Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Class



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Table 20: Percentage of Respondents in Consecutive Waves of Education, by Class

	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
Number of Consecutive Waves	Working Class %	Middle Class %	Working Class %	Middle Class %
1	35.0	47.7	35.7	53.2
2	23.5	36.5	23.8	39.2
3	13.9	22.9	12.2	26.5
4	8.6	14.0	6.4	17.2
5	4.5	9.7	3.9	10.0
n	404	526	639	892

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

6.2.5 Summary: The Impact of Class on Economic Status in Recession

Part one of this chapter has shown that there were clear classed patterns in the transitions in and out of unemployment and education. The disparity between working class and middle class young people highlight a disadvantage incurred by working class young people; working class young people's trajectories centred more strongly around unemployment, whilst middle class young people were more likely to participate in education.

This reaffirms influential previous research on the precariousness of class-disadvantaged trajectories (Shildrick and Macdonald 2007, Shildrick et. al. 2012) and the likelihood of middle class young people being more involved in education than working class youth (Jones 2002). However, these findings are innovative because they utilise a large sample to explore class differences in transitions in and out of education and unemployment longitudinally. Moreover, the analysis reveals that, in a recessionary context, class inequality amongst young people became even more distinct. Part two of this chapter now asks whether there were class differences in the types of employment young people undertook and, if so, how classed patterns in part-time, temporary and routine employment altered in the recession.

6.3 Part Two: Types of Employment

Part one of this chapter showed that young people's lives differed by class in terms of the how unemployment and education fitted in to trajectories. Moreover, the recession paved the way for larger contrasts between those from middle class and working class backgrounds which saw working class youth more likely to enter and stay in unemployment. This in itself is indicative of precariousness. However, this research is keen to move beyond the distinction between unemployment and employment to explore the participation of class groups in precarious employment. The following section answers the question to what extent did transitions in and out of part-time, temporary and routine employment differ by class?

This part begins by discussing class and cohort differences in the rates of part-time, temporary and routine employment. It then explores transitions in and out of these forms of employment. It shows that, on the whole, working class young people were disadvantaged compared to middle class young people. It suggests however, that the recessionary context gave rise to complex changes in the composition of the employment of middle and working class young people. It will highlight the shifting parameters of disadvantage, showing that the gap between working and middle class young people narrowed along some of the dimensions of precarious labour market positions analysed, whilst it broadened on others. As in the previous chapter, all discussions of part-time, temporary and routine employment here focus on employees rather than the self-employed and omit young people who described their economic status as 'student'.

6.3.1 Rates of Part-time, Temporary and Routine Employment

Chapter 5 showed that the majority of young people worked in full-time and permanent employment in both cohorts, although routine employment was the most common socio-economic classification of work. It also indicated that precarious work declined over time, which could be attributed to young people's employment prospects improving as they gained work experience, skills and perhaps further qualifications which allowed them to compete with prime age individuals. In the recession, there was an 'increased minority' of young people for whom employment trajectories were more precarious. This section asks whether class shaped who was in this increased minority.

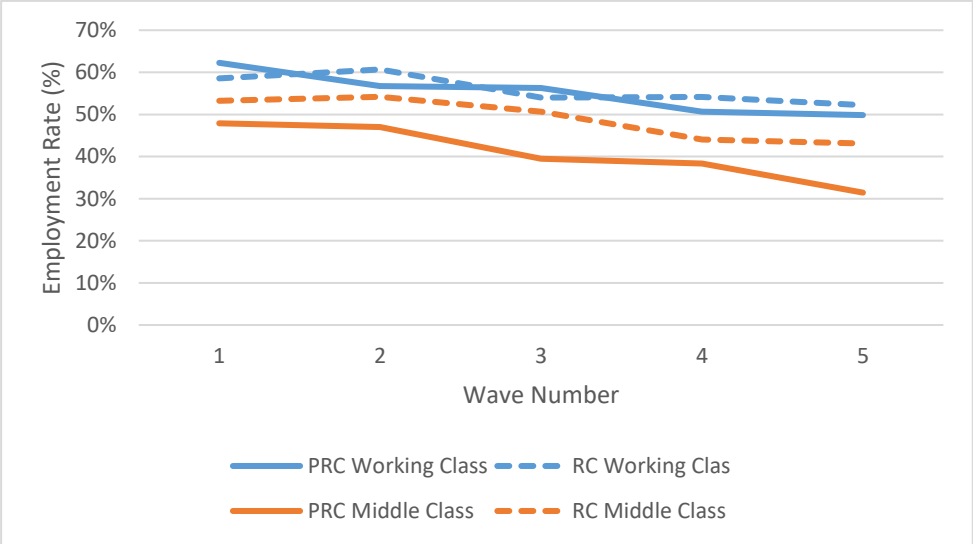
Figure 10, Figure 11 and Figure 12 show that the likelihood of being employed in routine, part-time and temporary employment did differ by class. However, whilst it was working class young people who were more likely to be in routine and part-time employment, it was actually middle class young people who were more likely to be in temporary employment. Delving deeper, there was further complexity within the category of temporary employment which showed that middle class young people's temporary work was typically of better quality, being more likely to be full-time and of a higher socio-economic classification than working class young people's temporary employment (Appendix 3).

The recession was associated with complex shifting patterns which saw larger increases in rates of part-time and routine employment for middle class youth compared to their PRC counterparts. In contrast, working class respondents had larger increases in rates of temporary employment compared to their PRC counterparts than middle class employees. Consequentially, the gap between working class and middle class youth in rates of part-time, temporary and routine employment was narrower for the most part in the RC. This finding feeds in to discussions about the end

of work by highlighting that, where precarious work forms *were* more likely in recession, this did not affect all young people equally or consistently. It was not only the most disadvantaged that were affected by shifting employment landscapes. At least amongst the young, increases in precarious work could affect anyone, regardless of class background.

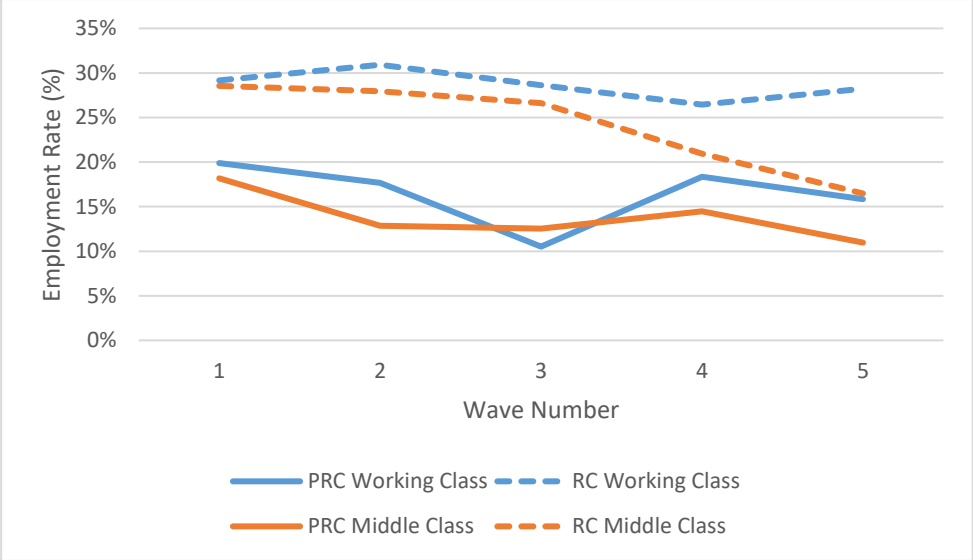
This consideration of employment rates offers interesting insight, but it provides only a limited picture of employment. It is imperative to understand how class may impact how young people move in and out of these different forms of employment. This chapter will now analyse transitions in and out of part-time, temporary and routine employment by class.

Figure 10: Rate of Routine Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Class



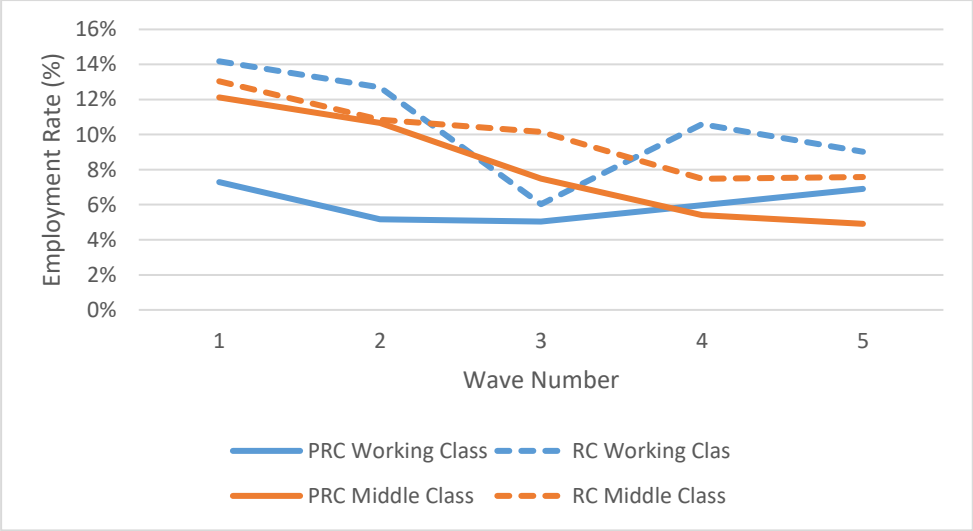
Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Figure 11: Rate of Part-time Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Class



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Figure 12: Rate of Temporary Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Class



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

6.3.2 Class and Entering Employment

A key finding in the previous chapter was the increased likelihood that education-leavers would enter precarious work in the RC. It was highlighted that the opportunities present in the labour market affected the progression of youth trajectories at the point of transition from education in to work. As discussed in Chapter 3, Roberts' (1968, 2009) opportunity structures theory proposed that employment outcomes are shaped by opportunities in the labour market along with attributes and characteristics of social groups. How then did class impact on entry in to employment?

Focusing first on education-leavers, there was a discernible pattern which distinguished that when entering employment, working class young people were more likely to enter part-time rather than full-time work compared to the middle class (Table 21). In the PRC, working class education-leavers were 14 percentage points more likely to enter part-time rather than full-time work than middle class education-leavers. The recession detrimentally affected both groups, as seen in higher rates of transition from education to part-time rather than full-time employment. The recession affected working class transitions more substantially than middle class transitions however; working class education-leavers in the RC were 28 percentage points more likely to enter part-time work compared to their PRC counterparts. In contrast, middle class education-leavers were only 19 percentage points more likely to enter part-time employment than their PRC counterparts.

The recession widened the already existing disparity between the class groups. In the RC, 61 percent of working class education-leavers entered part-time employment, compared to only 38 percent of middle class education-leavers (Table 21). This indicates substantial disadvantage for working class young people in the context of diminishing full-time opportunities.

Table 21: Transitions in to Part-time, Temporary, Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment, by Class

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Education to Part-time	32.6	31	18.7	28	60.6	70	37.5	104
Unemployment to Part-time	36.0	16	10.9	4	37.0	37	28.8	25
Education to Temporary	18.2	18	23.8	35	22.9	27	24.0	67
Unemployment to Temporary	17.4	8	16.8	6	32.7	34	14.9	13
Education to Routine	57.5	56	43.1	64	73.6	86	54.8	150
Education to Intermediate	24.3	24	28.7	42	12.7	15	18.6	51
Education to Management	21.8	21	30.6	45	14.5	17	27.9	76
Unemployment to Routine	62.2	28	48.3	19	66.2	68	52.5	45
Unemployment to Intermediate	27.0	12	30.8	12	20.0	21	19.1	16
Unemployment to Management	10.9	5	23.5	9	14.2	15	28.5	24

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Working class education-leavers were also relatively disadvantaged in terms of the socio-economic classification of employment they entered. In the PRC, working class young people were less likely than middle class youth to leave education and enter intermediate or managerial work and were more likely than middle class respondents to enter routine employment. In the RC, both class groups saw higher rates of entry in to routine employment than their PRC counterparts. However, the disparity between working class and middle class young people widened further as the rate of transition in to routine employment increased by 18 percentage points for working class youth compared to an increase of only 12 percentage points for middle class young people. Furthermore, working class youth also saw sharper declines in entrance in to intermediate or management work in the recession. There was greater equality between

classes in relation to temporary employment, however. It was distributed more evenly across both class groups in the PRC, and both groups saw similar small rises in entry in to temporary employment in the recession.

Where young people left unemployment and entered work, there were also distinct class differences (Table 21). However, there was no overarching pattern which indicated that one group was disadvantaged compared to the other in the recession. In the RC, middle class unemployment-leavers saw higher rates of transition to part-time rather than full-time employment compared to their PRC counterparts. However, whilst working class unemployment-leavers saw only a marginal, one percentage point, increase in entry to part-time rather than full-time employment, they were still less likely to find full-time employment than middle class young people in the recession. Consequentially, the gap between classes narrowed, but working class disadvantage persisted.

Whilst the recession had the effect of narrowing the gap in the transition of unemployment-leavers to part-time work, it exacerbated the differences between class groups in entering temporary employment. Working class unemployment-leavers saw a 16 percentage point increase in entrance to temporary rather than permanent employment compared to their PRC counterparts. In contrast, middle class unemployment-leavers were four percentage points less likely to enter temporary employment than permanent employment in the recession.

Working class unemployment-leavers were also disadvantaged in gaining intermediate and management employment compared to middle class unemployment-leavers (Table 21). In the PRC, only 11 percent of working class unemployment-leavers entered management employment, compared to 24 percent of middle class unemployment-leavers. The recession affected both class groups similarly, increasing the rates of transition from unemployment to routine work and decreasing the rates of transition to intermediate and management work fairly evenly across both groups.

Consequentially, the gap between unemployment-leavers from different class backgrounds in the socio-economic classification of employment they entered was largely maintained.

6.3.3 Summary: How Entering Work Differs by Class

On the whole, education-leavers and unemployment-leavers were worse off if they were working class rather than middle class, highlighting that the short-term scarring which was identified in Chapter 5 was a more pertinent feature of working class young lives. This mirrors assertions made in previous research that that the problems faced by disadvantaged youth is not that they cannot find jobs at all, but rather the work they *do* find is of a low quality (Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Shildrick et al. 2012). The recession brought complex changes in the impact of class on entering precarious employment, having the effect of narrowing the gap between classes on some measures, such as the movement from unemployment to part-time work, whilst exacerbating it on others, such as the movement from education to temporary work. That working class young people were more likely to enter precarious work from education provides some indication that class affects the protraction of transitions in to adulthood in a way which adds contemporary nuance to Jones' (2002) now outdated understanding that working class young people experience 'fast-track' transitions from school to work. This chapter now discusses how class shaped the subsequent destinations of young people who entered precarious employment.

6.4 Class and Moving on from Part-time and Temporary Work

The first section of this chapter identified class disparities which saw working class young people were more likely to leave employment and be unemployed in the subsequent wave than middle class respondents, whilst middle class young people were more likely to leave employment and be participating in education in the subsequent wave. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, it might be assumed that participating in different types of employment affects what young people go on to do, with discussions centring around whether precarious work is a stepping stone or a trap (O'Reilly and Bothfeld 2002, Scherer 2004, Mansson and Ottosson 2011). In Chapter 5, the overwhelming pattern was that precarious employment tended to be followed by non-precarious employment in the subsequent wave but that there was a larger minority of young people who experienced employment difficulty, being less likely to move from precarious to non-precarious employment contracts, in the recession. Previous research has identified cycles of poor work and unemployment associated with socio-economic disadvantage (Shildrick and Macdonald 2007, Shildrick et. al 2010, Thompson 2015). It is therefore imperative to explore if, and how, class shaped whether part-time and temporary employment provided stepping stones to standard employment forms before and after the 2008-2009 recession.

6.4.1 Moving on from Part-time Employment

Chapter 5 showed that part-time employment was less of a stepping stone to full-time work amongst the RC than it had been for young people prior to the recession. It was less likely to be followed by full-time employment and more likely to be followed by unemployment. This section examines how these patterns differed by class. It highlights that the two class groups

were similar in the PRC but that the recession exacerbated the disparity between them.

Amongst the PRC, there was similarity in the rates of working class and middle class young people who were in part-time or full-time employment in the wave following part-time employment (Table 22). Approximately half of both middle class and working class young people moved from part-time to full-time employment, whilst around a third of both middle class and working class young people were still in part-time employment in the subsequent wave. There were differences between class groups in the greater tendency for working class youth to be unemployed after part-time work (at a rate of 11 percent), whilst middle class young people were more likely to re-enter education (at a rate of 27 percent) (Table 22). These findings substantiate the assertion that working class trajectories were more centred on unemployment, whilst middle class trajectories encompassed more education participation.

Amongst the RC, there were shifts in how stepping stones from part-time employment differed by class. Both the working class and middle class experienced higher levels of remaining in part-time employment than young people in the PRC had, and this increase occurred evenly across the two groups (Table 22). However, working class young people were distinctly less likely to move to full-time employment in the recession than their PRC counterparts had been, at a rate of 41 percent compared to 54 percent. In contrast, middle class young people were actually better off in the recession, seeing higher rates of movement to full-time employment (57 percent) compared to their PRC counterparts (52 percent). The combination of these trends had the effect of widening class inequality in the recession. In Chapter 5, it was shown that, in the recession, young people became less likely to re-enter education following a wave of part-time or temporary employment. Analysing this by class indicates that this occurred for both class groups.

6.4.2 Moving on from Temporary Employment

As with part-time employment, the previous chapter showed that, amongst the full samples, temporary employment was a strong stepping stone to permanent employment in the PRC. The previous chapter also indicated that amongst the RC, the destinations of young people in the wave following temporary work were polarised; there were higher rates of movement in to permanent work and lower rates of movement in to unemployment but also higher rates of remaining in temporary work. This polarisation occurred along class lines. It was the working class who were much better off in the recession than their PRC counterparts; they were ten percentage points more likely to remain in temporary employment, 14 percentage points more likely to move in to permanent employment and nine percentage points less likely to move in to unemployment. By contrast, middle class young people were considerably worse off than their PRC counterparts; they were 15 percentage points more likely to remain in temporary work, only five percentage points more likely to move to permanent employment and their rate of transition in to unemployment did not decline. Both class groups saw lower rates of re-entry in to education from temporary employment in the recession (Table 22).

Table 22: Transitions from Part-time, Full-time, Temporary and Permanent Employment, by Class

Transition	**Pre-recession Cohort**				**Recession Cohort**			
	Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Part-time to Part-time Emp.	34.8	37	32.8	33	47.0	103	45.2	116
Part-time to Full-time Emp.	53.5	56	51.5	51	41.3	90	57.3	147
Part-time to Unemployment	11.3	12	3.0	3	12.6	27	7.5	19
Part-time to Education	14.9	16	27.4	27	13.7	30	20.1	52
Full-time to Full-time Emp.	82.5	209	87.2	310	78.3	245	88.8	416
Full-time to Part-time Employment	11.9	31	10.3	36	18.0	56	15.1	71
Full-time to Unemployment	10.8	27	7.9	28	11.7	36	6.0	28
Full-time to Education	6.6	17	10.4	37	1.9	6	6.1	28
Temp. to Temp. Employment	17.5	7	13.0	11	19.5	20	28.1	40
Temp. to Permanent Emp.	54.1	21	69.3	57	67.5	71	74.1	106
Temp. to Unemployment	22.7	9	8.1	7	13.6	14	8.1	12
Temp. to Education	16.0	6	19.9	16	7.4	8	9.2	13
Permanent to Permanent Emp.	86.7	263	84.5	331	80.2	321	88.6	494
Permanent to Temporary Emp.	4.2	13	8.0	31	8.6	34	11.2	62
Permanent to Unemployment	11.1	34	7.2	28	11.6	46	6.4	35
Permanent to Education	8.3	25	12.1	47	7.4	29	11.7	65

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

6.4.3 Summary: How Stepping Stones from Part-time and Temporary Work Differ by Class

Chapter 5 showed that, amongst the full sample, temporary and part-time employment offered secure footing in the labour market for young people in that these employment statuses were typically followed by further employment in permanent and full-time work. This was the case in both cohorts, however there was an increased minority for whom part-time and temporary employment did not offer a stepping stone to non-precarious employment in the recession. This section analysed these trends by class. It demonstrated that class inequality differed in part-time and temporary employment. In the RC, working class young people were less likely to move from part-time to full-time employment compared to their PRC counterparts, whilst middle class young people saw an increase in movement to full-time work. Conversely, in the RC, it was middle class young people who had higher rates of consecutive waves of temporary employment compared to their PRC counterparts, whilst for working class young people there was only a marginal cohort difference. This section indicated that the polarized experience of temporary employees in the RC also occurred along class lines. These trends indicate the complexity of the impact of class on early employment and highlight how broad conceptualisations of the effect of class on 'fast track' and 'slow track' transitions (Jones 2002) must be brought up to date and provide more nuanced accounts of the ways in which precarious employment opportunities impinge on the transition to adulthood.

6.5 Moving on from Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment and Class

6.5.1 Leaving Employment: Class and the Insecurity of Routine Work

Chapter 5 showed that routine employment was less secure than intermediate or management employment; a higher percentage of routine employees became unemployed or returned to education in the subsequent wave after employment. This trend occurred across both cohorts and it was clear that routine employment did not become more insecure for young people in the recession than it had been prior to it.

An exploration of the impact of class in the PRC indicates that working class young people were more likely than middle class young people to exit employment following routine employment; being more likely to become unemployed, inactive or self-employed (Table 23). As was seen in Chapter 5, the recession did not exacerbate the likelihood of becoming unemployed after routine work; this was a trend which occurred regardless of class. Neither class group saw substantial change on this measure between cohorts.

In the previous chapter it was shown that within the full samples, the RC was only one percentage point less likely to re-enter education after routine employment than the PRC had been. The small change which occurred in the full samples does obscure a slight class trend identifiable here. The rate of re-entering education following routine employment was exactly the same for working class young people in both cohorts. However, the rate of re-entry was actually three percentage points lower for RC middle class young people compared to their PRC counterparts. This shows again that middle class young people were less likely to re-enter education even if they were in precarious employment in the RC.

Unfortunately, small sample sizes make it difficult to confidently draw conclusions on whether the transition from management to self-employment differed by class. However, findings show that working class youth were more likely to become self-employed after routine work. False self-employment has been identified as problem that young people on the margins of the labour market may be susceptible to (Jones et al. 2015). Conceivably, working class young people were more likely to take up false self-employment in the recession.

Table 23: Transitions from Routine, Intermediate and Management employment, by Class

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Routine to Self-employment	5.5	13	2.4	6	7.5	22	1.8	6
Routine to Unemployment	15.9	36	8.8	21	15.4	45	9.0	30
Routine to Education	9.4	21	18.7	45	9.4	28	15.6	52
Routine to Inactivity	9.2	21	2.1	5	7.1	21	2.6	9
Routine to Routine	65.3	149	59.3	143	72.4	213	75.7	253
Routine to intermediate	16.1	37	14.5	35	5.7	17	11.3	38
Routine to Management	9.4	21	22.5	54	9.2	27	13.8	46
Intermediate to Self-emp.	4.3	4	3.0	4	4.5	5	1.0	2
Intermediate to Unemployment	5.3	5	3.5	5	13.2	14	6.4	10
Intermediate to Education	6.7	7	10.2	14	4.3	4	11.0	18
Intermediate to Inactivity	1.2	1	5.5	8	4.9	5	0.9	1
Intermediate to Routine	19.3	20	14.6	20	9.0	9	13.0	21
Intermediate to Intermediate	62.4	64	51.9	72	68.6	71	74.3	118
Intermediate to Management	32.5	33	41.1	57	25.2	26	23.1	37
Management to Self-emp.	0.3	0	4.4	7	4.8	5	7.3	16
Management to Unemployment	2.2	2	5.5	9	3.0	3	2.6	6
Management to Education	4.3	4	4.8	8	5.0	5	4.3	9
Management to Inactivity	1.7	1	0	0	1.0	1	1.1	2
Management to Routine	10.2	8	12.7	21	11.5	13	11.9	26
Management to Intermediate	26.0	21	17.4		10.5	12	10.1	22
Management to Management	74.4	62	77.7		79.4		82.4	

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

6.5.2 Socio-economic Mobility

There were also differences between the two class groups in their career progression over wave-to-wave transitions. In order to omit young people who moved out of employment, this section looks exclusively at those who were in employment in two consecutive waves of data.

In the PRC, middle class young people saw more upward mobility and were less likely to plateau in routine employment or intermediate employment than working class young people (Table 24). Amongst the PRC, over a quarter of middle class young people moved from routine employment in one wave to management employment in the next, compared to only 12 percent of those from a working class background. Although the majority of both classes remained in routine employment, young people, particularly those from a middle class background, could achieve the highest socio-economic classification even at an early point in their careers.

Upward mobility in the PRC operated differently for working class and middle class respondents (Table 24). Working class youth saw higher rates of upward mobility from routine to intermediate employment than middle class young people - a fifth of the sample moved from routine to intermediate employment at some point in their trajectories. In contrast, middle class young people were more likely to transition directly from routine to management work. Middle class youth were also ten percentage points more likely than working class to move from intermediate employment in to management, while working class young people tended to remain in intermediate employment. It appeared that those from working class backgrounds had a certain level of access to intermediate jobs, but that movement in to management jobs tended to be the preserve of those with greater capital resources.

Within the RC, upward mobility from routine employment was reduced for both class groups relative to their pre-recession counterparts (Table 24). As

such, early upward mobility became less achievable within the recessionary context, even if young people came from backgrounds with higher levels of cultural capital. The lower rates of upward mobility from routine employment apparent in the recession were different for each class group. Working class young people predominantly saw lower rates of transition from routine to intermediate employment, whilst middle class youth saw lower rates of movement from intermediate to management. These patterns suggest that intermediate employment had been a more central feature of working class upward mobility before the recession occurred, and where rates of intermediate employment were lower amongst the RC overall, that this trend adversely affected working class mobility opportunities. This raises a wider-reaching point of concern for working class intergenerational mobility, given evidence that the labour market has 'hollowed out' as the number of intermediate level jobs declined (Goos and Manning 2007, McIntosh 2013). These trends also provide support for the notion that the middle class were able to maintain access to high socio-economic classification jobs through processes of social closure. However, that middle class access to management work declined in the recession indicates that young middle class people may have been on the receiving end of other processes of closure, for example in facing competition from older, more established labour market participants.

In terms of downward mobility, working class youth had experienced greater downward mobility in the PRC than middle class young people, from both intermediate and management employment (Table 24). Downward mobility actually declined in the recession for both class groups (bar a small two percentage point increase in the movement from management to routine employment amongst working class young people). As a consequence, the gap between classes narrowed.

Table 24: Transitions from Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment to Subsequent Classification of Employment, by Class

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Routine to Routine	81.6	156	73.5	149	93.9	208	86.5	247
Routine to intermediate	20.1	38	18.0	36	7.4	16	12.9	37
Routine to Management	11.7	22	27.8	56	11.9	26	15.7	45
Intermediate to Routine	22.4	20	16.8	21	10.6	9	14.3	21
Intermediate to Intermediate	72.4	66	59.8	74	80.8	71	81.5	118
Intermediate to Management	37.7	34	47.4	59	29.7	26	25.4	37
Management to Routine	10.8	8	13.8	21	12.6	12	12.7	25
Management to Intermediate	27.6	21	18.9	29	11.5	11	10.8	21
Management to Management	79.1	61	84.2	130	87.0	86	87.7	175

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

6.5.3 Summary: The Impact of Class on Socio-economic Trajectories

Employment in any occupation tended to be followed by further employment for both class groups. This was the case in both cohorts. Working class young people were more likely to leave routine employment for unemployment, self-employment or inactivity than middle class youth, whilst middle class youth were once again more likely to re-enter education. The effect of recession on upward and downward mobility highlighted complex class patterns which indicated that working class and middle class young people operated in somewhat distinct labour sub-markets and hence faced distinct employment difficulties; in particular

working class upward mobility was seemingly harmed in the recession as rates of intermediate employment declined.

6.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter addressed Research Question 2: *'to what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by class and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?' and* Research Question 4: *'what does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?'.* The analyses found that transitions in and out of economic statuses and employment statuses did differ by class. However, the effect of class was not ubiquitous and it is impossible to provide one singular idea of the 'extent' to which trajectories differed by class or how the recession affected how class shaped employment.

Instead, this chapter highlights the complexity of the effect of class on young people's employment trajectories in shifting economic circumstances, which went far beyond an initial assertion that the 2008-2009 economic downturn was a 'middle class recession' (Vaitilingham 2009). Taking an overview of the issues of class and employment, working class young people were often worse off than the middle class and frequently the recession exacerbated the disadvantages experienced by the working class young people. However, this sweeping statement hides a number of nuances. In both cohorts, there were measures upon which working and middle class young people were more similar (for example the incidence of and exit from temporary employment) and some on which they remained more disparate (for example in entry in to unemployment or education). Similarly, the changes seen in the recession, whilst in general kept working class young people at a disadvantage relative to their middle class peers, worked in ways which positioned some middle class young

people as more adversely affected on some measures. As such, the class groups diverged further on some measures and converged on others. It is not the case that middle class young people were exempt from employment difficulties in either cohort, or unaffected by the recession. However, in general, the middle class were able to maintain their advantage even in tough economic times.

The complexity of the changes and continuities in the recession were, in part, due to class groups being affected by distinct class-dependent employment problems and responding to employment problems in class-specific ways. This was seen for example in the higher likelihood of middle class youth to return to education following a spell of unemployment, whilst working class young people were more likely to be unemployed across consecutive waves. Similarly, in relation to upward mobility in the recession, both groups were affected differently in terms of their upward mobility from routine employment. It appeared that processes of social closure discussed in Chapter 4 operate to allow middle class young people more access to management employment than working class young people, whilst intermediate employment was the more likely destination of working class young people. In the recession, this social closure had particular consequences as working class young people's upward mobility was more clearly impacted by the decline in overall levels of intermediate employment amongst the RC which were highlighted in Chapter 5.

The main theories providing a framework for this chapter are Roberts' opportunity structure theory (1968, 2009) and Bourdieu's forms of capital theory (1986). This chapter provides support for Roberts' theory of opportunity structures in that the structures within which working class and middle class young people operated and the resources they could access appeared to be different. This thesis also draws upon Bourdieu's theory of capital via its analysis of parental education as a marker of cultural capital. The impact of class is most distinctly discernible in relation to the tendency for middle class young people to participate in education

and to return to education in difficult employment circumstances. The implication is that young people would have to have the necessary levels of economic, cultural and perhaps even social capital to do so (Ball et al. 2005), and this is something that middle class young people can access.

That working class young people were more likely to be, and become, unemployed and were more likely to work in precarious employment also indicates that they were losing out in the competition for work to a greater extent than middle class young people. It follows that middle class young people, in these samples at least, had access to resources and attributes related to parental education which gave them a comparative advantage in the labour market. This contributes to class theory by showing empirically that parental education is an element of cultural capital which does indeed have consequences for young people's employment trajectories. It thus provides support for researching the cultural as well as economic dimensions of class and adds to the debate around what is it about one's background which confers advantage and disadvantage (Sullivan 2001, Savage et al. 2013, Bradley 2014). It also shows that capital must be explored in interaction with the constraints of the type of employment available in the labour market, thus promoting a synthesis between Bourdieu's theory of capital and Roberts' theory of opportunity structures. Roberts does bring Bourdieu in to his 2009 update on opportunity structures but only briefly (2009:362). This research indicates that this is a research avenue which should be more thoroughly explored.

In terms of youth transitions, this research highlights that Jones' (2002) influential conceptualisation of 'fast track' and 'slow track' transitions may now be outdated to the point where it cannot account for how class interacts with available employment opportunities in contemporary society to impact youth transitions. In this way, this research chimes with work which aims to acknowledge the missing middle between 'NEET and tidy pathways' (Roberts 2011) and supports Schoon and Lyons-Amos' (2016) focus on exploring 'diverse pathways'. Furthermore, it shows that where

economic context affects young people's trajectories and their movement from youth to adulthood more broadly, as highlighted by Cote and Bynner (2008) and substantiated in the Chapter 5, that the impact of class is another important factor underpinning how young people's employment develops. This chapter contributes to quantitative research on trajectories (Martin et al. 2008, Quintini and Manfredi 2009, Schoon et al. 2009 Dorsett and Lucchino 2015) by providing a comparative understanding of how class impacts trajectories differently in varying economic contexts. It also contributes by considering how transitions in and out of different forms of employment differ by class, thus adding to the aforementioned work which has tended to focus solely on economic status.

This chapter also highlights issues which are important to the discussion of the end of work. The experiences of working class and middle class young people in part-time, temporary and routine employment were different, even when using such a broad conceptualisation of class as a binary parental education variable. The implication of this for our understanding of precarious work amongst young people is that statements about the increased insecurity of employment must be mediated by an appreciation of how class inequality shapes employment insecurity. Therefore, the extent to which part-time, temporary and routine employment forms are characterised as potentially problematic for workers, depends to a degree upon who is actually working in these forms of employment. For example, if a middle class part-time employee is more likely to move on to full-time employment than a working class part-time employee, it is not just the nature of the employment form itself which gives rise to potential labour market difficulty.

Class is important in young people’s employment trajectories. However, it is by no means the only background characteristic which may shape employment. The following chapter discusses the implications of gender for the development of employment.

Chapter Seven: The Impact of Gender on Youth Employment Trajectories in Recession

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 showed that there were complex differences between those from working class backgrounds and those from middle class backgrounds on measures of unemployment, education, part-time work, temporary work and routine employment. Furthermore, the way that class inequalities differed in the recession were not consistent across measures. Class is only one source of inequality and Chapter 3 discussed the important role gender plays in shaping employment outcomes. This chapter explores if, and how, transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions amongst young people differed by gender and whether this altered in the recession.

As discussed Chapter 3, gender inequalities can be seen to occur due to multiple factors. These centre around firstly, men's and women's differential employment in different sectors. This may variably expose or protect men and women from unemployment. In early considerations of the effects of the recession, much of the discussion focussed on rising unemployment and the disproportionate effects felt by men, to the extent that this recession was dubiously deemed to be a 'mancession'. The use of this term has been highly criticised for three reasons. Firstly, that men were vulnerable to cyclical unemployment was not unique to the 2008-2009 recession as men tend to work in cyclically sensitive industries more so than women (McKay et al. 2013). Secondly, women were affected by unemployment as the austerity period progressed and public sector cuts affected female-dominated sectors (McKay et al. 2013, Rubery and Rafferty 2014). Thirdly, discussion of the 'mancession' focussed on unemployment rather than other facets of precarious employment which this thesis has

identified and discussed. As such, it gave an incomplete picture of gender inequality following the 2008-2009 recession. More recent research by the Trades Union Congress (2015) showed a number of trends such as the rise in zero hours contracts and involuntary part-time work amongst women following the 2008-2009 recession. It is therefore timely to consider the role of gender in shaping precarious working longitudinally.

As discussed in Chapter 3, gendered employment patterns inevitably reflect the societal interpretations of women as caregivers in the UK. However, the period of youth may be the part of the life-course where men and women are more similar due to not yet having had children, but at their most vulnerable because of their age and lack of comparative work experience relative to prime-age workers (Murphy and Cross 2017). What is interesting when considering gender inequalities amongst younger people, is that many of the women in the present samples do not have childcare responsibilities by Wave 5 of the data in either cohort (Appendix 2), and the majority of young people are not married or cohabiting even by Wave 5 of the data in either cohort (Appendix 4). As such, we can theoretically assess gendered patterns separately from these factors. Research has shown however that younger women's employment decisions are shaped by their considerations about having children in the future (Lehmann 2007), whilst employers' perceptions are also shaped by the perception that young women may leave work to have children (Young Women's Trust 2017).

There is a lack of research which focuses on how transitions in and out of precarious employment differ by gender in varying economic contexts. Quantitative research which has explored gender inequality in youth employment have looked at static measures at one point in time (Brinkley et al. 2013) or have explored youth trajectories longitudinally but have focussed on participation in different economic statuses instead of accounting for employment forms (Dorsett and Lucchino 2015, Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016) or have used older data (Martin et al. 2008). As

discussed in Chapter 3, there are many gender differences in employment in general, for reasons such as gender role expectations and discrimination. However, what we do not know is how young men's and women's transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions may have differed both prior to, and following, the 2008-2009 recession. This research offers a perspective which considers whether there were gender disparities in the recession even amongst the youngest workers, shedding light on the merits of postulating that there was a 'young mancession'. This chapter addresses Research Question3: *'to what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by gender and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?'* and Research Question 4: *'what does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?'*

This chapter begins by discussing the gendered patterns of unemployment and inactivity. It then explores the recessionary effect of the upsurge in men's participation in part-time employment. Subsequently, it evaluates the implications of gender for socio-economic status attainment and temporary employment. Mirroring the findings in Chapter 6, this chapter finds that gendered patterns seen within these samples and the differences between the two cohorts were complex. This chapter highlights that it was not one gender which was consistently disadvantaged relative to the other across the measurements of interest, or between cohorts.

7 .2 Part One: Unemployment, Inactivity and Gender

This section focusses on unemployment and inactivity. This is because these economic statuses were key sites of gender differentiation and both can be considered to reflect labour market difficulty (for example in how inactivity can stem from a 'discouraged worker' effect (Bettio and Verashchagina, 2014). Chapters 5 and 6 found that, amongst the recession

cohort (RC), there was an increased minority for whom unemployment became a feature of their early trajectories and that unemployment was more central to the lives of working class young people than middle class. As highlighted above, the term 'mancession' was used to describe the supposed disadvantage that men faced in rising unemployment rates following the 2008-2009 recession (McKay et al. 2013, Rubery and Rafferty 2014). This chapter begins however, with a discussion of women's inactivity in the recession.

7.2.1 Women's Inactivity

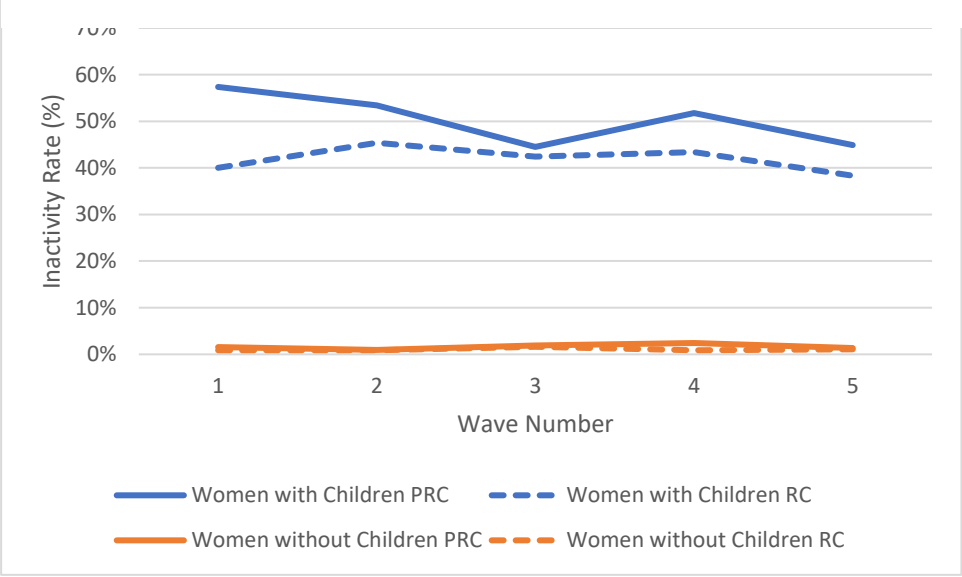
Inactivity is a key point of difference in young men's and women's trajectories (Dorsett and Lucchino 2013). Women in the labour market have been conceptualised as a flexible labour reserve who are willing to enter inactivity or are pushed out of the labour market to inactivity when there are fewer jobs available (Breugal 1979, Rubery and Rafferty 2014). This is tied to women's role as caregivers. Rubery and Rafferty (2014) have suggested however, that women are increasingly unwilling to be flexible workers.

In this research, it was clear that women's caring responsibilities did shape rates of inactivity. Women without childcare responsibilities had dramatically lower rates of inactivity than those with childcare responsibilities in both cohorts (Figure 13). Comparing young people without childcare responsibilities indicated that there was little gender difference in rates of inactivity (Figure 14). At its widest point, the gap between men and women without childcare responsibilities was only one percentage point.

Rubery and Rafferty's (2014) work on the subject of women's employment has suggested that women have become less willing to be peripheral to the labour market. Two findings in this thesis suggest that this was even more

likely following the 2008-2009 recession. Firstly, women with children in the recession cohort (RC) were more likely to be unemployed and less likely to be inactive than their pre-recession cohort (PRC) counterparts, indicating that they were more likely to be attempting to find work (Figure 15). Secondly, the recession did not increase the likelihood that women would enter inactivity from either unemployment or employment (Table 25). Although women were less likely to become inactive in the RC than the PRC, where women in the RC did experience inactivity, they were less likely to re-enter employment in the subsequent wave. Inactivity for women in the RC was five percentage points less likely to be followed by employment, four percentage points more likely to be followed by unemployment and three percentage points more likely to be followed by further inactivity than for women in the PRC. There may have been classed issues at play here. Gregg and Wadsworth (2010b) showed that in 2009 economic inactivity amongst 16 to 24 year olds was higher amongst women with low qualifications than women with high qualifications.

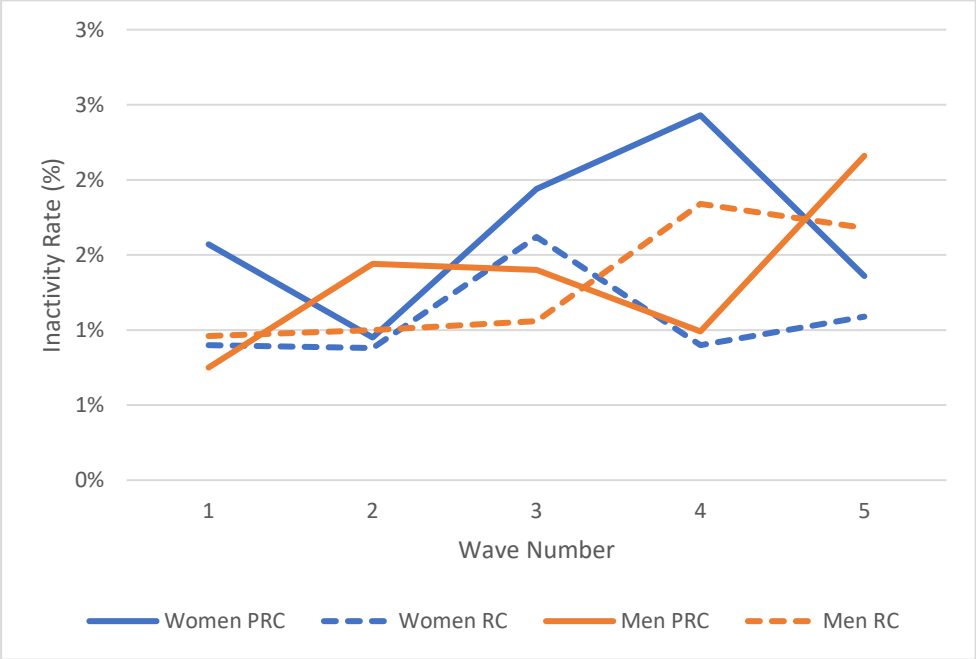
Figure 13: Inactivity Rate in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort for Women with and without Childcare Responsibilities



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted

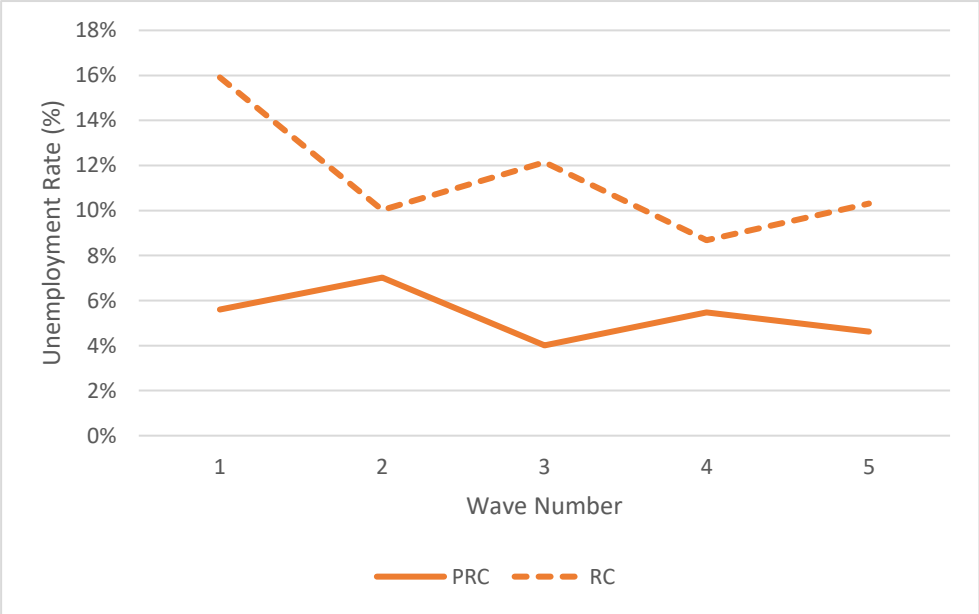
by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Figure 14: Inactivity Rate in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort for Men and Women without Childcare Responsibilities



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Figure 15: Unemployment Rate in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort for Women without Childcare Responsibilities



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Table 25: Women's Transitions in and out of Inactivity and Unemployment

Transition	Pre-recession		Recession	
	%	Count	%	Count
Unemployment to Inactivity	34.7	29	35.3	64
Emp. to Inactivity	9.0	35	7.0	39
Inactivity to Unemployment	18.8	18	22.6	43
Inactivity to Employment	25.4	24	20.1	38
Inactivity to Inactivity	76.8	72	80.4	154
Inactivity to Self-employment	0.0	0	4.4	8

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.2.2 Men and Unemployment

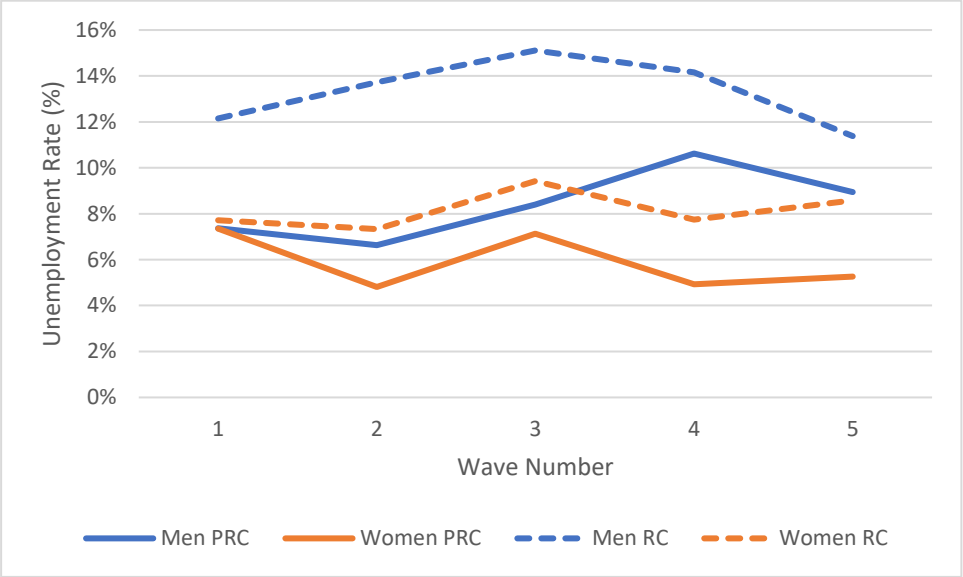
This section confirms that young men were more likely to experience unemployment than women and that they were more detrimentally affected after the 2008-2009 recession. However, it indicates that women were not immune to rising unemployment levels following the recession.

7.2.3 Unemployment Rates

In the recession, young men saw larger increases in unemployment rates relative to their PRC counterparts than women did (Figure 16). This suggests that they were disproportionately disadvantaged by recession. At its widest point (Wave 2 and Wave 3), the unemployment rate was seven percentage points higher for RC men than for PRC men (Figure 16). In contrast, the unemployment rate was only four percentage points higher

for RC women than PRC women at its widest point (Wave 5). From this perspective it appears that the 2008-2009 recession may have been predominantly a 'young mancession'. Unemployment rates alone do not give a detailed understanding of gender differentiation in unemployment, however. The following section considers young people's transitions in and out of unemployment to assess whether there were more nuanced implications of gender for unemployment.

Figure 16: Unemployment Rate for Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Gender



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

7.2.4 Entering Unemployment

Chapters 5 and 6 showed that a key impact of recession was the higher rate of education-leavers that entered unemployment and that this pattern was more likely amongst working class than middle class youth. Considering this pattern by gender shows that men were the more disadvantaged group in the recession.

Amongst the PRC, the percentage of education-leavers entering unemployment was equal between genders, at a rate of 16 percent for both young men and women (Table 26). Amongst the RC, education-leavers of both genders saw a higher rate of entry to unemployment than their PRC counterparts. However, male education-leavers were more adversely affected, experiencing a 20 percentage point increase in entering unemployment compared to their PRC counterparts. In contrast, female education-leavers saw only a six percentage point increase in entering unemployment compared to PRC women. This widened the gap between genders to 14 percentage points in the RC. Associated with this trend, the rate of male education-leavers entering employment in the RC was 15 percentage points lower than it had been for PRC men. In comparison, the percentage of female education-leavers who became employed was only eight percentage points lower than it had been for PRC women.

Young men were also more likely to leave employment and become unemployed than women in both cohorts, suggesting that men's employment may have been less secure than women's both prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession. In the PRC, 14 percent of male employees were unemployed in the subsequent wave, compared to only nine percent of female employees. The recession did not change this pattern substantially; male employees in the RC were one percentage point less likely to become unemployed than their PRC counterparts, whilst female employees were one percentage point more likely to become unemployed than their PRC counterparts.

Table 26: Transitions in to Unemployment, by Gender

	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Transition	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Education to Unemp.	16.4	23	15.9	27	36.2	109	21.5	71
Education to Employment	87.7	123	80.5	138	62.8	190	72.5	240
Employment to Unemp.	13.9	53	9.0	35	12.7	70	9.6	53

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.2.5 Leaving Unemployment

As discussed in Chapter 2, the ramifications of unemployment for subsequent employment experiences have been explored in terms of 'scarring' (McQuaid et al. 2015, Tumino 2015). Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 showed that unemployment was more difficult to leave for young people in the RC compared to the PRC, and that this was particularly true for working class youth. A consideration of these patterns by gender indicate that there were also differing ramifications following unemployment for men and women.

Table 27: Percentage of Respondents in Consecutive Waves of Unemployment, by Gender

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
Number of Consecutive Waves	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	23.0	20.5	33.1	25.9
2	6.7	4.1	14.3	9.0
3	3.5	0.4	8.2	3.6
4	1.1	0.0	4.2	1.9
n	475	511	781	837

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

In the PRC, men were more likely than women to experience consecutive waves of unemployment (Table 27). Seven percent of men had two consecutive waves of unemployment compared to only four percent of women. Furthermore, four percent of men experienced three consecutive waves of unemployment, compared to 0.4 percent of women. In the RC, the gender gap was marginally wider, as RC men experienced a slightly higher percentage point increase in consecutive unemployment waves relative to their PRC counterparts than women did. Men in the RC were six percentage points more likely to have two waves of unemployment, four percentage points more likely to have three waves of unemployment and three percentage points more likely to have four waves of unemployment than their PRC counterparts (Table 27). By comparison, women in the PRC were five percentage points more likely to experience two waves of unemployment, four percentage points more likely to experience three waves of unemployment and two percentage points more likely to experience four waves of unemployment than their PRC counterparts.

Where young men and women did leave unemployment, there were gender differences in their subsequent destinations. Amongst the PRC, 61 percent of male and 63 percent of female unemployment-leavers were employed in the following wave, showing a considerable amount of parity in destinations between genders (Table 28). The recession considerably widened the gender gap. Male unemployment-leavers were 20 percentage

points more likely to become employed than in the PRC, whilst female unemployment-leavers were 12 percentage points less likely to be employed in the subsequent wave than women in the PRC. The higher rate of movement to employment seen for young men in the recession can be explained in part by the lower percentage of men moving from unemployment to self-employment, which was 15 percentage points lower than for men in the PRC. It appears that men were less willing or able to enter self-employment after unemployment in a more unstable economy and hence were more likely to try to find, and succeed in finding, employment. Where women left unemployment in the RC, they were more likely to enter inactivity than women in the PRC.

Table 28: Economic Status in Wave after Leaving Unemployment, by Gender

	Pre-recession Cohort				**Recession Cohort**			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Self-employed	21.3	15	0	0	3.9	7	2.7	4
Employed	61.2	44	62.6	51	80.7	155	51.0	79
Student	6.3	5	5.4	4	14.3	27	8.9	14
Inactive	16.1	12	35.3	29	4.4	8	41.9	65

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.2.6 Summary of the Role of Gender in Inactivity and Unemployment

Part one of this chapter found that young men were more likely to be unemployed and young women more likely to be inactive both prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession. These findings substantiate previous research which has highlighted the greater propensity for young men to be unemployed and young women to be inactive in the UK (Dorsett and Lucchino 2013, Brinkley et al. 2013, Iannelli and Duta 2017). This analysis confirmed that childcare was a major contributor to young women's inactivity.

The recession brought complex changes to gender inequality. A closer consideration of women's inactivity indicated that, within the recessionary context, women were more likely to be seeking employment rather than remaining inactive, though were less likely to find employment than women in the PRC. This feeds in to broader understandings of women's changing relationships with work. It suggests that Rubery and Rafferty's (2014) assertion that women were less willing to be peripheral to the labour market was exacerbated following the 2008-2009 recession.

In terms of unemployment, men were disadvantaged relative to women. They experienced higher rates and more consecutive waves of unemployment than women did prior to recession, and the recession only exacerbated existing inequalities. Male education-leavers were particularly affected in the recession, where over one third became unemployed in the subsequent wave compared to only 16 percent in the PRC. The recession also altered young men's transitions out of unemployment; creating a context in which young men leaving unemployment were less likely to seek self-employment and were more likely to become employed. It was not only men who made up the increased minority of young people experiencing employment difficulty in the recession, however. This was indicated by the increase in consecutive waves of unemployment amongst women.

7.3 Part Two: Precarious Employment

Part two of this chapter focuses on the extent to which transitions in and out of precarious employment differed by gender and if and how this altered in the recession. As shown in Chapter 2, precarious employment is defined as part-time, temporary and routine employment. There are complex and interrelating theoretical frameworks which explain the higher

likelihood that men work in management and women work in part-time and temporary roles, as discussed in Chapter 3. Sequence analysis research on gender has tended to focus on economic status at the expense of type of employment (Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). Where sequence analysis research *has* considered employment types in gendered trajectories (Martin et al. 2008) it has used older data which cannot account for the 2008-2009 recession. This section contributes to sociological knowledge by discussing the extent to which there are gender distinctions amongst the youngest employees in the type of work they do. It first discusses gender differentiation in part-time employment. Secondly, it explores temporary employment and finally assesses employment of differing socio-economic classifications. It demonstrates that gender did not shape transitions in and out of precarious work consistently across measures of precariousness or between cohorts.

7.3.1 Part-time Work and Gender

Part-time employment is intrinsically linked with gendered employment patterns. It was also one of the most interesting dimensions of recessionary change amongst young people in this research. This was due to the large increase of young men in part-time roles and young men's changing relationship with part-time working in the RC which this section now discusses.

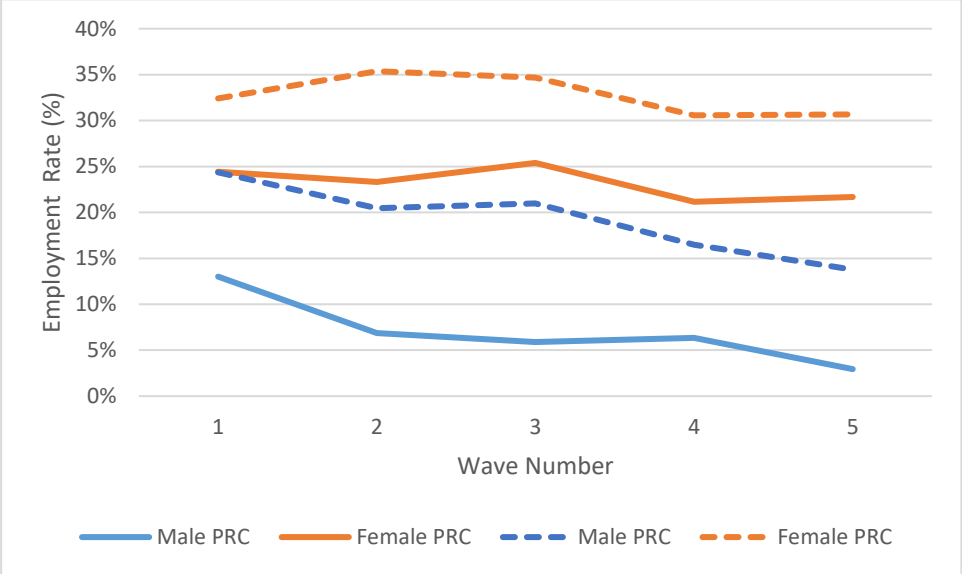
7.3.2 Rates of Part-time Working

Rates of part-time employment were higher for women than men in both cohorts (Figure 17). That around a third of young working women were in part-time roles in the recession is striking for two reasons. Firstly, these figures do not include young women who state themselves to be in education. Secondly, childcare responsibilities do not explain all of this pattern: when the analysis was restricted to only those without childcare responsibilities, young women still had a higher rate of part-time employment across each wave than young men, although the disparity between genders was smaller (Appendix 5). Childless women's higher rates of part-time work may be explained by young women being more likely to work in sectors where there is a high prevalence of part-time work, such as in administrative, retail and cleaning jobs (Championing Better Working Lives 2015).

As suggested, the recession affected young men's likelihood of working part-time to a greater extent than it did for women. The rate of part-time work was 15 percentage points higher for RC men than PRC men at its widest point in Wave 3 (Figure 17). Women's rates of part-time work were also higher in the RC compared to the PRC. However, the rate of part-time work was only 12 percentage points higher for RC women than PRC women at its widest point in Wave 2 (Figure 17). Although rates of part-time work were higher amongst women than men in both cohorts, the gender gap was narrower in the RC than it had been in the PRC. This finding suggests that young men became more precariously positioned following the recession compared to their PRC counterparts. Although assumptions cannot be made about men's preference for full-time work from this data, previous research has indicated that men have lower job satisfaction with part-time work (McManus and Perry 2012) and the percentage of part-time employed men who could not find full-time work increased during the

recession to a greater extent than amongst women (Office for National Statics 2017k, 2017l).

Figure 17: Rate of Part-time Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Gender



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

7.3.3 Entering Part-time Employment

Section 7.3.2 showed that part-time work was more common for women in both cohorts. Rates of part-time work increased more substantially for men than women in the recession however, suggesting that men became comparatively more precarious on this measure following the recession. The following section discusses how men's transitions in and out of part-time employment changed in the RC more so than women's in a way that substantiates the suggestion that men's part-time employment was more indicative of labour market disadvantage in the recession compared to women's.

7.3.4 Leaving Full-time Work

Leaving full-time employment and entering part-time work may be indicative of a number of underlying processes occurring for individuals. Firstly, moving from full-time employment in one wave to part-time in the next may suggest that young people were losing their full-time jobs and then not finding subsequent full-time employment and instead taking part-time roles. Secondly, it could show that young people's working hours were reduced by employers as a means to cut costs (this being one employer response to financial constraints in the recession (van Wanrooy et al. 2013)). Both of these options may indicate precariousness in employment. Finally, it could be possible that young people were choosing to take part-time rather than full-time employment. This has been shown to be the case amongst students (Roberts and Li 2017). To reiterate, in order to not conflate the experiences of students with non-students, this thesis excludes students from the analysis.

Chapters 5 and 6 showed that that there was an increased minority of young people who moved from full-time to part-time employment in the recession, and that working class youth were more likely to experience this transition. In terms of the impact of gender, this transition was more common amongst women than men in both cohorts. However, it was men who saw greater increases in the rate of transition from full-time to part-time employment in the recession. The percentage of men moving out of full-time employment to part-time employment was eight percentage points higher in the RC than it had been for PRC men. For women, the percentage making that transition was only four percentage points higher in the RC compared to the PRC. This suggests once again that men's participation in part-time employment in the recession was indicative of disadvantage.

7.3.5 Routes in to Employment

Chapters 5 and 6 showed that those entering employment from education or unemployment in the RC were more likely to enter part-time rather than full-time employment than those in the PRC and that this pattern was more likely amongst working class than middle class young people.

Analysing transitions in to employment by gender shows that women were more likely to enter part-time employment upon entering work in both cohorts (Table 29). Despite this, male unemployment-leavers were particularly disadvantaged in the recession. The rate of male unemployment-leavers entering part-time employment in the RC was 18 percentage points higher than it had been in the PRC. By comparison, female unemployment-leavers in the RC were only four percentage points more likely to enter part-time work than their PRC counterparts. That this effect occurred even though women had much higher rates of part-time employment overall, indicates that the impact of recession on male unemployment-leavers was particularly strong. This finding suggests that part-time working was associated with difficulty for men as they became less likely to find, or perhaps keep, full-time work after a period of unemployment. However, looking at this in an alternative way, part-time employment may have provided men with a route out of unemployment. A key trend identified in Chapter 5 was that education-leavers became more likely to enter part-time rather than full-time employment in the recession. Analysing this pattern by gender indicates that male and female education-leavers saw similar increases in entering part-time rather than full-time work in the RC compared to the PRC (Table 29).

Table 29: Transitions in to Part-time Employment, by Gender

	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Transition	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Full-time to Part-time	3.6	12	17.7	55	11.6	49	21.8	86
Education to Part-time	22.7	27	29.3	39	41.0	73	47.9	108
Unemployment to Part-time	14.7	6	31.5	15	33.3	45	36.1	25

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.3.6 Stepping Stones from Part-time Employment

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research has explored the extent to which part-time work provides a bridge or a stepping stone in to full-time work. Chapter 5 found that a majority of young people did transition from part-time to full-time employment in their trajectories but that this likelihood declined in the recession. This section discusses whether there were gender differences in economic and employment status following part-time work and if, and how, this changed following the recession. It suggests that men's participation in part-time employment in the RC was associated with subsequent labour market difficulty.

Table 30: Percentage of Respondents in Consecutive Waves of Part-time Employment, by Gender

	Pre-recession Cohort		Recession Cohort	
Number of Consecutive Waves	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
1	15.7	34.2	31.5	41.5
2	1.2	13.1	9.9	19.7
3	0.0	6.7	4.5	9.7
4	0.0	3.9	2.7	5.1
5	0.0	2.0	0.7	2.0
n	440	497	752	808

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Amongst the PRC, men's participation in part-time employment was more clearly associated with moving on than women's. Firstly, men were less likely to experience consecutive waves of part-time work than women. Sixteen percent of men in the PRC participated in one wave of part-time employment, whilst men's participation in more than one consecutive wave of part-time work was very low (Table 30). Women were also most likely to participate in only one wave of part-time employment (34 percent), although 13 percent of women experienced two consecutive waves of part-time employment and seven percent experienced three waves (Table 30). Secondly, 63 percent of men moved from part-time employment to full-time employment in the following wave, compared to only 47 percent of women (Table 31). A further 36 percent of men moved from part-time work to education compared to only 15 percent of women. Part-time employment did not provide a stepping stone for all men however, as eight percent were unemployed in the wave following part-time work, compared to only six percent of women (Table 31).

Men's participation in part-time employment was considerably different in the RC compared to the PRC. Whilst men's participation in part-time employment had been typically transitory prior to the recession, amongst the RC, the percentage of men in two consecutive waves of part-time employment was 12 percentage points higher than for men in the PRC (Table 30). In addition, part-time employment became less of a stepping stone than it had been for men prior to the recession, as demonstrated by two particular trends. Firstly, the percentage of men moving from part-time to full-time employment in the RC was ten percentage points lower than it had been for pre-recession men. Secondly, male part-time employees were six percentage point more likely to become unemployed in the subsequent wave than male part-time employees in the PRC (Table 31). In contrast, women's transitions out of part-time employment varied less between cohorts than men's. Female part-time employees in the RC were only two percentage points less likely to move to full-time work than

their PRC counterparts and were ten percentage points more likely to move from part-time to further part-time employment (Table 31).

Table 31: Transitions from Part-time and Full-time Employment, by Gender

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Part-time to Part-time Emp.	8.5	6	44.4	68	35.7	74	54.2	159
Part-time to Full-time Emp.	62.6	41	46.8	71	53.2	110	45.3	133
Part-time to Unemployment	8.1	5	6.3	10	14.1	29	9.0	26
Part-time to Education	35.5	23	15.0	23	18.8	39	16.0	47
Part-time to Inactivity	0.0	0	12.9	20	0.6	1	8.0	23
Full-time to Full-time Emp.	84.5	276	85.1	266	84.2	352	84.6	333
Full-time to Part-time Employment	3.6	12	17.7	55	11.6	49	21.8	86
Full-time to Unemployment	12.4	40	7.0	22	9.5	40	7.0	27
Full-time to Education	9.3	30	7.6	24	3.3	14	5.3	21
Full-time to Inactivity	0.8	3	5.2	16	0.4	2	3.8	15

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.3.7 Summary of Transitions in and out of Part-time Employment by Gender

In both cohorts, women were more likely to participate in part-time employment than men. That this was the case even where only 15 percent of women in the PRC and 21 percent of women in the RC had childcare responsibilities by Wave 5 (Appendix 2), indicates that women were either

choosing to, or being forced to work part-time for a reason other than balancing work with childcare. This may be because young women were working in sectors where part-time arrangements were more likely, such as retail and hospitality (Brinkley et al. 2013).

Men's participation in part-time employment both increased and was less likely to be followed by full-time work in the RC compared to the PRC. In contrast, the recession brought little change in the role of part-time employment in young women's trajectories. It is difficult to conclude that the recession broadened or narrowed gender inequality in part-time working. On one hand, rates of part-time employment did become more similar for men and women in the recession. However, it was clear that men were more detrimentally impacted by the recession. The findings indicate that men and women had different relationships with part-time work which could not be reduced to a claim of widening or narrowing disparity in the recession.

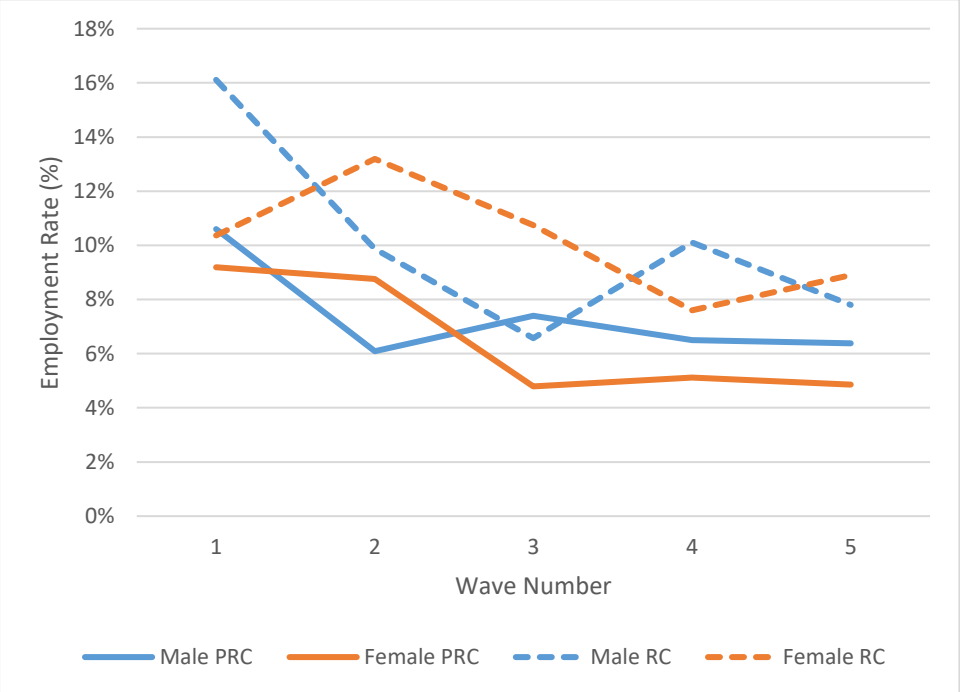
7.4 Temporary Employment and Gender Equality

This research has shown that part-time employment was the site of gender disparity amongst young people both before and after the recession. The extent of gender inequality in part-time work was not matched in respect of temporary work. This conforms to research by Rubery and Rafferty (2014) which showed that following the recession temporary work was fairly evenly distributed between men and women. This following analysis demonstrates that temporary work was an area in which young men and women were more similar, both before and after the recession. Despite this, young men and women had somewhat different relationships with temporary employment. As with part-time employment, the recession brought men and women closer together on some measures but further

apart on others, highlighting further that gender was not a consistently limiting or advantageous factor.

The rates of temporary employment for men and women in each cohort did not present a consistent pattern across waves of data from which it was possible to establish that one gender was disadvantaged relative to the other either before or after the recession (Figure 18). This chimes with previous research which has shown that gender inequality is less distinct in relation to temporary employment than part-time employment (Rubery and Rafferty 2014). Rubery and Rafferty (2014) also found that following the recession, as employers retained permanent employees and stopped renewing temporary contracts, this occurred evenly for men and women such that men and women saw declines in temporary work. This thesis suggests that there was a slightly different pattern amongst the youngest employees as both genders saw a slight increase in rates of temporary employment.

Figure 18: Rate of Temporary Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort, by Gender



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

7.4.1 Moving in to Temporary Work

In terms of the movement in to temporary employment, in the PRC, there was very little difference between young men and women in the percentage of permanent employees who transitioned to temporary employment in the subsequent wave (Table 32). In the RC however, the inequality between genders was exacerbated. RC women saw a six percentage point higher rate of movement from permanent to temporary employment than their PRC counterparts (Table 32). In contrast, RC male full-time employees were only one percentage point more likely to move to temporary work than their PRC counterparts (Table 32). It could be assumed that in making this transition young people were moving in to a new job, as it is unlikely that an employer would change a permanent contract to a temporary one. As such, where women left one job and entered another job, it became more likely that they entered a role on the periphery of the labour market than men. The sectors in which the majority of temporary workers are employed such as public administration, education and health (Institute for Public Policy Research 2010) are also those which are dominated by women (Rubery and Figueiredo 2016), which may explain this pattern.

Chapter 5 demonstrated that the recession had little impact on the extent to which education-leavers transitioned in to temporary rather than permanent employment. A consideration of the impact of gender on entry in to employment highlights distinctive gendered patterns which add nuance to the findings in Chapter 5. Firstly, female education-leavers were eight percentage points more likely to enter temporary work in the RC compared to female education-leavers in the PRC. In contrast, male education-leavers in the RC were five percentage points less likely to move to temporary work than their PRC counterparts. Male unemployment-leavers however were 11 percentage points more likely to enter temporary

work in the RC compared to their PRC counterparts, whilst for female unemployment-leavers, there was very little cohort difference.

Table 32: Transitions in to Temporary Employment, by Gender

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Permanent to Temporary	7.1	25	6.4	24	8.2	40	12.2	62
Education to Temporary	26.5	32	16.9	23	21.8	39	25.2	57
Unemployment to Temporary	18.9	8	12.8	6	30.2	42	13.4	9

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.4.2 Moving out of Temporary Work

There were gender distinctions in the transition out of temporary employment, most notably prior to the recession. In the PRC, male temporary employees were more likely to leave employment compared to female temporary employees (Table 33). Nineteen percent of male temporary-employees were unemployed and 23 percent were in education in the following wave. This compares to only eight percent of female temporary-employees who became unemployed and 11 percent who transitioned to education in the subsequent wave. Female temporary-employees in the PRC were much more likely to remain in work than men. Seventy-two percent of women transitioned from temporary work to full-time work in the following wave compared to only 59 percent of men, whilst 21 percent of women transitioned to further temporary work in the following wave compared to only eight percent of men (Table 33).

In the recession, the implications of working in temporary employment became more similar for young men and women. This was due predominantly to changes for men relative to their PRC counterparts,

whilst women remained very similar to their PRC counterparts. Male temporary employees in the RC were ten percentage points more likely to move to permanent work and seven percentage points less likely move to unemployment than their PRC counterparts (Table 33). This would suggest that temporary employment became a more effective stepping stone to permanent work for men in the recession. Men were also 16 percentage points less likely to move from temporary work to education than their PRC counterparts. This suggests that men in the RC became less inclined to give up their employment position to return to education even if they were in precarious work. The narrowing of the gap between men and women in the RC compared to the PRC suggests that where incidence of temporary working rose modestly in the recession, the impact of temporary work for subsequent economic and labour market statuses was similar for men and women.

Table 33: Transitions from Temporary Employment, by Gender

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Temp. to Temp. Employment	7.8	6	21.1	12	23.1	31	28.7	36
Temp. to Permanent Emp.	58.7	42	71.5	42	68.9	92	70.4	88
Temp. to Unemployment	18.5	13	8.0	5	12.1	16	9.2	12
Temp. to Education	23.1	17	11.4	7	7.4	10	10.3	13

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.4.3 Summary: Gender Equality in Temporary Work

This section found that rates of, and transitions in and out of temporary employment, differed less between young men and women than for part-time work. Where gender distinctions were discernible, they pointed to a

distinction in the role that temporary employment played for young men and women. In particular, temporary employment was more transitory for men in the PRC, being more likely to be followed by leaving employment. In contrast, female temporary employees were more likely to be employed in the subsequent wave in the PRC. The effect of the recession on temporary employment patterns by gender was not consistent. It brought young men and women closer together on some measures, for example their destinations following temporary work. On other measures, such as the likelihood of entering temporary work, the recession exacerbated gender inequality. This was particularly to the detriment of women who became six percentage points more likely to move from permanent to temporary employment relative to their PRC counterparts. This chapter now discusses how transitions in and out of routine, intermediate and management work differed by gender prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession.

7.5 Socio-economic Classification and Gender

Chapter 5 discussed how the majority of young people in the PRC and RC were in routine work. There was a minority who rose to the top of the employment hierarchy even at a young age, although this decreased in the recession. Patterns of vertical gender segregation in the UK show women are more likely to be in employment which is of lower socio-economic classification than men (European Commission 2013). Chapter 3 discussed how this may be related to multiple factors: the structure of the labour market, women's participation in part-time employment, the differential positioning of men and women as primary earners in the family and women's roles as caregivers. Many of the explanations for this gender distinction stem from the normative societal role of women as primary caregivers for children, which may not be so applicable amongst younger employees. The separation of employment in to routine, intermediate and

management is not purely a measurement of vertical segregation. It also encapsulates pertinent patterns of horizontal gender segregation, particularly because sectors dominated by young men such as trades and plant processing work (Brinkley et al. 2013) exist under the banner of routine employment in the NS-SEC and sectors dominated by young women, such as teaching and administration (Brinkley et al. 2013), fall under the bracket of intermediate employment on NS-SEC measures (Office for National Statistics, accessed 2015). It is something to bear in mind that it is not necessarily the case that men and women were competing for employment of the same socio-economic classification.

7.5.1 Entering Employment

Chapter 5 showed that young people entering employment, from either unemployment or education, were most likely to enter routine employment. In the recession, entering routine employment became even more widespread, in particular due to the lower rate of transition in to intermediate employment. Analysing employment entrance by gender highlights complex gender patterns where one gender was not consistently disadvantaged relative to the other.

Amongst the PRC, men entering work tended to enter lower classification work than women (Table 34). In the PRC, male unemployment-leavers were seven percentage points more likely to enter routine employment than female unemployment-leavers. They were also three percentage points less likely to enter intermediate work and nine percentage points less likely to enter management than female unemployment-leavers. Male education-leavers were also six percentage points more likely to enter routine employment and seven percentage points less likely to enter management than female education-leavers. Male education-leavers were more likely to enter intermediate employment than female education-

leavers however, at a rate of 27 percent compared to 24 percent (Table 34).

In the RC, men entering work were polarised in their destinations compared to their PRC counterparts and relative to women (Table 34). Men entering work saw lower rates of entry in to intermediate employment compared to their PRC counterparts. Male unemployment-leavers were 11 percentage points less likely to enter intermediate employment and male education-leavers were 15 percentage points less likely to enter intermediate employment compared to their PRC counterparts. As a consequence, the destinations of male education-leavers polarised; some men were worse off, whilst others were better off than their PRC counterparts. The rate of male education-leavers entering routine employment was eight percentage points higher than in the PRC, whilst the rate of male education-leavers entering management was three percentage points higher than in the PRC. Although male unemployment-leavers were also less likely to enter intermediate employment in the RC, they experienced an eight percentage point increase in entering routine employment, but only a one percentage point increase in entering management compared to their PRC counterparts.

The recession also made some women worse off and some better off than their PRC counterparts (Table 34). Female unemployment-leavers were better off in the recession, being nine percentage points more likely to enter management than their PRC counterparts. However, female education-leavers did not experience the same benefit; they were four percentage points less likely to enter intermediate employment and six percentage points less likely to enter management than their PRC counterparts.

Table 34: Transitions in to Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment, by Gender

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Education to Routine Employment	54.8	66	48.8	67	62.9	111	58.4	132
Education to Intermediate Employment	27.2	33	24.0	33	12.4	22	20.1	45
Education to Management Employment	21.5	26	29.2	40	24.7	44	23.4	53
Unemployment to Routine Employment	61.1	27	54.0	27	71.6	98	47.9	33
Unemployment to Intermediate Employment	25.6	11	28.5	14	14.5	20	24.3	17
Unemployment to Management Employment	13.3	6	19.5	10	13.9	19	28.5	20

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.5.2 Leaving Employment: The Insecurity of Routine Employment

Chapter 5 showed the insecurity of routine employment amongst the full sample. Young people were more likely to leave employment following routine employment than they were following intermediate or management employment. Chapter 6 found that, when considered by class, routine employment was particularly likely to be followed by unemployment for working class young people compared to middle class young people in both cohorts. This chapter finds that the disparity between genders was smaller than the disparity between classes. However, the recession brought more substantial changes for men relative to their PRC counterparts than it did for women.

The destinations of routine employees in the PRC echoed broader gender differences in rates of unemployment and inactivity (Table 35). In the PRC, male routine employees were four percentage points more likely to leave employment and become unemployed than female routine employees. In contrast female routine-employees were ten percentage points more likely than men to become inactive. The higher the classification of employment that young men and women participated in, the less likely they were to leave employment.

Analysis of the full samples in Chapter 5 showed that intermediate employees became more likely to become unemployed in the RC than in the PRC. Assessing this trend by gender highlights that this increase in the insecurity of intermediate employment was experienced predominantly by young men (Table 35). Male intermediate employees in the RC were six percentage points more likely to become unemployed than male intermediate employees in the PRC. By contrast, female intermediate employees were only three percentage points more likely to become unemployed than their PRC counterparts.

Chapter 5 also indicated that following the recession, management employees were more likely to enter self-employment than those in other forms of employment. The analysis here shows that this was a particularly male-dominated trend (Table 35). Amongst the RC, 11 percent of male management employees became self-employed in the following wave, compared to only five percent of male mangers in the PRC. By contrast, only two percent of female managers in the RC and only one percent of female managers in the PRC became self-employed in the following wave.

Table 35: Transitions from Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment, by Gender

Transition	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Routine to Self-employment	5.6	15	2.0	5	6.4	22	1.9	6
Routine to Unemployment	14.6	39	10.8	25	14.6	50	11.5	36
Routine to Education	14.6	39	13.0	31	11.9	41	13.3	42
Routine to Inactivity	0.9	2	10.7	26	0.6	2	8.8	28
Routine to Routine	64.5	171	57.5	136	74.5	257	75.4	240
Routine to intermediate	10.2	27	22.5	53	4.6	16	12.7	40
Routine to Management	14.0	37	16.6	39	10.9	38	12.0	38
Intermediate to Self-employment	6.1	6	1.7	3	3.5	3	1.9	3
Intermediate to Unemployment	5.6	5	4.3	7	12.4	11	6.9	12
Intermediate to Education	10.2	10	7.0	11	5.6	5	9.4	17
Intermediate to Inactivity	0	0	5.7	9	0	0	3.6	6
Intermediate to Routine	12.4	12	18.8	29	11.5	11	11.6	21
Intermediate to Intermediate	48.2	47	61.9	97	67.2	62	76.0	136
Intermediate to Management	42.1	41	36.2	56	24.1	22	24.0	43
Management to Self-employment	4.9	6	1.4	2	11.1	18	1.9	3
Management to Unemployment	6.6	8	2.5	4	3.2	5	2.4	4
Management to Education	5.6	6	3.8	5	3.9	6	4.9	9
Management to Inactivity	0.3	0	1.0	1	0.5	1	1.5	3
Management to Routine	15.7	18	8.4	12	11.6	18	11.9	21
Management to Intermediate	19.4	22	21.3	30	7.4	12	13.3	23
Management to Management	73.8	84	78.6	112	82.8	131	80.9	142

Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

7.5.3 Career Progression and Gender

In traditional models of career development, age is connected with gaining higher level roles, as age can bring additional experience or education, more fruitful employment networks, or even the inclination to pursue higher socio-economic status employment (Chapter 2). However, gender segregation in the UK labour market means that women are more likely to be confined to low-status work (European Commission 2013). How rates of different classifications of work changed over time varied by gender (Figure 19 and Figure 20). In Wave 1 of the PRC, 64 percent of men were in routine work compared to only 47 percent of women. The rate of intermediate work was 32 percent amongst women and only 15 percent amongst men. The percentage of men and women in management was fairly even, at 23 and 22 percent respectively. Over time, the composition of women's employment changed more dramatically than men's. In particular, as women got older, they became more likely to be in management and less likely to be in routine work to a greater extent than men. As such, by Wave 5 of the PRC 43 percent of women were in management, 26 percent in intermediate work and 32 percent in routine work (Figure 20). In comparison, only 34 percent of men were in management, 14 percent in intermediate and 53 percent in routine employment (Figure 19). It is possible that women were attaining management employment at such a high rate specifically because they were young and hence were less likely to have had children by this point in their lives. European research has also found that young women's subject choices in education can propel them in to higher status jobs earlier on in their careers (Iannelli and Smyth 2008).

That women experienced greater upward career progression than men in the PRC was also seen in the wave to wave transitions of young people who were employed in two consecutive waves (Table 36).

The findings show that women were more likely to move from routine employment to either intermediate or management in the following wave than men. Twenty-eight percent of female routine employees transitioned to intermediate employment and 21 percent transitioned to management. By contrast only 13 percent of male routine employees transitioned to intermediate employment and 18 percent transitioned to management (Table 36).

Women did not always experience greater wave-to-wave upward mobility than men however. If women worked in intermediate employment, they were less likely than men to transition to management. Forty-one percent of female intermediate employees transitioned to management in the following wave, compared to 51 of male intermediate employees (Table 36). Women were instead more likely to remain in intermediate employment.

The composition of women's employment in the RC was considerably different to their PRC counterparts whilst men's employment did not alter drastically. Women's participation in routine employment in Wave 1 of the RC was six percentage points higher than at the equivalent wave in the PRC (Figure 20). Women's rate of routine employment also did not decline to the same extent over time as it had done in the PRC. Amongst PRC women, the rate of routine employment declined by 17 percentage points between Wave 1 and Wave 5. By contrast, amongst the RC, rates of routine employment declined by only 11 percentage points between Wave 1 and Wave 5 (Figure 20). The higher levels of routine employment for women in the RC were offset by lower rates of intermediate employment compared to their PRC counterparts (Figure 20). This finding suggests that declines in intermediate employment seen in full sample (Chapter 5), as well as more broadly in the UK (Plunkett and Pessoa 2013), disproportionately affected women.

Although overall rates of employment in different classes of work did not alter substantially for men between cohorts, both men and women in the recession cohort saw lower levels of wave-to-wave career progression compared to their PRC counterparts (Table 36). In the RC, the percentage of women staying in routine work for two waves rather than moving to a higher classification of work was 18 percentage points higher than for women in the PRC. In comparison, men were only ten percentage points more likely to remain in routine employment rather than move to work of a higher socio-economic classification. This had the effect of bringing young men and women closer together, closing the gender disparity to the detriment of women.

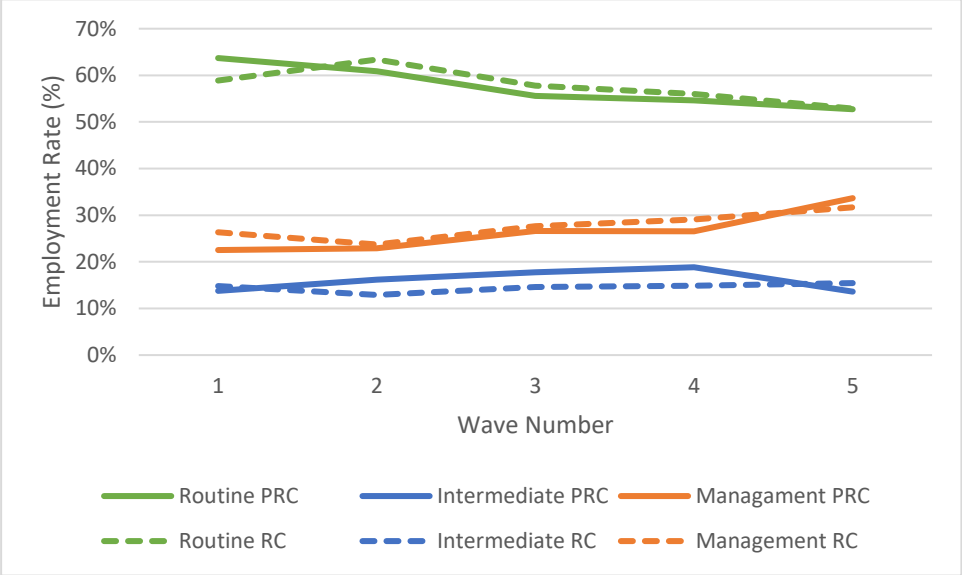
There were differences between men and women as to how this lower upward mobility played out. Where young women were less likely to be upwardly mobile from routine employment in the RC, this was primarily because they saw a 13 percentage point lower rate of movement from routine to intermediate employment (Table 36). In contrast, the rate of men's movement from routine to intermediate employment in the RC was only seven percentage points lower than for PRC men. Instead, young men's upward mobility in the recession was more affected by their declining movement from intermediate to management employment. Amongst the PRC, over half of male intermediate employees moved to management employment at some point in their trajectories (Table 36). This was ten percentage points higher than for women in the PRC. Amongst the RC however, the ability or inclination of men to make the transition from intermediate to management work was 24 percentage points lower than it had been for PRC men. In contrast, for women, the rate of this transition were only 14 percentage points lower than amongst PRC women.

Table 36: Transitions from Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment to Subsequent Classification of Employment, by Gender

Table 9: Socio-economic Destination in Wave following Routine, Intermediate or Management Employment								
	Pre-recession Cohort				Recession Cohort			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Transition	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
Routine to Routine	81.1	178	71.4	142	91.3	251	89.3	234
Routine to intermediate	12.7	28	28.0	56	5.7	16	15.1	39
Routine to Management	17.6	39	20.7	41	13.4	37	14.2	37
Intermediate to Routine	15.0	12	21.2	30	13.1	11	12.9	21
Intermediate to Intermediate	58.3	48	69.8	100	76.6	62	84.6	136
Intermediate to Management	50.9	42	40.8	58	27.5	22	26.7	43
Management to Routine	17.4	18	8.9	12	12.5	18	12.8	21
Management to Intermediate	21.5	22	22.3	30	7.9	12	14.3	23
Management to Management	82.0	84	82.9	111	89.0	129	86.9	140

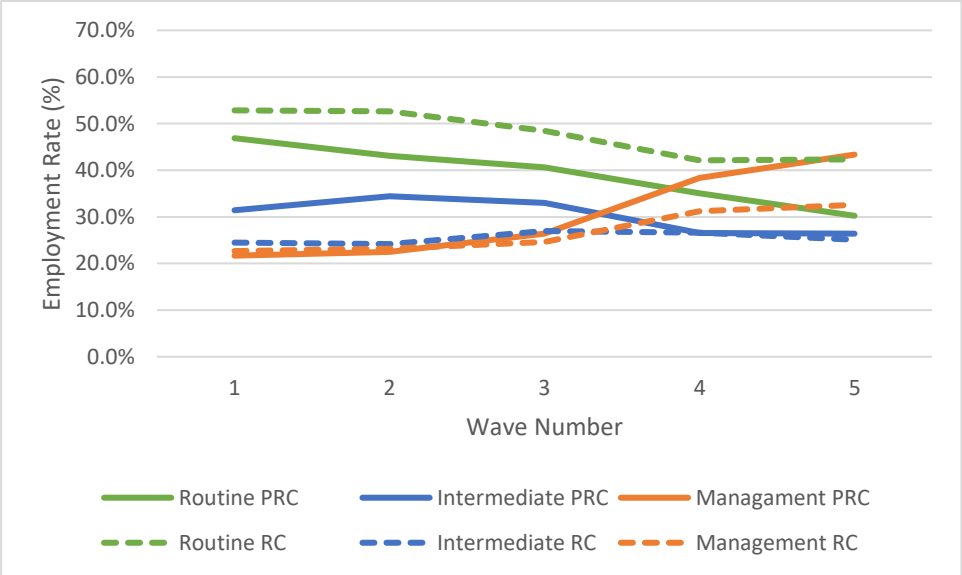
Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by qLRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-5, weighted by e_indinus_lw. Author's own calculations.

Figure 19: Rate of Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort for Men



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

Figure 20: Rate of Routine, Intermediate and Management Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort for Women



Source: BHPS waves 13-17, weighted by wXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1-2 weighted by w_indinus_xw, UKHLS waves 3-5 weighted by w_indinub_xw. Author's own calculations.

7.5.4 Summary of Transitions in and out of Differing Socio-economic Classifications of Work

This analysis of gender and socio-economic classification both substantiates and confronts expectations about gender and socio-economic status found in previous research. It demonstrates that how rates of and transitions in and out of routine, intermediate and management employment differed between genders was highly complex.

In focussing on younger men and women, this analysis showed that young women were more likely to be intermediate employees than men in both cohorts and had similar rates of management employment to men. Men's employment tended to be polarised between routine and management employment. These patterns reflect what was already known about gender segregation to some extent. Job roles dominated by young men, such as skilled trades and process operatives (Brinkley et al. 2013), fall under the bracket of routine employment in the NS-SEC, whilst occupations with a higher prevalence of young women, such as administrative and clerical roles (Brinkley et al. 2013), fall under the bracket of intermediate roles in NS-SEC classifications. This chapter also showed that amongst younger people, gender inequality in access to management was not as distinctive as amongst older employees in the UK (European Commission 2013). The suggestion is that younger women may be more equal to men because they are less likely to have childcare responsibilities. Work which has focussed on young men and women such as Iannelli and Smyth (2008) has also suggested that gender differentiation in field of study has actually contributed to women gaining 'white collar' jobs earlier on in their careers. This finding also reaffirms Brinkley et al.'s (2013) finding that men and women aged 16 to 24 were similarly likely to work in managerial and

profession occupations. Despite this, female intermediate employees were less likely than male intermediate employees to move to management.

Neither gender was consistently disadvantaged relative to the other following the 2008-2009 recession. RC women tended to have higher rates of routine employment and lower rates of management than their PRC counterparts. However, men who entered employment in the RC tended to enter lower classification work than their PRC counterparts to a greater extent than women. It appeared that the problems the recession presented and the way young people dealt with them were gendered. This was seen for example in the way that the recession adversely affected women's likelihood of upward mobility from routine to intermediate employment compared to their PRC counterparts, whilst the recession detrimentally affected men's upward mobility from intermediate to management relative to their PRC counterparts.

7.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter addressed Research Question3: '*to what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by gender and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?*' and Research Question 4: '*What does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?*'

This chapter found that, as with class inequality, the way that transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed by gender were incredibly complex. There were three key areas in which transitions in and out of precarious employment differed by gender. Firstly, women were substantially more likely to be inactive and move in and out of inactivity than men. This was suggested to be because of women's childcare responsibilities, as the gender differentiation in rates of inactivity between

men and women without children was negligible. Secondly, women were more likely to be part-time employed and move in and out of part-time employment than men. That the association of women with part-time employment seen amongst older workers was apparent in these samples, where the majority of young women did not have children, was notable. This may reflect young women's higher likelihood of working in sectors with a high prevalence of part-time contracts such as care, leisure and hospitality (Brinkley et al. 2013). Thirdly, men were more likely to be unemployed and move in and out of unemployment than women.

There were two particular areas in which the recession could be considered a 'young mancession'. Firstly, young men were more likely to experience unemployment compared to women and compared to their PRC counterparts. This conformed to expectations given the higher likelihood that young men work in cyclically sensitive jobs, such as process, plant and machine operative (McKay et al. 2013, Brinkley et al. 2013). Secondly, the role that part-time employment played in men's trajectories in the RC was considerably different compared to the PRC in a way which suggested that part-time employment was associated with labour market difficulty for young men following the recession. This was exemplified by the higher rate of consecutive waves of part-time employment amongst young men, the higher likelihood that men would enter part-time employment and the higher rates of male part-time employees becoming unemployed in the RC compared to men in the PRC. As such, the extent to which transitions differed by gender narrowed upwards along the dimension of part-time employment in the recession but widened on measures of unemployment.

Despite these trends, men were not consistently more adversely affected by recession than women across all measures. Temporary employment was a site of considerable gender parity in both cohorts, whilst both women's and men's career progression was adversely impacted by recession. As

such, the extent to which transitions differed by gender was more moderate in relation to the dimensions of temporary employment and classification of work.

Previous research has shown that a key difference between young men and women is in women's higher likelihood of becoming inactive (Martin et al. 2008, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). This chapter provides further support for the assertion that young women are more likely to be inactive than young men. However, it also adds to previous research in its assessment of how the impact of gender altered in recession. This chapter suggests that Rubery and Rafferty's (2013) assertion that women may be increasingly less likely to be peripheral to the labour market was particularly the case amongst young women following the 2008-2009 recession, as they became less likely to move from employment to inactivity compared to their PRC counterparts.

This chapter highlights that previous dichotomous understandings of youth trajectories as either 'NEET or tidy' (Roberts 2011) do not reflect the vast complexity of how gender interacts with opportunities in the labour market under different economic conditions to impact on early employment trajectories. This chapter confirms that gender certainly is an important factor in youth trajectories, as indicated in previous research (Martin et al. 2008, Dorsett and Lucchino 2008, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015, Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016, Berloffa et al. 2017). However, it contributes further to existing research through finding that transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions following the 2008-2009 recession differed by gender in a variety of ways that extended beyond the simple fact that men had higher unemployment rates than women. In exploring transitions in and out of different types of employment in differing economic contexts, this research contributed new knowledge to sequence analysis research particularly by showing that men became more

likely to move in to part-time employment in the recession and that part-time employment became less of a stepping stone to full-time work for men during the recession.

This chapter raises similar implications for the discussion of the end of work as Chapter 6. That there was so much gender differentiation in part-time working, inactivity and unemployment shows that background characteristics must be acknowledged when discussing macro theories of how employment has changed. The existence of precarious employment in contemporary society does not affect all groups to the same extent or in the same ways. Therefore, to reiterate a point from Chapter 6, our understanding of how precarious an employment type actually is depends upon who is participating in that form of work and what the wider economic context of the time is.

Chapter Eight: Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored the impact of the 2008-2009 recession on young people's transitions in and out of unemployment and precarious employment with a focus on the role gender and class played in these transitions. In doing so it has contributed to sociological debate on both the increased precariousness of work and the nature of youth trajectories. This thesis answered four research questions:

1) To what extent did young people's transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ before and after the 2008-2009 recession?

2) To what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by class and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?

3) To what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by gender and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?

4) What does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?

This final chapter outlines the key findings of the research and addresses the thesis' research questions. It then discusses the limitations of the research before concluding and identifying potential areas for future research.

Some sociological work has made broad suggestions regarding both the end of work and the changing nature of youth trajectories. Employment has been discussed as increasingly 'precarious'. This term, along with terms

such as ‘insecure’, have painted a picture of employment that is more short-term, contingent and of lower quality, as well as signalling the issue of employee displacement and potential mass unemployment (Rifkin 1995, Beck 2000, Standing 2011).

The specific focus on youth trajectories in relation to precarious work was vital given the prevalence of young people in precarious employment relative to other age groups, the detrimental effects of the recession on young people’s employment and the sociological insight that the opportunities present in the labour market inevitably shape young people’s trajectories (Roberts, 1968, 2009, Cote and Bynner 2008). Contemporary youth trajectories have been conceived of as non-linear and fragmented (Furlong et al. 2003, Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Shildrick et al. 2010, Furlong et al. 2018) involving “breaks, changes of direction and unusual sequences of events. They can involve extended or repeated experiences of unemployment, frequent moves between jobs and returns to education and training after periods in employment.” (Furlong et al. 2003: 25). This conceptualisation is typically juxtaposed to ‘golden age’ trajectories involving swift and easy transitions from education to employment and from youth to adulthood, although this has already been strongly debated (Vickerstaff 2003, Goodwin and O’Connor 2005, Goodwin and O’Connor 2007, Goodwin and O’Connor 2009, Goodwin and O’Connor 2015). Transitions toward financial independence and a focus on occupational goals have been identified as markers of the transition from adolescence through to (emerging) adulthood (Cote and Bynner 2008, Tanner and Arnett 2016). Yet, where the 2008-2009 recession increased rates of youth unemployment, part-time and temporary employment and further hollowed out the labour market, how were young people’s employment trajectories affected?

Using the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), this thesis explored how the recession and class and gender inequalities impacted transitions in and out of precarious

employment and unemployment by comparing two cohorts of young people; a pre-recession cohort (2003-2007) and a recession cohort (2009-2013) using sequence analysis methods.

8.2 Key Findings

8.2.1 Research Question One: The Recession and the Increased Minority

In response to Research Question 1 "*To what extent did young people's transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ before and after the 2008-2009 recession?"*, this thesis found that the extent to which transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed prior to and following the 2008-2009 recession was modest. The overwhelming evidence from this research was that, even in the context of recession, the minority of young people aged 16 to 24 experienced unemployment or precarious employment. Young people in both cohorts tended to have trajectories which approximated to the model of the 'golden age' trajectory characterised by education of various lengths followed by employment, or five waves of employment. Participation in unemployment or precarious employment was short-lived and tended to be followed by standard employment forms in the subsequent wave. Rates of temporary employment in particular were very low. Despite this, this thesis demonstrated that, following the 2008-2009 recession, there was an increased minority of young people who experienced prolonged or repeated spells of unemployment, part-time, temporary and routine employment. In particular, the analyses identified the difficulty that education-leavers faced in entering employment, especially non-precarious employment, in the recession. The analyses also showed that key indicators of social inequality such as class and gender were are implicated

in whether an employment form such as part-time or temporary employment brought subsequent labour market difficulty.

8.2.2 Research Questions Two and Three: The Complexity of Inequalities

A key finding of this research was that young people were not a homogenous group experiencing precarious work in the same way; the impact of class and gender was explicit in how young people moved in and out of precarious positions. Although class and gender inequalities were identifiable, the empirical analysis showed that each played out in complex ways. In particular, there were two vital findings. Firstly, the effects of class and gender were not consistent across the different employment measures used here. Secondly, the recession did not consistently disadvantage one group over the other. It appeared that the complexity was due in part to different groups experiencing different labour market problems. For example, men's part-time working changed in the recession whilst women's did not. The complexity of inequality identified here contradicts suggestions that the 2008-2009 recession constituted the first 'middle class recession' or a 'mancession' (Vaitilingham 2009, McKay et al. 2013).

Previous research has considered both class and gender as factors in early employment and youth trajectories in to adulthood more generally (Martin et al. 2008, Duckworth and Schoon 2012, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). This thesis reaffirms what was already known about the impact of class and gender in sequence analysis research: that young women tend to become inactive earlier than men and that men and socially disadvantaged young people experience more unemployment in their early trajectories. However, it provides an important contribution to previous research by discussing how the role of class and gender in youth trajectories varies before and after the 2008-2009 recession and by discussing transitions in and out of different employment forms rather than just economic statuses.

Specific trends identified in this thesis highlight some of the complexity of the role of gender and class in youth trajectories.

8.2.2a Class

In answering Research Question 2: "*to what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by class and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?",* this thesis found that transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions did differ by class. The extent to which transitions differed by class were seen predominantly along the dimensions of participation in unemployment and education. The extent to which transitions in and out of precarious employment differed by class was less distinct. Furthermore, the recession did alter transitions for young people from different class backgrounds but not consistently across all measures of precariousness.

Broadly speaking, working class young people were worse off prior to the recession and were also more detrimentally impacted by the recession. This provides support for Bourdieu's theory of capitals (1986) in that lower levels of cultural capital in the form of lower parental education led to disadvantage, particularly in the higher prevalence of moving in and out of unemployment and experiencing less of a stepping stone from part-time to full-time employment than middle class young people. This conforms to expectations given that middle class parents are able to 'protect' their children from employment adversity to some extent through education (Devine 2004, McKnight 2015). However, it was not the case that middle class young people were exempt from experiencing increased levels, and prolonged or repeated spells, of unemployment and precarious work. Because this research identified clear differences between young people whose parents had differing levels of education, this adds to theoretical work by indicating that parental education is a useful indicator of class

advantage. This adds to contemporary discussions of what class is (Goldthorpe and McKnight 2004, Savage et al. 2013, Bradley 2014) by showing that parental education is an important cultural dimension of class which confers advantage in differing economic contexts.

How transitions in and out precarious labour market positions differed by class changed in the recession, and these changes were complex and inconsistent across the measures used here. This was due in part to the two class groups experiencing different employment trends and reacting differently to employment problems. This was seen for example in the higher likelihood for middle class youth to return to education following a spell of unemployment. This was also apparent in the different impact of recession on upward mobility; where working class youth saw declines in movement from routine to intermediate employment whilst middle class youth saw declines in mobility from intermediate to management employment.

8.2.2b Gender

In answering Research Question 3: "*to what extent did transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differ by gender and how, if at all, did this alter following the 2008-2009 recession?"*, this thesis found that there were key ways in which transitions in and out of precarious labour market positions differed by gender and that this did alter in the recession in a way which highlighted the complexity of gender inequality in differing economic contexts. Young women aged 16 to 24 tended to participate in more 'peripheral' jobs and inactivity than men in both cohorts, which conforms to previous understandings of women's economic positions that tell us that women tend to experience more precarious employment (Rubery and Rafferty 2014). The recession brought less change for women than it did for men in comparison to their pre-recession counterparts. That

young women did not see substantial increases in inactivity or precarious employment substantiates Rubery and Rafferty's (2013) suggestion that women were not less willing to become peripheral employees where the demand for labour decreased. This research contributes by showing that this was the case amongst the youngest employees. Young men were more likely to be unemployed in both cohorts. The effect of recession tended to be greater for men, particularly in their increasing levels and changing transitions in and out of unemployment and part-time work. The findings regarding how men became more likely to move in to part-time employment and less likely to experience a stepping stone from part-time to full-time work following the 2008-2009 recession is a novel and important contribution in the understanding of youth employment in recession.

8.2.3 Research Question Four: The End of Work and the Nature of Youth Trajectories

In regards to Research Question 4: "*what does this research contribute to sociological understandings of youth trajectories in relation to the end of work?*, the empirical findings uphold research which has disputed the pervasiveness of the end of work (Scherer 2004, Fevre 2007) and provide support for Strangleman's (2007) assertion that end of work theorists overstated macro-social change. It contributes to research on the end of work by indicating that the wider economic context must be considered in discussion of the end of work; making sweeping remarks about how the nature of work has changed or has not changed undermines the impact of business cycles. This has the potential to be of increasing importance as Britain's exit from the European Union in 2019 may bring further economic downturn in the UK (OECD Economic Outlook November 2017). It is also important to note that, despite the low levels of precarious work amongst

young people seen here, the world of work is constantly changing and there is the potential for the increased use of technology, particularly robotics to amplify the minority who experience labour market difficulty which was identified here (Frey and Osborne 2013, De Stefano 2015, Coyle 2017).

This thesis also presented four pivotal trends which contribute to our understandings of precarious work in youth trajectories and youth transitions to adulthood. Firstly, youth trajectories did not appear to be as fragmented and non-linear as sociological research has suggested. They actually conformed more to what would be expected of 'golden age' trajectories, although as discussed in Chapter 4 and below, this research did not consider employment transitions between waves and so will be underestimating the extent of fragmentation within a 12 month period. Secondly, how young people moved in and out of different employment forms did alter following the 2008-2009 recession, with the key factors being the increase in precarious working and unemployment and the weaker stepping stones to 'better' work. Previous sequence analysis research on early employment had not contrasted sequences from before and after the 2008-2009 recession for UK young people. This research has filled this gap. Thirdly, this research showed that gender and class affect early employment trajectories in complex ways which are not captured in dualistic conceptions of 'fast' and 'slow' transitions (Jones 2002) or 'NEET and tidy' pathways (Roberts 2011). Fourthly, in its assessment of precarious employment, it further argued that it is not enough to look at the transition in to work, but that the type of employment young people enter must be considered. This research drew on Roberts' theory of opportunity structures (Roberts 1968, 2009) as a framework for understanding the implications of both background characteristics and opportunities in the labour market as the catalysts for shaping early trajectories. As such, it supported Cote and Bynner's (2008) suggestion that

opportunities in the labour market need to be considered when discussing the protraction of transitions.

This research broadly conformed to previous quantitative trajectory research which has also tended to show that linear transitions are commonplace (Martin et al. 2008, Schoon et al. 2009, Quintini and Manfredi 2009, Dorsett and Lucchino 2015). By contrast, it has contradicted qualitative research which has tended to highlight difficult employment transitions, especially given that much of the focus has been on the most disadvantaged (Shildrick and Macdonald 2007, Shildrick et al. 2012). The research presented in this thesis provides an important contribution to trajectory research; firstly by providing a comparative perspective embedded in economic contexts, and secondly by showing that early trajectories were detrimentally affected by the 2008-2009 recession but that there were complex class and gender inequalities present. This research used large samples of 1170 16 to 24 year olds in the pre-recession cohort (PRC) and 1622 16 to 24 year olds in the recession cohort (RC). It therefore provides a broad and representative analysis of young people in the UK between 2003 and 2013.

8.3 Policy Implications

This thesis provides important implications for youth employment and welfare policies in the UK.

This research has implications for welfare to work policies. Jobseeker's Allowance policy requires jobseekers to be 'actively looking for work' and to report on job search activity. The cessation of claiming occurs when employment of any kind is attained, regardless of the quality of the job. This thesis supports this policy approach in that it finds precarious employment forms are beneficial for young people's subsequent

employment prospects. However, there is a caveat in that this research does not track employment between waves whereas previous research has highlighted the potential churn between poor work and unemployment which may occur (Shildrick et al. 2012, Thompson 2015).

Successive welfare policies have restricted the amount of benefit which can be received by under-25s, as well as placing more stringent conditions on their claims compared to older benefit claimants (Crisp and Powell 2016). This research does not support this approach, regardless of economic context, because it is premised on the largely un-evidenced assumptions that under-25s are more likely to receive financial support from parents (Kennedy 2014). This research has shown in particular however, that following the 2008-2009 recession, young people were less able to move from part-time and temporary employment to full-time and permanent work, and were also more likely to plateau in routine employment. As such, if the UK does experience another recession, this research recommends that more provision will need to be made to combat the potential of in-work poverty amongst younger people.

A large policy change for young people in contemporary society was the raising of the participation age to 18 by 2015 as part of the Building Engagement, Building Futures Strategy (HM Government 2011). This thesis supports the idea that it is beneficial for young people to be in some form of employment, as employment tends to bring stepping stones to further employment. However, in recession it found that education-leavers were particularly affected in their ability to find employment, especially work in non-precarious employment. As such, it is recommended that, as well as raising the participation age, there should be policy provision to support recent education-leavers. The 2017 Youth Obligation policy had outlined plans to bring Jobcentre Plus careers, apprenticeships and training guidance into secondary school in England (House of Commons 2017). This research suggests that specific resource may also be needed for young people who have recently left education.

If policy-makers remain intent on supply-side rather than demand-side policies, this research indicates that working class young people may also need additional support to move from unemployment and from precarious to non-precarious employment. This research showed in particular, that cultural capital can have important ramifications for the employment prospects of education-leavers.

Focussing on the supply-side may be beneficial to a degree, however, the research is mindful that the UK focus on supply-side policies has had limited results (Crisp and Powell 2016). This thesis shows that education-leavers and working class young people are impacted specifically when labour demand is low. It is important that the government aims to encourage job opportunities for young people instead of focussing solely on increasing employability. As such, this research would support policy to subsidize the creation of jobs for young people similar to the Future Jobs Fund, created in 2009 (House of Commons 2011).

8.4 Limitations of this Thesis and Recommendations for Future Research

This research provides important insight in to how young people's movement in and out of precarious employment positions altered in the recession and how class and gender were key factors impacting trajectories. This research has clear implications for the sociology of the end of work and youth trajectories as well as policy implications. However, like all research, it has some limitations.

This research was based on secondary analysis of the highest quality quantitative data available in the UK which was weighted to be representative of the UK population. Nevertheless, it has limitations which were discussed in Chapter 4. Limitations included being restricted by the

available variables and, even though they are some of the largest samples available in the UK (7000 households in the BHPS (Taylor et al. 2010) and 40000 in the UKHLS (Knies 2017)), the sample size of young people in less common forms of work, for example temporary employment, were restrictive.

A difficulty in this research, as well as broader sociological enquiry, is how to understand 'class', with debates about how to define class along economic, cultural of social dimensions (Goldthorpe and McKnight 2004, Savage et al. 2013, Bradley 2014). This thesis used a binary variable of parental education, thus focussing on the cultural dimension of class. This was necessary given the small sample size and the difficulty in using parental employment variables discussed in Chapter 4. It is acknowledged that using this measure will not give as rounded an idea of class inequality using a combination of economic and cultural measures.

One drawback of this work is that it does not account for what occurs in young people's employment between measured waves. Previous qualitative work has highlighted that there can be multiple transitions in young people's employment which sees them moving rapidly between work and employment, particularly when the work is precarious and young people are disadvantaged (Furlong and Cartmel 2004, Macdonald and Shildrick 2007, Shildrick et al. 2012). However, this research benefits from a large sample size which allowed, for example, for comparison between two class groups rather than focussing only on the most disadvantaged. Furthermore, it was important to draw conclusions from wave to wave data. This research showed that the majority of young people in part-time work did find full-time work in the following year and the majority of young unemployed people were employed in the following wave. There were also discernible differences between the pre-recession cohort and recession cohort and between different genders and classes.

A limitation of this study was that the intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991) of class and gender was not evaluated. Gender and class have been shown to intersect to impact experiences in the home, in education and ultimately in the workplace for both women and men (Willis 1977, Reay 1991, Skeggs 1997, Acker 2006, McDowell 2011, Huppatz 2012, Nixon 2018). This research does highlight several important and interesting trends regarding the role of class and gender separately, but future research would be useful to carry out regression analysis which can account for the interaction between these factors.

Finally, a possible limiting factor is that this research operationalised 'precariousness' as participation in unemployment, part-time, temporary and routine employment. This thesis was based on the assumption that unemployment, part-time employment, temporary employment and routine employment are of lower quality. These assumptions were based on a plethora of previous research detailed in Chapter 2. However, there are many other ways that the understanding of precarious work could be approached, as identified by the many facets of job quality discussed by Kalleberg (2016) and Taylor (2017) such as wages, autonomy over work, job satisfaction and trade union coverage. The analysis had the particular benefit however, of assessing transitions in and out of these forms of work to provide a dynamic understanding of precariousness.

It would be beneficial to undertake future mixed methods research to explore young people's attitudes to unemployment and precarious employment as well as the conditions of precarious work to go beyond previous qualitative work which has tended to focus on the most disadvantaged. This is particularly the case in regards to the key findings of increased part-time work and the changing role of part-time work for men in the recession. It would be beneficial to explore young men's part-time employment further to gain qualitative insight in to young men's attitudes to part-time work to bolster quantitative evidence on this topic. Further

suggestions for future research also include the use of quantitative research which can account for class and gender in an intersectional way.

Young people's employment has been and continues to be a key area of study in Sociology. Times of transition are pivotal in young people's lives and for the exploration of how trajectories develop. Understanding how they vary along dimensions of social inequality, if and how they change, both over time and in differing economic contexts, is crucial for sociological research going forward.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Demographic Characteristics of Pre-recession and Recession Cohort, Unweighted

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
Age at Wave 1	n(mean)	%(standard deviation)	n(mean)	%(standard deviation)
16	139	11.9	240	14.8
17	138	11.8	198	12.2
18	123	10.5	144	8.9
19	132	11.3	156	9.6
20	139	11.9	175	10.8
21	100	8.6	156	9.6
22	119	10.2	165	10.2
23	147	12.6	177	10.9
24	133	11.4	211	13.0
	1170	100.2	1622	100.0
Age at Wave 5				
19	5	0.4	13	0.8
20	137	11.7	214	13.2
21	135	11.5	202	12.5
22	119	10.2	148	9.1
23	139	11.9	161	9.9
24	133	11.4	169	10.4
25	104	8.9	158	9.7
26	119	10.2	160	9.9
27	147	12.6	178	11.0
28	126	10.8	207	12.8
29	6	0.5	12	0.7
Total	1170	100.1	1622	100.0
Mean Age Wave 1	(19.97)	(2.63)	(19.92)	(2.74)
Mean Age Wave 5	(23.97)	(2.65)	(23.95)	(2.76)
Male	527	45.0	657	40.5
Female	643	55.0	865	59.5
Total	1170	100.0	1622	100
Middle Class	602	54.5	873	57.0
Working Class	503	45.5	659	43.0
Total	1105	100.0	1532	100.0
Educational Attainment (Wave 1)				
No Qualifications	94	8.3	99	6.1

Other Qualifications	80	7.0	41	2.5
GCSEs	336	29.5	559	34.5
A Levels	331	29.0	612	37.7
Other HE	197	17.3	124	7.6
Degree	102	9.0	187	11.5
Total	1140	100.1	1622	99.9
Educational Attainment (Wave 5)				
No Qualifications	50	4.4	38	2.3
Other Qualifications	60	5.3	31	1.9
GCSEs	180	15.8	353	21.8
A Levels	281	24.7	589	36.3
Other HE	328	28.8	178	11.0
Degree	239	21.0	433	26.7
Total	1138	100.0	1622	100.0
Childcare Responsibilities Wave 1				
Yes	105	9.0	204	12.6
No	1065	91.0	1418	87.4
Total	1170	100.0	1622	100.0
Childcare Responsibilities Wave 5				
Yes	202	17.3	343	21.2
No	968	82.7	1279	78.9
Total	1170	100.0	1622	100.1

Source: BHPS waves 13 and 17 weighted by mXRWTUK1 and qXRWTUK1, UKHLS waves 1 and 5 weighted by a_indinus_xw and e_indinub_xw. Author' own calculations.

Appendix 2: Percentage of Respondents with Childcare Responsibilities for Child under 16 at Wave Five, by Gender

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Yes	0.2	27.0	0.1	39.8
No	99.8	73.1	99.9	60.2
n	534	610	764	854

Source: BHPS wave 17 weighted by qXRWTUK1, UKHLS 5 weighted by e_indinub_xw. Author' own calculations

Appendix 3 Composition of Temporary Employment at Wave One, by Class

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)	Working Class (%)	Middle Class (%)
Part-time Temporary	66.2	21.7	49.4	50.3
Full-time Temporary	33.8	78.3	50.6	49.7
n	15	37	36	43
Routine Temporary	80.6	34.0	60.8	50.9
Intermediate Temporary E	12.7	45.4	28.0	19.2
Managerial Temporary	6.7	20.7	11.2	28.0
n	20	37	36	43

Source: BHPS wave 13 weighted by mXRWTUK1, UKHLS wave 1 weighted by a_indinus_xw. Author' own calculations.

Appendix 4 Cohabitation and Marriage at Wave Five, by Gender

	Pre-recession Cohort		**Recession Cohort**	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Married or Cohabiting	21.8	32.1	20.7	35.7
Not Married or Cohabiting	78.2	68.0	79.3	64.3
n	551	604	764	854

Source: BHPS wave 17 weighted by qXRWTUK1, UKHLS 5 weighted by e_indinub_xw. Author' own calculations

Appendix 5: Rate of Part-time Employment in Pre-recession Cohort and Recession Cohort for Men and Women without Childcare Responsibilities