

Dicks, Alexander; Levels, Mark

**Book Part — Published Version**

## NEET during the School-to-Work Transition in the Netherlands

**Provided in Cooperation with:**

WZB Berlin Social Science Center

*Suggested Citation:* Dicks, Alexander; Levels, Mark (2022) : NEET during the School-to-Work Transition in the Netherlands, In: Levels, Mark Brzinsky-Fay, Christian Holmes, Craig Jongbloed, Janine Taki, Hirofumi (Ed.): The Dynamics of Marginalized Youth, ISBN 978-1-003-09665-8, Routledge, London, pp. 25-55, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003096658-2>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/251782>

**Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:**

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

**Terms of use:**

*Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.*

*You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.*

*If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.*



<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

## 2 NEET during the School-to-Work Transition in the Netherlands

*Alexander Dicks and Mark Levels*

### 2.1 Introduction to NEET in the Netherlands

In this chapter, we investigate how individual characteristics can explain school-to-work transitions that are associated with NEET status after leaving secondary school in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is a particularly interesting case to study youth who are Not in Employment, Education, or Training. In 2016, the Netherlands had the lowest NEET rate in the European Union (Eurofound, 2016). This may be attributable to the education system. In the Dutch education system, VET students generally make the school-to-work transition successfully (e.g. [Bernardi et al., 2004](#); [Cedefop, 2020](#)). Compared with their counterparts in other European countries, Dutch VET graduates are relatively successful in making the school-to-work transition ([Cedefop, 2020](#)). The vocational education system generally succeeds well in teaching students relevant occupationally specific skills, and a vocational degree in the Netherlands is not perceived by employers as a signal of low academic performance ([Muja et al., 2019](#)). All of this ensures a relatively smooth labour market allocation for vocationally educated children.

However, the downside to this well-functioning allocation system may well be that those school-leavers who do not succeed in making a successful school-to-work transition are perceived by employers as fundamentally unfit for the labour market. Indeed, early inactivity can act as a trap for Dutch school-leavers ([Steijn et al., 2006](#); [Wolbers, 2007](#)) especially when outflow is low, and spells are long ([Ryan, 2001](#); [Luijkx and Wolbers, 2009](#)). Also, crowding out is an important issue ([Gesthuizen and Wolbers, 2010](#)). Government policies are often criticised for failing to meet the real needs of youth and instead focus policies “on the school-age group, leaving young people who struggle to make successful first steps into the labour market, relatively unattended” ([Bekker and Klosse, 2016](#): p. 249). When asked why they are NEET, youth often highlight “external (no suitable job or course, no decent jobs or courses available) rather than internal causes (not decided what job or course to do, need more qualifications)” ([Reeskens and van Oorschot, 2012](#): p. 380).

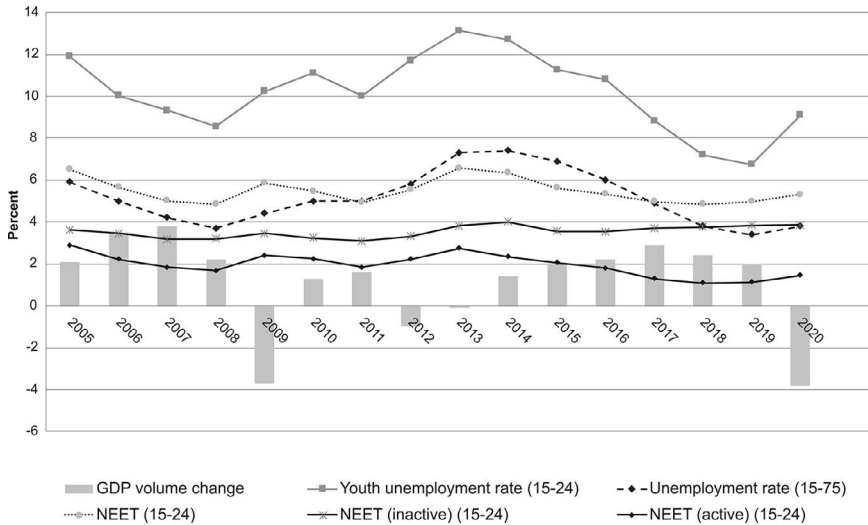


Figure 2.1 Trends in unemployment and NEETs in the Netherlands.

As a consequence, in the Netherlands NEETs are more often inactive than in most other EU countries (Eurofound, 2016). Recent policy changes did not succeed in reducing the number of NEETs (Cammeraat et al., 2017). This leads to the assumption that those who do become NEET in The Netherlands are a particularly negatively selected group, who are relatively immune to policy interventions. This is illustrated further by Figure 2.1, which shows that youth unemployment in the Netherlands is somewhat higher than the unemployment rate of general population. The general unemployment rate, the youth unemployment rate, and the active NEET rate closely follow the trend in vacancy rates. The rate of inactive youth, however, does not.

One main practical advantage of studying NEET in the Netherlands is the high quality of the available data. In particular, we use register data from the Social Statistical Database (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands (CBS) (Bakker et al., 2014). This allows us to follow people throughout their school-to-work transition.

## 2.2 Institutions and policies in the Netherlands

Many Dutch institutions and policies were a deliberate attempt to counter rapidly rising youth unemployment in the 1980s, when very high rates of youth unemployment, especially among the less educated, paired with and low outflow and educational crowding out were of great concern (Salverda, 1992). Eventually, different institutional changes were made, and specific

policies were introduced, which helped to create the “Dutch miracle” and unemployment plummeted.

### 2.2.1 *The Dutch education system*

First and foremost, the Dutch education system is commonly thought to contribute to good labour market allocation of school-leavers and the low number of NEET. The Dutch education system aims to sort pupils according to their ability, provide them with skills relevant to them, and provide them with a qualification that is meaningful and valuable in the labour market. For that, a number of devices are put in place. First, as [Figure 2.2](#) illustrates, the system is highly tracked. Tracking starts relatively early, at age 12. After primary education, children generally can go to one of four secondary vocational tracks, or to one of two general academic tracks. The four secondary vocational tracks (VMBO) in principle prepare for vocational training at the upper secondary level (MBO, also four tracks). All upper secondary tracks have school-based and a workplace-based curriculum. The academic tracks in secondary education (HAVO, VWO) prepare for tertiary vocational education (HBO, equivalent to bachelor’s degree) and university, respectively. A diploma at MBO level 4 is also an entry ticket to the HBO. Special education and practical education tracks are designed for schooling children with special needs or learning disabilities, respectively. In principle, the tracks are a form of ability-based vertical stratification that allows for differentiating. To allow for repairing for initial misplacement, mobility between adjacent tracks is possible, after gaining the necessary entry qualification requirements. Around 5% of pupils are downwardly mobile while another 7% are upwardly mobile with mobility rates also increasing in the last decades ([Tieben and Wolbers, 2010](#)). While in theory intra-secondary track mobility is available to everybody, in reality it is more often used by pupils from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, thus exacerbating existing inequalities ([Jacob and Tieben, 2009](#)).

The sorting system is highly standardised. Sorting over the educational strata happens based on test results. Track placement in secondary education is determined by the pupils’ score on a series of standardised performance tests on a number of indicators (e.g. reading and math literacy, logic, or world orientation) and a teacher evaluation, right at the end of elementary education. Admission to post-secondary and tertiary education programmes is conditional on obtaining credentials from relevant secondary education programmes. To obtain such diplomas, pupils’ abilities are tested with centralised exit exams and school exams. This standardisation of output is meant to ensure that Dutch school-leavers at least have gained the minimum requirements to succeed in post-secondary or tertiary education.

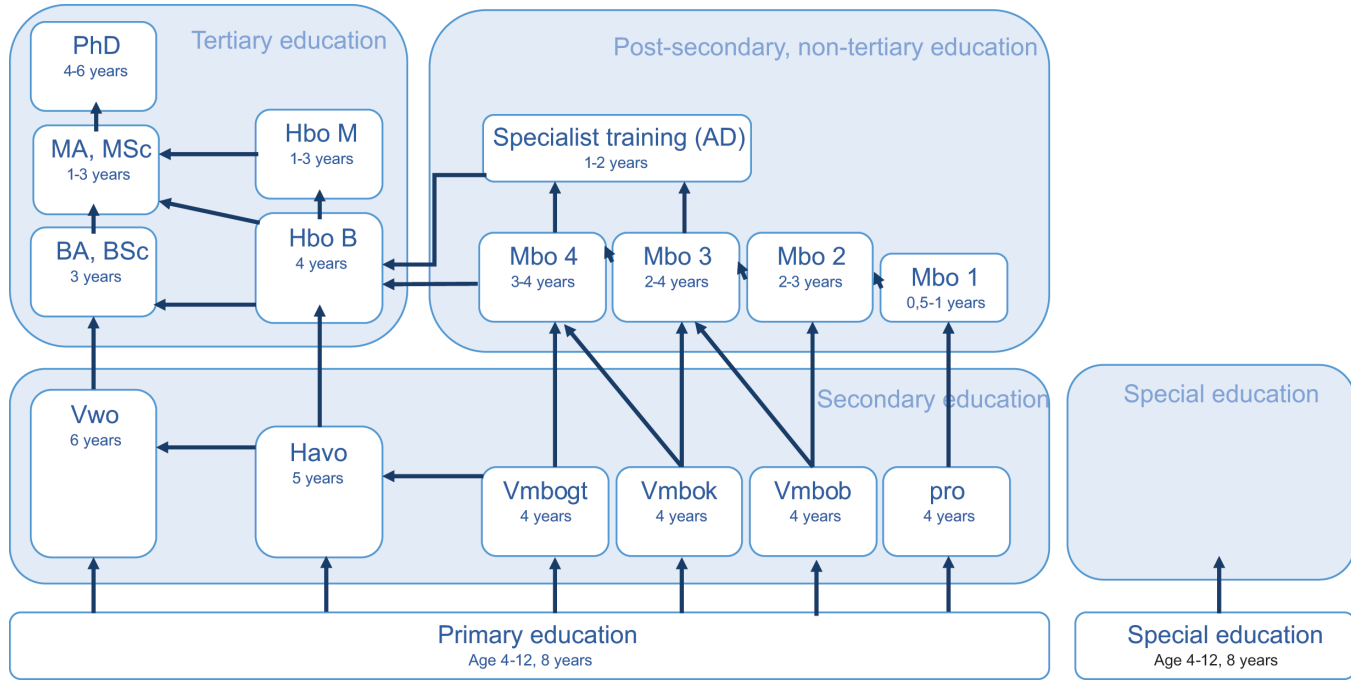


Figure 2.2 Schematic overview of the Dutch education system.

The Dutch education system is thought to limit the NEET rate in various ways. First, education is mandatory in the Netherlands until the age of 16. In addition, Dutch pupils between 16 and 18 are obligated by law to obtain a qualifying diploma, which is minimally at the level of MBO level 2, HAVO, or VWO. Pupils who leave the education system before the age of 18 and without a diploma are considered early school-leavers. After the age of 18, the legal pupils between 18 and 23 who do not have a qualifying diploma receive government support from a regional coordinator. This system keeps students in school until they have a qualifying diploma. Second, the costs of education are low. It should be noted here that Dutch youth in education receive ample financial support to help them to engage in studies. Dutch nationals can receive government support (in some cases: a low-interest loan) for education. In general, people who are registered for full-time or dual programmes at a school for VMBO, HAVO, VWO, MAVO, LWOO, Praktijkonderwijs, VSO, or VAVO (secondary education), school-based programmes in the MBO, or programmes at tertiary education are eligible for financial support, if the education programme is accredited and takes longer than one year.

Youth in secondary education and MBO have to be 18 years old to be eligible; for youth in tertiary education, there is no minimum age requirement. Eligibility ends at the age of 30. The general support takes the form of a monthly payment and free travel in public transportation. The amount of the monthly payment depends on the income of parents. Children from low-income families receive higher support. The general support is intended to pay for general study costs and living conditions, to pay for college fees, and additional government loans can be applied for.

### 2.2.2 Vocational education in the Netherlands

Although the number of students in vocational education has been steadily declining for years, the vocational track is actually still the most common form of education in the Netherlands; over half of all students in secondary education follow VMBO (VET at ISCED 2) ([Inspectorate of Education, 2020](#)), and about 40% of all working Dutch adults have been educated in MBO (continued VET or CVET at ISCED 3 or 4) ([Karsten, 2016](#)).

As can be seen in [Figure 2.2](#), the vocational tracks in the Netherlands are quite intricate. In secondary education, VET has four tracks. Next to a practical education track for children with low IQs or cognitive challenges, the track generally considered lowest is VMBO-B (“basisberoepsgerichte leerweg”), which teaches students the basic skills of a craft without further specialisation. It is the least academically challenging track in secondary education and has a light central exam and offers general courses (e.g. Dutch, English, math, arts, and culture) at a basic level. The second track is the VMBO-K (or: “kaderberoepsgerichte leerweg”), in which students

also learn by doing, and in which they prepare for a track in the MBO that prepares for a middle management function in a given sector. The VMBO-G (“gemengde leerweg”) track not only offers general courses at a higher level, but also offers a modest amount of practical education. It is often combined with the highest track in VET, VMBO-T (“theoretische leerweg”), which offers school-based VET, with theoretical courses in four areas: i.e. technique, care and well-being, economics, and agriculture. This track is an entry ticket into the highest MBO track (4) and the HAVO track. Note that the arrows show routes that students can take through the system, but that other routes are also possible.

In higher secondary and post-secondary, non-tertiary education, CVET also is organised in four tracks. The lowest track (MBO level 1) is an entry-level programme accessible for students who do not have a diploma from secondary education. Its diploma is not considered a starting qualification for the labour market, but a steppingstone for education programmes at level 2 (basic vocational education). However, MBO level 1 students who cannot finish a level 2 programme can enter the labour market as assistants. MBO level 3 programmes are professional training programmes that prepare for independent craftsmanship in professions in various sectors. The highest track (MBO level 4) prepares for middle management functions or functions as specialists but is also an entry ticket to the HBO. The HBO (“hoger beroepsonderwijs”) is in essence a form of tertiary vocational education at ISCED level 5.

All programmes in the MBO are offered in two different learning pathways. The BOL pathway is mostly school-based but offers practical training between 20% and 60% of the time. The BBL pathway is a dual-track that offers at least 60% of practical education. To ensure that programmes in the Dutch VET teach relevant occupationally specific skills, there are close institutional linkages with employers. Schools and employers work together in an organisation that is founded for this specific reason (the so-called Samenwerkingsorganisatie Beroepsonderwijs Bedrijfsleven or SBB). One task of this organisation is to ensure that schools and employers collaborate to determine which skills are needed for the various MBO credentials. All CVET programmes base their curricula on so-called competency-based qualification dossiers. These dossiers are national frameworks that describe for each CVET programme which skills, knowledge, and competences students in that programme should learn, and at which level (Van der Meijden and Petit, 2014). This nation-wide policy shift started in 2004 and, after initial resistance and scepticism, was completed in 2012 (Van der Meijden et al., 2013).

### ***2.2.3 The Dutch transition system***

Another way in which the Dutch education system is thought to limit NEET rates is by ensuring that the skills taught in education are demanded on the labour market. The Netherlands is a prime example of an occupational

labour market or OLM (Gangl, 2003). As said, Dutch vocational education is characterised by strong institutional linkages, and in many cases, employer organisations affect curricula through the SBB. This implies that skills taught in Dutch vocational education have a high vocational specificity. This is also true for the vocational tracks in tertiary education (HBO). The Netherlands has a strong OLM, and allocation and matching are in principle based on an open market.

#### 2.2.4 Labour market arrangements

The Dutch labour market is highly institutionalised. The government actively works with unions and employer organisations to co-design labour market arrangements. About 75% of all labour contracts are the result of collective bargaining agreements that are mostly negotiated at the industry level (Hartog and Salverda, 2018). Such agreements include seniority-wage scales for occupational groups. Also resulting from this strong collective outlook on employee–employer relations is the fact that the Dutch labour market traditionally has relatively strong employee protection (OECD, 2020c). Permanent contracts can be undone, but only after permission by a court of law or the executive labour organisation (UWV). This strong position for insiders is commonly thought to worsen the position of newcomers on the labour market, and particularly be to the detriment of young people (Muffels, 2013). Indeed, as Figure 2.1 shows, the youth unemployment rate is much higher than the general unemployment rate.

However, a main feature of the Dutch labour market is the rapid flexibilisation in the past two decades. Flexible jobs include jobs with a temporary contract, such as work for a temp agency, zero-hour contracts, and probationary periods of jobs that will eventually become permanent. Just like in other countries, the number of such flexible jobs has increased steadily from 16% in 2001 to 26% in 2016 (Muffels, 2013; Hartog and Salverda, 2018). Temp agency work has been subject to policy since 1996 and turned into (so-called flexicurity) legislation in 1999, increased about 30% between 2001 and 2016 (Hartog and Salverda, 2018). Young people are most likely to have these flexible jobs.

They are also most likely to hold part-time jobs. Between 2001 and 2016, the number of part-time flexible work arrangements has risen significantly, and about half of all employment is currently part-time (meaning less than 35 hours per week (*ibid.*). Among youth aged 15–24, the number of people in jobs of less than 12 hours a week rose from 36% in 2001 to 44% in 2016; an increasing number of the young people with small jobs are also in education (*ibid.*).

Wages are regularly renegotiated by the social partners to adjust for inflation and productivity differences. Outside these collective wage negotiations, Dutch workers usually do not negotiate about their wages. The collective bargaining thus forms the prime source of income increase for



Dutch workers (Hartog and Salverda, 2018). These wages have not changed much between 2001 and 2016 (Hartog and Salverda, 2018). Also relevant is the minimum wage policy: all employees in the Netherlands over 21 are entitled to the legal minimum wage. On July 1, 2019, the minimum wage was determined by law to be €1,635.60, before taxes. Young employees are entitled to the so-called youth minimum wage, which is a percentage of the minimum wage. This depends on one's age: a 16-year old is entitled to a wage of 34.5% of the minimum wage, a 20-year old to 80% (in 2019).

### **2.2.5 Welfare state arrangements**

Part of the Dutch NEETs are unemployed and, as such, may be eligible for unemployment benefits. Young people who become unemployed may be eligible for unemployment benefits. Employees who become fully or partly unemployed are eligible for receiving unemployment benefits (“WW-uitkering”) subject to conditions: one must (a) be employed, not on full-time unpaid leave, and not yet retired, (b) not be in the Netherlands illegally, (c) lose at least 5 hours of employment each week and no longer receive income over these hours, (d) be directly available for work, (e) have worked for at least 26 weeks for an employer in the 36 weeks before unemployment, and (f) not become unemployed due to one's own doing. The scheme is designed to stimulate reintegration. Eligible workers who become unemployed are entitled to at least three months of benefits, but the actual length of the period one is eligible for receiving unemployment benefits depends on one's work experience. Generally, the more working years one has gained, the longer one is entitled to receiving benefits. The maximum period for receiving benefits is two years. In collective bargaining agreements, additional periods (up to 38 months) may be agreed to. The actual height of the benefits depends on one's income. In the first two months of unemployment, benefits are set at 75% of the average daily wage earned in the year before unemployment. For the remaining period, benefits are 70% of the average daily wage. This is for those who become fully unemployed. To stimulate reintegration, the WW-programme also supplements income for those who accept a job at a substantially lower wage than the WW-wage (87.5%). People who do not have work after their unemployment benefits end may apply for general welfare.

In general, people over 18 are entitled to general welfare (“Algemene Bijstand”) if they do not have sufficient income or capital to pay for basic living standards and are not entitled to other benefits (such as unemployment benefits). Further conditions are that one is a legal resident of the Netherlands and is not institutionalised or in prison. To stimulate reintegration into the labour market, several additional conditions must be met. Welfare recipients must actively work on their reintegration. They (a) must accept and keep any job offered to them, (b) register with an employment

agency, (c) be willing to travel to and from work for 3 hours a day, (d) willing to move to a location where one can find a job, (e) do anything in one's ability to acquire relevant skills and knowledge, (f) cooperate with any government support in finding employment, and (g) dress, behave, and groom oneself in a way that does not hamper one's ability to get a job. The government can withhold payment of benefits for up to three months for non-compliers. These conditions are not applicable to single parents with one or more children under five, or for those who are permanently incapable of working. Further conditions may also apply. For example, the government may demand that welfare recipients perform services, or invest in language skills. All welfare recipients must comply with all government requests for cooperation, information, and identification and behave decently vis-à-vis government officials. The amount of benefits depends on one's age and living situation. People of 21 years old who are married or living together are entitled to 100% of the minimum wage. Singles over 21 receive 70% of the minimum wage; single parents receive an additional payment for children. For youth under the age of 21, the welfare is capped at a lower amount. Youth under the age of 27 are not entitled to general welfare if they can follow education programmes that would entitle them to government study financing programmes.

Besides a large share of active NEETs, another large group of NEETs in the Netherlands seems to be long-term inactive. Many of these may be disabled (Eurofound, 2016). They could be entitled to benefits under the Disablement Assistance Act for Handicapped Young Persons (Wajong) and the Participation Act of 2015. Young people can get disability benefits if – before the age of 18 – they contracted an illness or disability that is so serious that they cannot work. Youth between 18 and 30 can be eligible for these benefits if they become seriously ill or disabled during education. In all cases, additional conditions are that these young people have not gained any work experience and cannot work, are living in the Netherlands, are older than 18 (but not retired), have not been in prison for longer than a month, and follow a number of rules. Evaluation of the ability to work is done regularly by a central executive agency (UWV). Young people with a disability or illness that permits them to work will be helped to find a job in two programmes. First, the job creation programme (“banenafspraak”) is a collaboration between the government and employers, to create jobs for partly disabled youth. Young people who can work, but who cannot make the minimum wage, are eligible for this programme. Government subsidies make hiring these youth attractive to employers. Second, youth who need extra support to work can be placed at so-called sheltered jobs (“beschut werk”), for example at social workplaces specifically designed to employ people with disabilities. Youth who became ill or became disabled at a young age but have possibilities to work are not eligible for Wajong benefits but may be eligible for general welfare.

### **2.2.6 Family policies**

First, maternity, paternity, and parental leaves are important for understanding cross-national differences in labour market participation. Paid leave enables parents to temporarily disengage from the labour market and take care of their children without fear of losing their jobs or reducing their incomes. Countries differ widely in the availability of paternity, maternity, and parental leaves, in the length of the period covered, and in the amount. Dutch pregnant workers who take maternity leave are entitled their full salary costs; employers are compensated 100% by the government. Pregnant workers are eligible to receive four- to six-week pregnancy leave before childbirth and at least ten-week maternity leave after childbirth. If a pregnant woman takes less than six-week pregnancy leave before childbirth, the remaining amount can be added to her maternity leave after giving birth. Maternity leave always begins after the actual birth, and the total may therefore be longer than 16 weeks ([Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2001](#)). The Netherlands also has paternity leave, but it is much narrower in scope. [Van Belle \(2016\)](#) cross-nationally compared parental leave policies and shows that the Netherlands had a relatively short paternity leave of two days, which also were not compensated, but that the uptake is relatively common. Since 2019, young fathers are entitled to 5 days of paternity leave ([Rijksoverheid, 2016](#)). Parental leave can be taken at any point in time for anyone with children under the age of 8. Parental leave is generally unpaid.

Second, public childcare is an important explanation for cross-national differences in the labour market effects of children ([Uunk et al., 2005](#)). However, Dutch parents are traditionally disinclined to make use of full-time formal childcare options ([Portegijs et al., 2006](#)), possibly because formal childcare has long been looked upon as of low quality ([Leitner, 2003](#)). Dutch parents rely on informal care relatively often; mostly, such care is provided by grandparents ([Knijn and Liefbroer, 2006](#); [Mills et al., 2014](#)). Those who do use childcare do so in part-time: attendance is much higher for shorter stays than it is for longer stays ([Mills et al., 2014](#)). Poor people are also much less likely to use childcare than rich people ([Mills et al., 2014](#)). The Childcare Act of 2005 intended to increase the labour participation rate of young parents ([CPB, 2011](#)). It did so by increasing child subsidies for low-income households and increasing subsidies for formal childcare for lower-income families. The 2005 law ensures that parents can receive government compensation for the costs of formal childcare. The size of the compensation is partly based on household income, with parents with higher incomes receiving lower subsidies. Furthermore, the allowance also depends on the total costs of childcare, and on the number of children one has. There is a minimum allowance. There is also a maximum allowance, based on a maximum number of hours of childcare per child per month and a maximum rate. Parents are entitled to childcare support if (a) they are

eligible and (b) make use of childcare in a registered childcare facility or registered host parent. Eligible are only working couples or single working parents. Parents who do not work are eligible if they are in a reintegration track and actively try to return to the labour market, migrants in an integration course, teen parents who are in education, and students. Note that under this law, childcare is not subsidised if neither parent is working or in education. A large-scale evaluation study found that the 2005 reform indeed increased labour market participation of young mothers. However, lower educated young mothers were not affected (CPB, 2011). Subsidies were cut again in 2012, mostly in response to the Great Recession.

### 2.3 Hypotheses

Following theoretical assumptions described in Section 1.3, we expect that in the Netherlands, most NEETs remain so only for a short period of time (Hypothesis 1), but also that there exists a group with Long NEET spells (Hypothesis H2a). The school-to-work transition in the Netherlands on average is rather smooth, and most school-leavers succeed in finding jobs (see, for example, ROA, 2016). However, there is a downside to that: those who do fall out of the labour market during the school-to-work transition are negatively selected and may experience problems (re-)entering. This is probably aggravated by the strong employment protection legislation, which favours the position of insiders. We thus expect that those who do experience long-term NEET status are more likely to experience long-term scarring effects (H2b).

The Dutch institutional context leads to very specific expectations about the size, composition, and gravity of NEET in the Netherlands. Given the strong stratification and differentiation of Dutch education, job queuing and sorting by employers are based on credentials, which should result in higher long-term NEET rates for early school-leavers who lack diplomas (H3a). Also, the quality of vocational education, its good reputation, the relevance of the occupationally specific skills taught, and the close links between schools and employers all imply that the school-to-work transition of VET-trained youth is relatively smooth and that, in comparison to their generally educated peers, they are less often NEET and less often problematic NEET (H3b).

Socioeconomic background is not expected to play a huge role in explaining NEETs in the Netherlands. In the highly stratified Dutch system, tracking happens relatively early, which is associated with stronger social background effects. However, track placement takes place after high-stakes cognitive testing, which partly mitigates this effect (Korthals and Dronkers, 2016). There is a relationship between SES and being in vocational education. However, given the relatively good reputation of vocational education and the strong emphasis on skills, we expect that those with a relatively low SES background are relatively successful in making the school-to-work transition, and not more likely NEET (H3c).

Immigrants are expected to be vulnerable. In a selective labour market, youth from immigrant backgrounds also face many disadvantages, even if their conditions of access to the labour market vary depending on their social and educational characteristics. On average, immigrant children achieve lower levels of education, are more often early school-leavers (ROA, 2016), and are less likely to find relevant internships, while at VET which hampers their integration into the labour market (Inspectorate of Education, 2017). Furthermore, ethnic discrimination can be observed in the Dutch labour market (Thijssen, 2020). This would lead us to believe that immigrant youths will be more likely to become NEETs, and also more likely to become NEET for longer periods of time (H3d).

Generally, the number of NEETs and long-term NEETs is expected to be relatively low in the Netherlands, if compared to other countries. There are a few exceptions. First are young women with children. This is perhaps rather surprising, since the extent to which child-rearing affects women's decisions to disengage from the labour market at a young age is reduced by at least two cultural idiosyncrasies. First, the Dutch have a very liberal contraceptive culture. About half of young women aged 16–30 use birth control pills (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). Abortion laws are very liberal, but abortion is very rare: family planning and accessible contraception reduce the need for abortion (Levels et al., 2012). Second, and perhaps related, Dutch women on average transition to motherhood relatively late. The mean age at first birth in the Netherlands was 29 in 2018, which is relatively high (Human Fertility Database, 2018). However, the traditional male breadwinner model has long been dominant in the Netherlands (Clerkx and Van IJzendoorn, 1992). While this culture has changed partly, childcare is still regarded by many as the responsibility of women (Mills et al., 2014); combining child-rearing with a full-time job is less accepted by women (Van Peer and Moors, 1996). As such, the Netherlands is still generally regarded as an example of a conservative model of work-family reconciliation (Gornick and Meyers, 2003). In addition, welfare may be a trap into NEET status for some young women. Welfare benefits are generally not granted to Dutch youth, so welfare does not play a big role in explaining Dutch NEETs in general. However, single parents are exempt from certain activating measures. Thus, we expect that young women (H4a) with children (H4b) are probably more likely long-term NEET.

## 2.4 Data and measurements

### 2.4.1 Data

We select from the registers those individuals who have left secondary education and follow their activities in the registers for ten years. We take a 25% random sample of the 1987 birth cohort. We chose 1987 because it allows us to observe these youth from the age of 16 onwards and observe their outcome at age 30. We draw a random sample because of computational issues

regarding the optimal matching algorithm. Furthermore, we only select those for whom we have at least nine out of ten years of full sequence information and who spent at least one month as NEET during the observation window. After the listwise deletion of missing values on our core variables of interest, our final analytical sample consists of  $N = 23,342$ . The analysis of the NEET patterns is done with sequence and cluster analysis on data from the SSD of CBS (Bakker et al., 2014). In these data, we have monthly information about the employment and education activities of the entire Dutch population. We obtain the monthly activity after merging two datasets from the SSD. One includes spell data on the main economic activity based on the main source of income. We recode the original variable into (a) Working (including employee, shareholder, self-employed, other activities), (b) NEET (including recipients of unemployment insurance, recipient of welfare, recipient of other social benefits, recipient of illness and disability benefits, recipient of pension), (c) VET education (including [not yet] pupil/student with income, [not yet] pupil/student without income, other without income), and (d) Higher Education. The second dataset includes spell data on registrations in publicly funded education. We merge the two variables, whereas education always overwrites other states. We distinguish between “Secondary Education and below” (including primary education, practical education, secondary education) and “Further education” (including MBO, HBO, WO). We start our observation in 2001 and end in 2017. From every year, we exclude the month of August. We do this because, in the register data, school leaving seems to be an artefact because of school registers ending in July and starting in September. Based on this data, we would underestimate the timing of school leaving for many. We then align sequences on the first month spent out of secondary education.

#### 2.4.2 Measurements

A person’s *gender* was obtained from public registers. We distinguish women (1) from men (0). From the same data, we also know youth’s *immigration background* and distinguish between native-born with two native-born parents (coded as 0), born abroad with at least one foreign-born parent (coded as 1), and pupils born abroad with two foreign-born parents (coded as 2). The *country of birth* of the pupils and the parents was obtained from Dutch administrative records, as was information about the *provinces* in which youths lived when they were leaving school. The *educational level* distinguishes between those with no diploma at school leaving (0), those with a diploma at VMBO or MBO level 1 (1), or those with a diploma at MBO level 2, HAVO, or VWO (2). Socioeconomic status is measured in various ways. First, we measure the *employment status of the father* as the modal state of employment during the year our population of interest was 16 years old. We distinguish working (and education) (0) from unemployment/welfare (1), sickness/pension (2), and not matched in registers (3). We

measure *homeownership*, distinguishing youth who live in a home that is owned (0) from rentals with (1) and without subsidies (2). We also measure the average monthly *household income* in the year they were 16.

## 2.5 Analyses and results

Like in the other chapters, we analyse the data in four steps. First, we perform sequence analyses.<sup>1</sup> This ensures that sequences that are most alike are clustered, and that the clusters are as distinct as possible. This produces a number of patterns that can be seen as typical and representative to typical patterns that can be discerned in the data.<sup>2</sup> For this, we use TraMineR (Gabadinho et al., 2011). Second, we explain which trajectory is followed by way of multinomial logistic regressions. We take the patterns as dependent variables and socioeconomic characteristics as independent variables, to assess the extent to which various patterns can be explained by characteristics of individuals and their families. Third, we analyse the number of NEET months after school leaving. Fourth, we use the patterns from the sequence analysis as independent variables to investigate the extent to which the different STW-patterns can explain the income at the age of 30.

### 2.5.1 Descriptive analyses of Dutch NEETs

In Figure 2.3, we present school-to-work transition sequences of our full sample in a state distribution plot. The graph depicts how often each status occurs in each month and thus illustrates how the relative frequencies of statuses evolve over time. After leaving school, most Dutch youths remain in education and continue into post-secondary or tertiary education. These statuses are coloured dark blue. Others move into employment, and their proportion increases over time; these statuses are green. Months spent as NEET are coloured orange.

We see that those with NEET status are a minority, but also that they are non-negligible. We also see a slight increase in NEET rates over time. Given the institutional configuration of the Netherlands, we expected that VET-trained youth would be less often NEET and less often long-term NEET and that early school-leavers, immigrants, and women with children would be more likely long-term NEET. Table 2.1 presents the comparison of our analytic sample with youth who never become NEET during the STW on standard demographic variables. These descriptions already provide some first clues about our hypotheses. First, in general, our sample with those who experience at least one month of NEET status differs on some interesting points from the overall sample. The percentage of people without a diploma after first-time school leaving is indeed larger in the NEET sample (17%–13.4% in the general population). Also, first-generation (5.4%) and second-generation (16.8%) migrants are somewhat more represented in the analytic sample than in the overall sample (where the percentages are 4.3% and 13.9%, respectively). However, other than we expected, graduates from VET are not more likely NEETs.

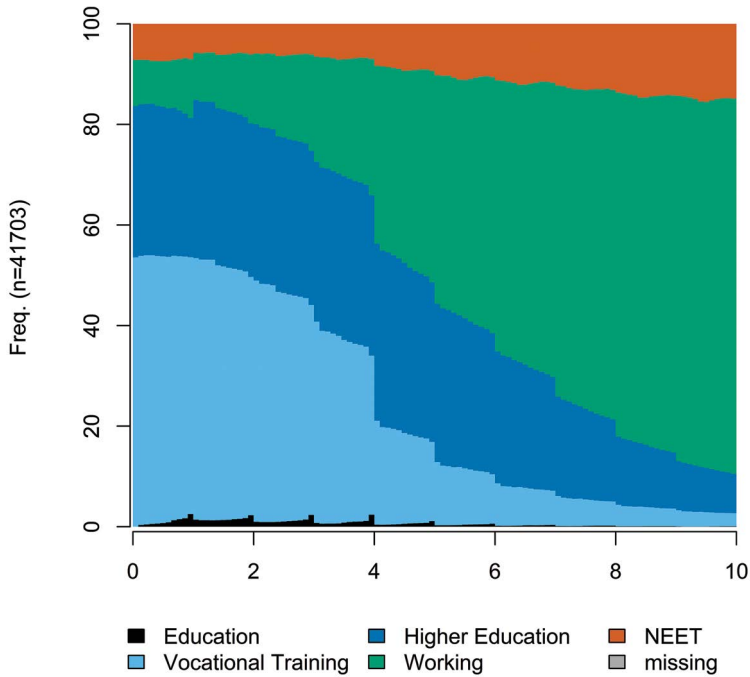


Figure 2.3 Transversal state distribution plot for the sample as a whole.

Next, we test parametrically whether these descriptive differences are statistically interesting and perform logistic regression analysis on the occurrence of at least one month of NEET. We analyse a multivariate model with all variables we included in the descriptive analyses, including school-leaving diploma, gender, immigration background, province, father's and mother's employment at age 16, house ownership, and household income. Figure 2.4 presents the results of the logistic regression. We present average marginal effects. These analyses largely confirm the descriptive conclusions. Those without a diploma are much more likely to be NEET, compared to those who have a credential from HAVO or VWO; however, those from the lower vocational tracks are not more likely to have experienced one month of NEET.

Both first- and second-generation immigrants are more likely to experience one month of NEET than Dutch natives. Young women more probably experience one month of NEET, but the differences are not huge. Also interesting is that among those who have experienced at least one month of NEET, the father is less likely to be employed and more often not matched at all. Also, NEETs were more likely to grow up in rented housing, and in households with lower incomes.



Table 2.1 Summary statistics by sample

	<i>Never NEET</i>		<i>NEET ≥ 1 month</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Gender</i>						
Male	9,522	51.8	11,751	50.3	21,273	51.0
Female	8,843	48.2	11,591	49.7	20,434	49.0
<i>School-leaving diploma</i>						
No diploma	1,613	8.8	3,976	17.0	5,589	13.4
HAVO/VWO	7,017	38.2	7,591	32.5	14,608	35.0
VMBO	9,735	53.0	11,774	50.4	21,509	51.6
<i>Immigration background</i>						
Native	15,978	87.0	18,149	77.8	34,127	81.8
First generation	506	2.8	1,270	5.4	1,776	4.3
Second generation (one parent)	1,881	10.2	3,923	16.8	5,804	13.9
<i>Father's employment status (age 16)</i>						
Working (or education)	16,149	87.9	18,381	78.7	34,530	82.8
Unemployment/Welfare benefits	513	2.8	1,237	5.3	1,750	4.2
Sickness/Other benefits/ Pension/No income	1,021	5.6	2,013	8.6	3,034	7.3
Not in registers	682	3.7	1,711	7.3	2,393	5.7
<i>Mother's employment status (age 16)</i>						
Working (or education)	12,646	68.9	14,348	61.5	26,994	64.7
Unemployment/Welfare benefits	723	3.9	2,183	9.4	2,906	7.0
Sickness/Other benefits/ Pension/No income	4,737	25.8	6,388	27.4	11,125	26.7
Not in registers	259	1.4	423	1.8	682	1.6
<i>Household homeownership (age 16)</i>						
Owned	13,914	75.8	14,614	62.6	28,528	68.4
Rented w/Subsidies	1,459	7.9	3,962	17.0	5,421	13.0
Rented	2,992	16.3	4,765	20.4	7,757	18.6
<i>Province</i>						
Drenthe	570	3.1	796	3.4	1,366	3.3
Flevoland	455	2.5	666	2.9	1,121	2.7
Friesland	769	4.2	985	4.2	1,754	4.2
Gelderland	2,504	13.6	2,710	11.6	5,214	12.5
Groningen	546	3.0	840	3.6	1,386	3.3
Limburg	1,217	6.6	1,596	6.8	2,813	6.7
Noord-Brabant	2,863	15.6	3,401	14.6	6,264	15.0
Noord-Holland	2,408	13.1	3,631	15.6	6,039	14.5
Overijssel	1,464	8.0	1,607	6.9	3,071	7.4
Utrecht	1,310	7.1	1,672	7.2	2,982	7.1
Zeeland	490	2.7	504	2.2	994	2.4
Zuid-Holland	3,769	20.5	4,934	21.1	8,703	20.9
<i>Household income (age 16), mean</i>						
	41,879		38,753		40,130	
	(20,775)		(22,127)		(21,598)	
Total	18,365		23,342		41,707	

Source: Statistics Netherlands, own calculations.

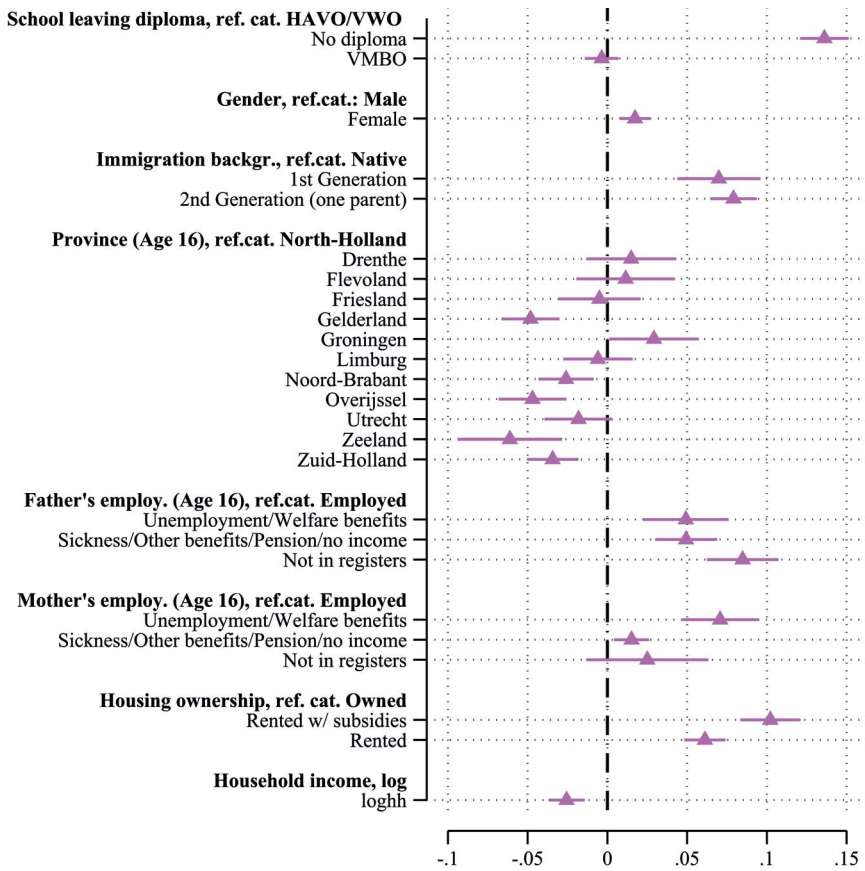


Figure 2.4 Logistic regression of NEET sample selection (never-NEET vs NEET for at least one month), average marginal effects.

### 2.5.2 Sequence analyses: The patterns of NEET in the Netherlands

The goal of the sequence analyses is to explore whether we can observe meaningful regularities in patterns related to NEET status during the STW-transition. We analyse young people who experience at least one month of NEET in the ten years after leaving education for the first time. Our method produces six meaningful distinctions, as can be seen in Figure 2.5. The accompanying status proportion plots (or state distribution plots) are depicted in Figure 2.6.

The first cluster (HE, N = 6,897) represents individual trajectories of school-leavers who follow a typical higher education trajectory after leaving secondary education. As can be seen in Figure 2.6, the sequences in this trajectory are characterised by very short and infrequent NEET episodes

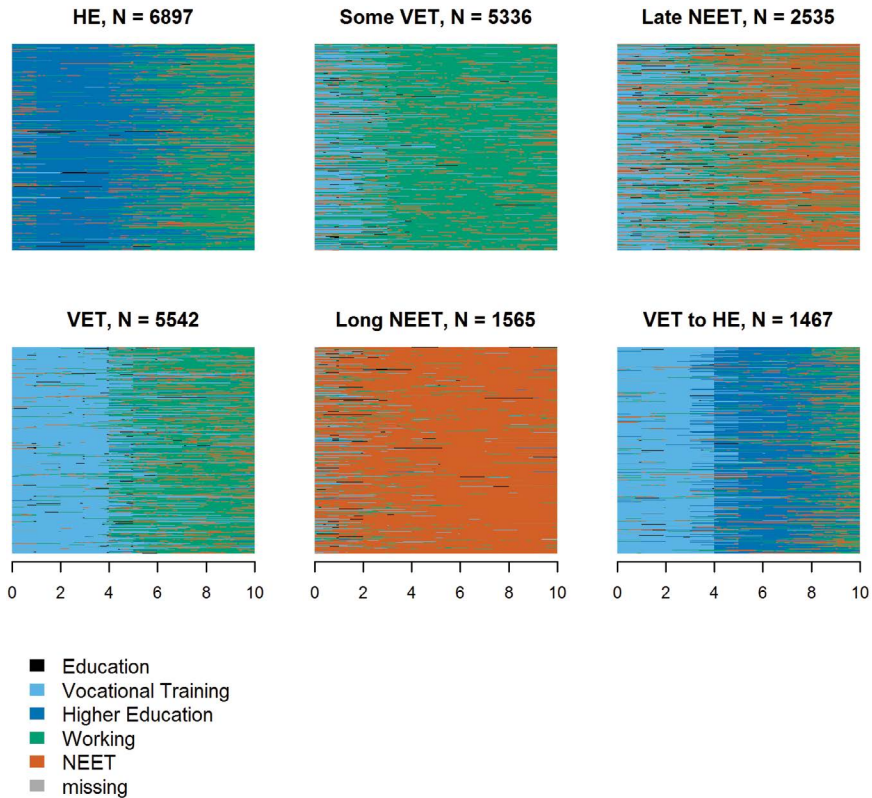


Figure 2.5 Index plots of NEET patterns in the Netherlands.

during the STW-transition; people in this cluster usually leave NEET-hood quite rapidly. Most people in this cluster eventually end up employed. The remaining clusters mostly describe different STW-pattern through VET. In turn, this also means that NEET after higher education is very rare and that, as expected, one of the most important factors in explaining NEET is education.

The first of these clusters (some VET,  $N = 5,336$ ) represents a trajectory of finding employment relatively soon after secondary education and some vocational training or short stints in higher education. Another relatively straightforward trajectory is represented by VET ( $N = 5,542$ ). This represents the classical vocational training trajectory. Many people follow this trajectory successfully into employment. Another VET-related cluster groups are people who first follow VET, then transition to higher education, and then to the labour market (VET to HE,  $N = 1,467$ ).

This underlines our expectation that those with a VET education are less likely problematic NEET. We find two distinct patterns of people who

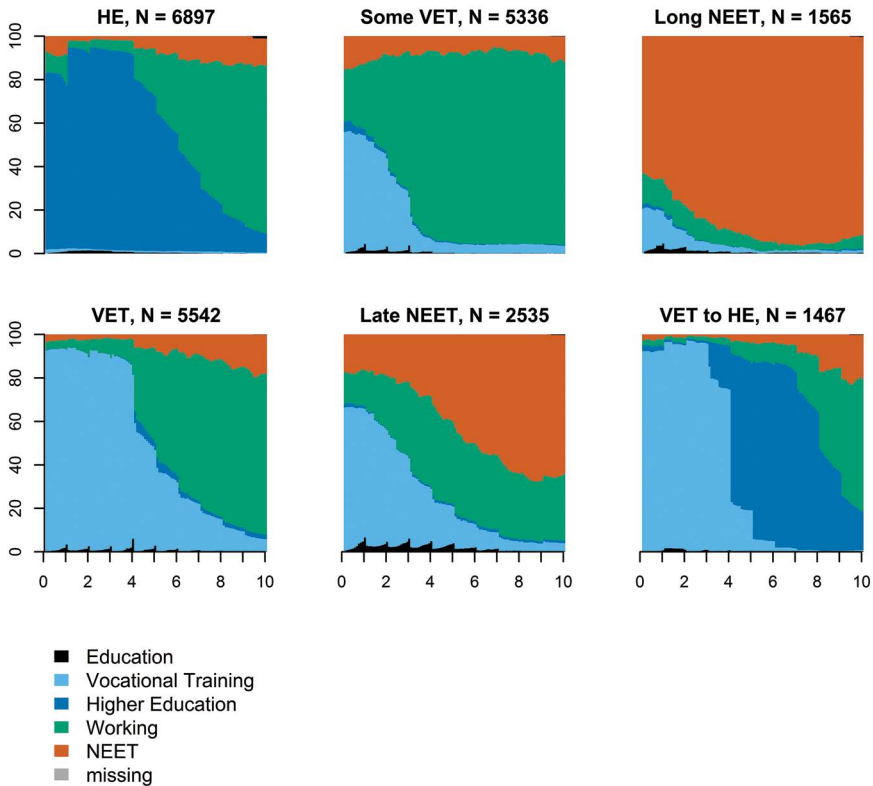


Figure 2.6 Status proportion plots of NEET patterns in the Netherlands.

largely become NEET. First is Long NEET ( $N = 1,565$ ). More than half of these youth become NEET right after second education and they do not integrate into the labour market. Some first go through some short VET or experience short employment episodes, but the vast majority of youth in this cluster stay in NEET for the rest of the ten-year observation period. Second is Late NEET ( $N = 2,535$ ) who largely first goes through VET, then goes through some short spells of employment, and then generally (about 60%) ends up as NEETs.

In Table 2.2, we describe the clusters. The higher education cluster has the highest share of women (55.8%); it should also be noted that the two problematic NEET clusters have an about equal gender distribution. Unsurprisingly, those who leave education without a starting qualification are overrepresented in the Long NEET and Late NEET clusters, with Late NEET are most likely those that leave education with a VMBO diploma, and those who leave school without a diploma are overrepresented in the Long NEET cluster. Migration background also correlates with being in a Long

Table 2.2 Distribution of covariates across clusters

	<i>Late NEET</i>		<i>Long NEET</i>		<i>Some VET</i>		<i>VET</i>		<i>VET to HE</i>		<i>HE</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	2.535		1.565		5.336		5.542		1.467		6.897		23.342	
<i>Total N</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Gender</i>														
Male	1.262	49.8	773	49.4	3.060	57.3	2.910	52.5	700	47.7	3.046	44.2	11.751	50.3
Female	1.273	50.2	792	50.6	2.276	42.7	2.632	47.5	767	52.3	3.851	55.8	11.591	49.7
<i>School-leaving diploma</i>														
No diploma	669	26.4	1.015	64.9	1.276	23.9	722	13.0	246	16.8	48	0.7	3.976	17.0
HAVO/VWO	62	2.4	64	4.1	617	11.6	160	2.9	91	6.2	6.597	95.7	7.591	32.5
VMBO	1.804	71.2	486	31.1	3.443	64.5	4.660	84.1	1.129	77.0	252	3.7	11.774	50.4
<i>Immigration background</i>														
Native	1.541	60.8	1.097	70.1	4.447	83.3	4.240	76.5	1.109	75.6	5.715	82.9	18.149	77.8
First generation	315	12.4	119	7.6	200	3.7	330	6.0	76	5.2	230	3.3	1.270	5.4
Second generation (one parent)	679	26.8	349	22.3	689	12.9	972	17.5	282	19.2	952	13.8	3.923	16.8
<i>Father's employment status (age 16)</i>														
Working (or Education)	1.603	63.2	926	59.2	4.236	79.4	4.369	78.8	1.187	80.9	6.060	87.9	18.381	78.7
Unemployment/Welfare benefits	259	10.2	177	11.3	281	5.3	254	4.6	70	4.8	196	2.8	1.237	5.3
Sickness/Other benefits/Pension/No income	334	13.2	244	15.6	446	8.4	516	9.3	117	8.0	356	5.2	2.013	8.6
Not in registers	339	13.4	218	13.9	373	7.0	403	7.3	93	6.3	285	4.1	1.711	7.3
<i>Mother's employment status (age 16)</i>														
Working (or Education)	1.219	48.1	645	41.2	3.220	60.3	3.376	60.9	948	64.6	4.940	71.6	14.348	61.5
Unemployment/Welfare benefits	487	19.2	341	21.8	486	9.1	523	9.4	103	7.0	243	3.5	2.183	9.4

(Continued)

Table 2.2 Distribution of covariates across clusters (Continued)

	Late NEET		Long NEET		Some VET		VET		VET to HE		HE		Total	
	2.535		1.565		5.336		5.542		1.467		6.897		23.342	
Total N	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Sickness/Other benefits/ Pension/No income	773	30.5	524	33.5	1.533	28.7	1.545	27.9	390	26.6	1.623	23.5	6.388	27.4
Not in registers	56	2.2	55	3.5	97	1.8	98	1.8	26	1.8	91	1.3	423	1.8
<i>Household homeownership (age 16)</i>														
Owned	1.042	41.1	592	37.8	3.038	56.9	3.338	60.2	1.017	69.3	5.587	81.0	14.614	62.6
Rented w/Subsidies	846	33.4	574	36.7	897	16.8	982	17.7	200	13.6	463	6.7	3.962	17.0
Rented	647	25.5	399	25.5	1.401	26.3	1.221	22.0	250	17.0	847	12.3	4.765	20.4
<i>Province</i>														
Drenthe	95	3.7	51	3.3	150	2.8	214	3.9	50	3.4	236	3.4	796	3.4
Flevoland	100	3.9	41	2.6	182	3.4	160	2.9	38	2.6	145	2.1	666	2.9
Friesland	118	4.7	52	3.3	202	3.8	262	4.7	82	5.6	269	3.9	985	4.2
Gelderland	275	10.8	185	11.8	607	11.4	658	11.9	170	11.6	815	11.8	2.710	11.6
Groningen	92	3.6	94	6.0	119	2.2	241	4.3	65	4.4	229	3.3	840	3.6
Limburg	181	7.1	111	7.1	354	6.6	363	6.5	94	6.4	493	7.1	1.596	6.8
Noord-Brabant	327	12.9	211	13.5	903	16.9	753	13.6	209	14.2	998	14.5	3.401	14.6
Noord-Holland	397	15.7	217	13.9	833	15.6	819	14.8	226	15.4	1.139	16.5	3.631	15.6
Overijssel	143	5.6	119	7.6	322	6.0	435	7.8	109	7.4	479	6.9	1.607	6.9
Utrecht	170	6.7	100	6.4	378	7.1	376	6.8	93	6.3	555	8.0	1.672	7.2
Zeeland	52	2.1	30	1.9	121	2.3	126	2.3	31	2.1	144	2.1	504	2.2
Zuid-Holland	585	23.1	354	22.6	1.165	21.8	1.135	20.5	300	20.4	1.395	20.2	4.934	21.1
<i>Household income (age 16), mean (SD)</i>	31,234	15,622	29,667	14,399	35,851	18,294	36,028	17,539	39,823	19,006	47,786	28,350	38,753	21,598

Source: Statistics Netherlands.

or Late NEET cluster. In both clusters, natives are by far the largest group, the share of first- and second-generation migrants is quite sizable, although in the case of Long NEET not higher than should be expected based on population distribution. Interestingly, second-generation immigrants are much more likely to be in problematic NEET clusters than first-generation immigrants. Socioeconomic background also matters: compared to the other clusters, youth in the Late and Long NEET clusters are much more likely from homes with parents who do not work, live in a rental house, and have lower incomes.

### 2.5.3 Multinomial regressions: Explanations of Dutch NEET patterns

The sequence analyses have revealed a classification of six meaningfully distinct patterns of labour market entry trajectories with at least one month of NEET spells. A second step is to analyse whether certain trajectories are associated with characteristics of the individuals. To answer this question, we estimate a multinomial logistic regression model in which cluster

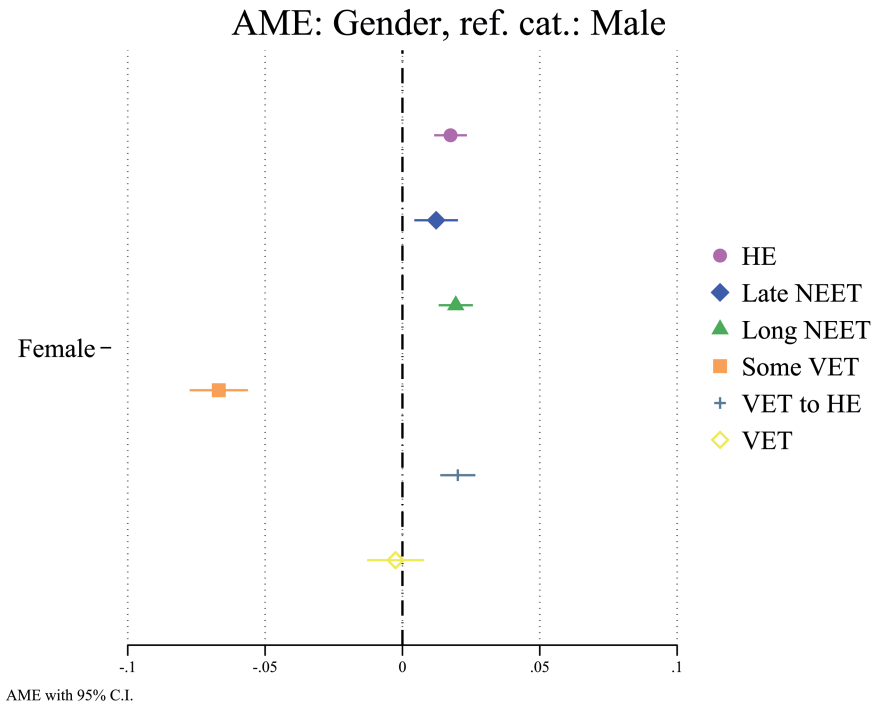


Figure 2.7 Average marginal effects of gender on STW-transitions.

memberships are dependent variables and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of school-leavers are independent variables. In these analyses, the reference category is a group of individuals who never experienced an episode of NEET that lasts over one month during the ten years after leaving school. In the following, we present the average marginal effects for each of the relevant variables.<sup>3</sup> We focus on describing the membership of the most problematic clusters, i.e. Long NEET and Late NEET.

Figure 2.7 shows that there are some distinct gendered patterns in the school-to-work transitions of school-leavers who experience at least one month of NEET. Women are more likely to follow a trajectory through higher education than men and are also more likely to follow a trajectory through VET and HE. They are considerably less likely to go straight to employment (after finishing some VET) than men. Most of our interest, and in line with our expectations, women are (slightly) more likely than men to experience long-term NEET and later NEET spells than men.

In Figures 2.8 and 2.9, we show that this is indeed partly due to the association between having a child during the STW-transition and the various trajectories. We find that having a child is associated with a higher likelihood of being in some VET/early employment trajectories. Only after interacting

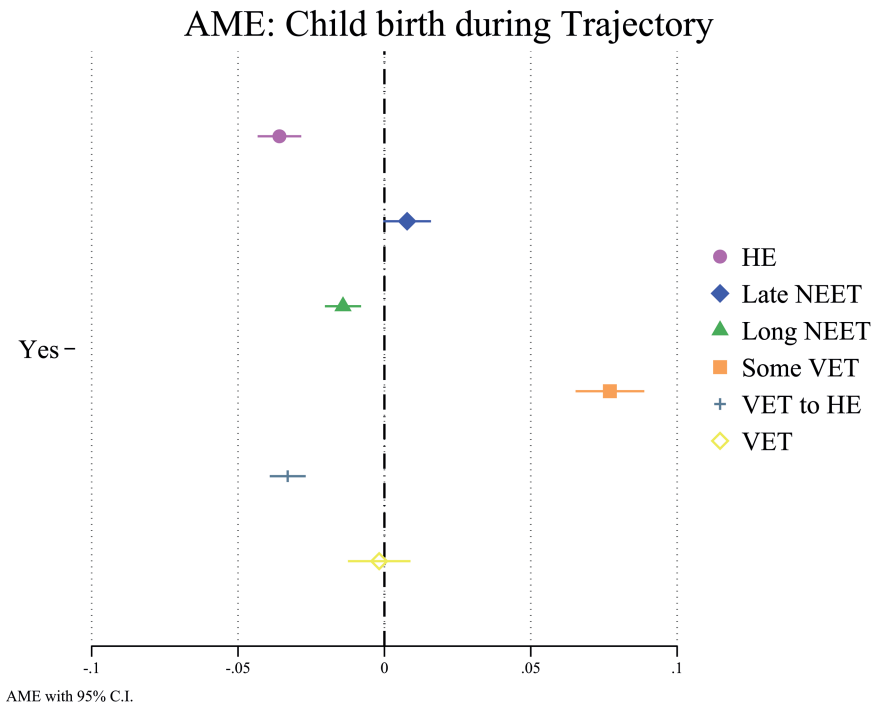


Figure 2.8 Average marginal effects of childbirth on STW-transitions.



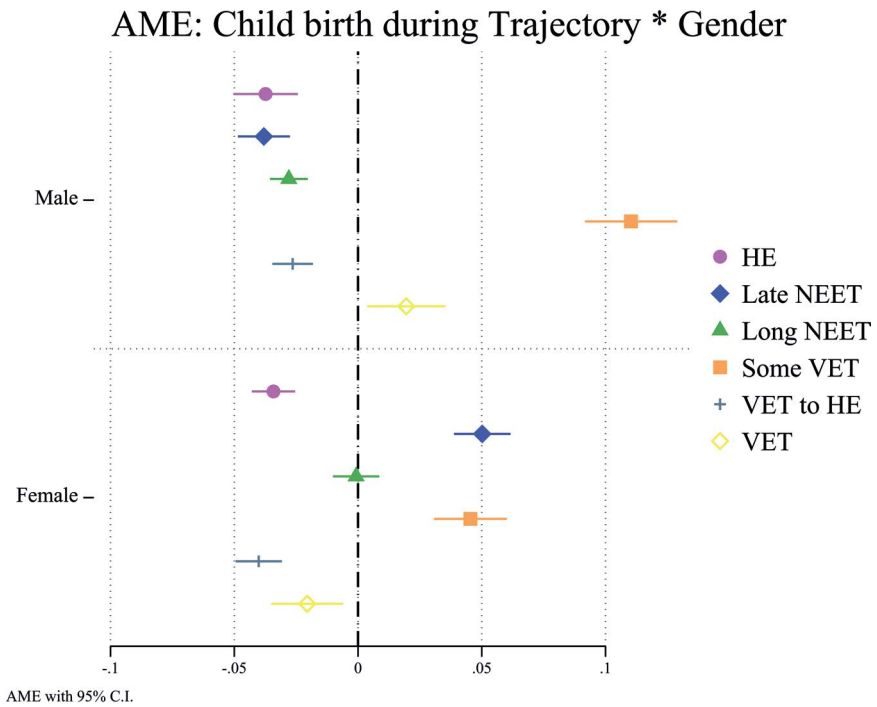


Figure 2.9 Average marginal effects of childbirth\*gender on STW-transitions.

child with gender, we find more pronounced associations. In Figure 2.9, we see that women with children are not more likely long-term NEET but are more likely to become Late NEET. Interestingly, and also in line with our expectations, men with children, on the other hand, are also less likely to become long-term NEET.

In Figure 2.10, the relationship between immigration background and the STW-trajectories is presented. Compared to natives, both first- and second-generation migrants are more likely to end up in Late NEET-trajectories. This is in line with what we expected. Contrary to what we expected, however, immigrants are not more likely to be long-term NEETs, though.

Figure 2.11 explores the role of early school leaving in the school-to-work transition. Here, the reference is those with a qualifying diploma (i.e. those with a HAVO, VWO, or MBO level 2 diploma). Perhaps unsurprisingly, those with these diplomas are more likely to follow paths through higher education. As we expected, those with no diploma are more likely to follow NEET-trajectories that are problematic: Long NEET and Late NEET. Those who followed VET but did not achieve a qualifying diploma are somewhat more likely to be Late NEET than those who have followed general education. Differences are rather small, however.

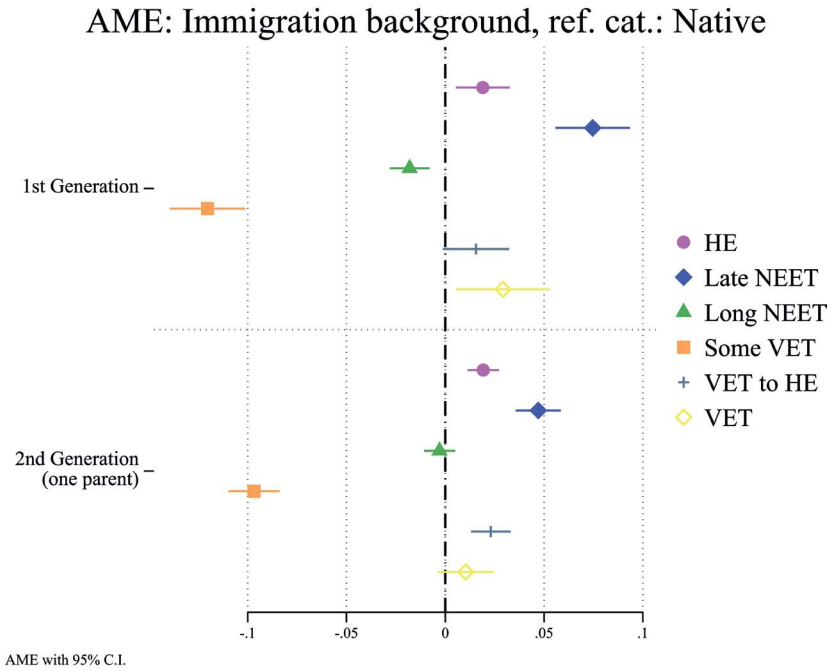


Figure 2.10 Average marginal effects of immigration background on STW-transitions.

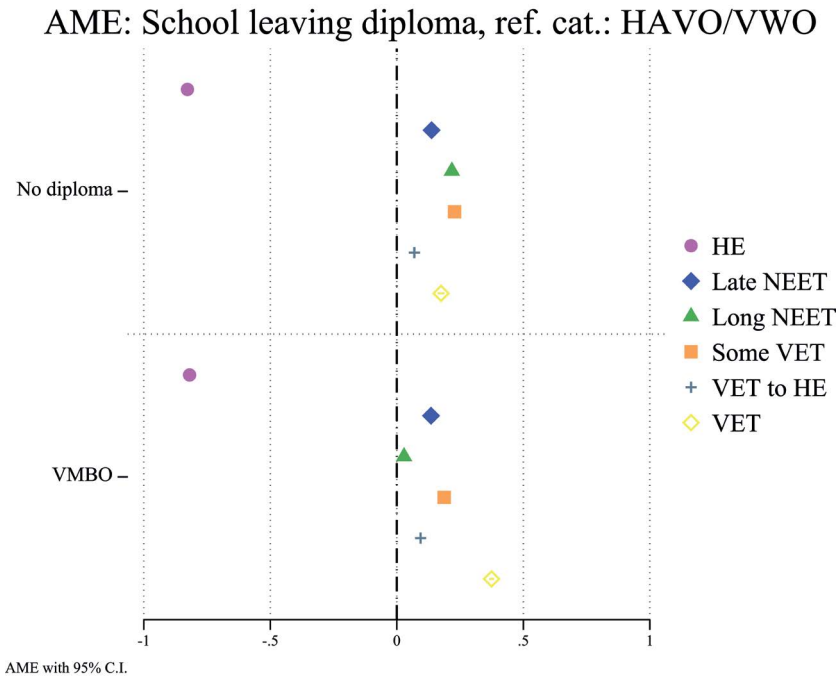


Figure 2.11 Average marginal effects of early school leaving on STW-transitions.

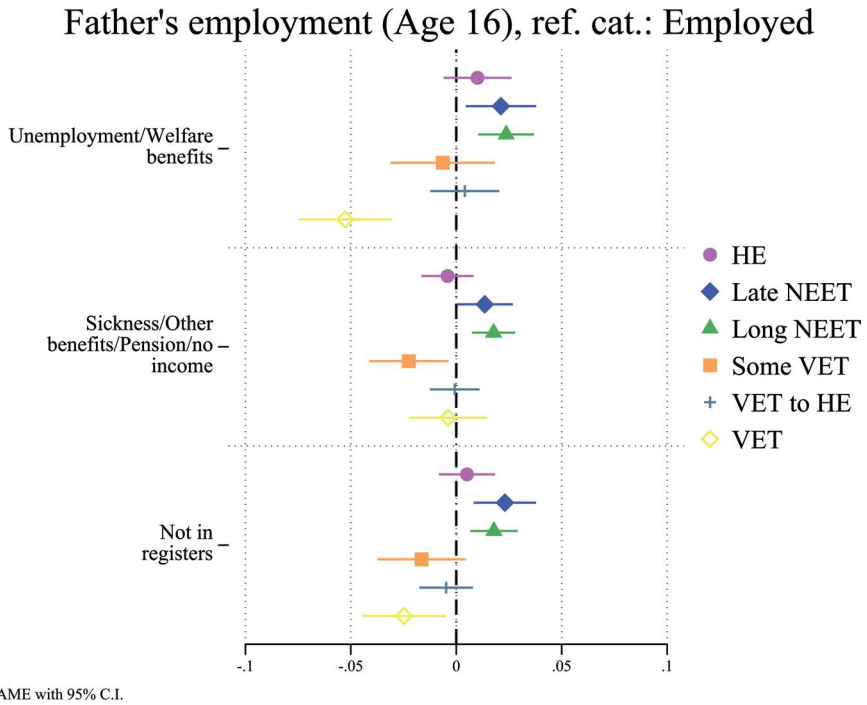


Figure 2.12 Average marginal effects of father's employment on STW-transitions.

Our analyses do suggest that – contrary to our expectations – intergenerational factors play a strong role in explaining problematic school-to-work transitions in the Netherlands. Figure 2.12 presents the role of the father's employment status in the school-to-work transitions of young school-leavers who experience at least one month of NEET. Working fathers form the reference category. Compared to having a working father, all other categories are associated with a higher risk to become Late NEET and Long NEET. In Figures 2.13 and 2.14, the relationships between NEET-trajectories and homeownership as well as household income are shown. The patterns are not as we expected. As compared to those whose parents own a house, those who live in a rented house are more likely to experience the problematic STW-patterns Late NEET and Long NEET. Regarding household income, unsurprisingly, those whose parents have had higher incomes during their youth are less likely to be in the Late NEET and Long NEET clusters. So, what predicts the length of the NEET period in the Netherlands? Figure 2.15 shows the same variables just discussed used to explain a related but different outcome variable, namely the total number of months spent in NEET during the ten-year observation window. From this analysis, we can see that especially early school leaving and graduating from non-qualifying VET are important correlates of long-term NEET-trajectories. Immigrants are slightly more

AME: Homeownership household (Age 16), ref. cat.: Owned

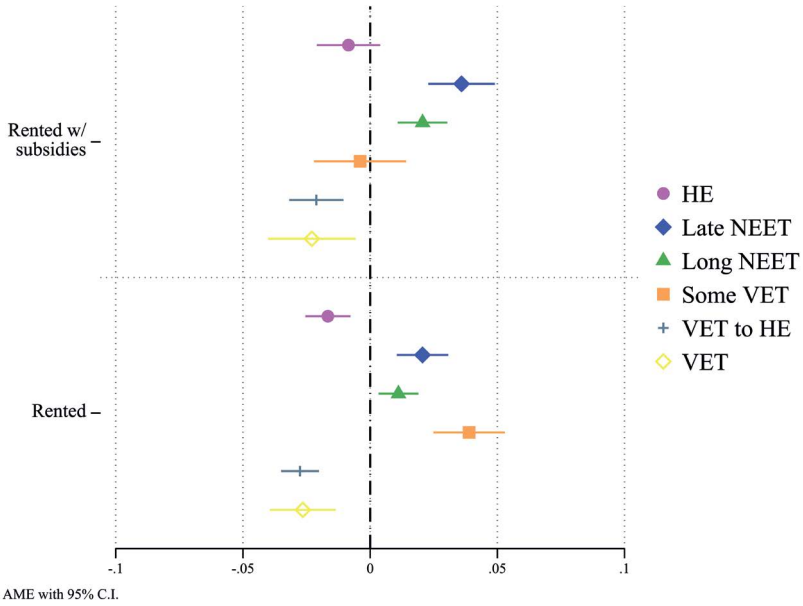


Figure 2.13 Average marginal effects of household homeownership on STW-transitions.

AME: Household income, log (Age 16)

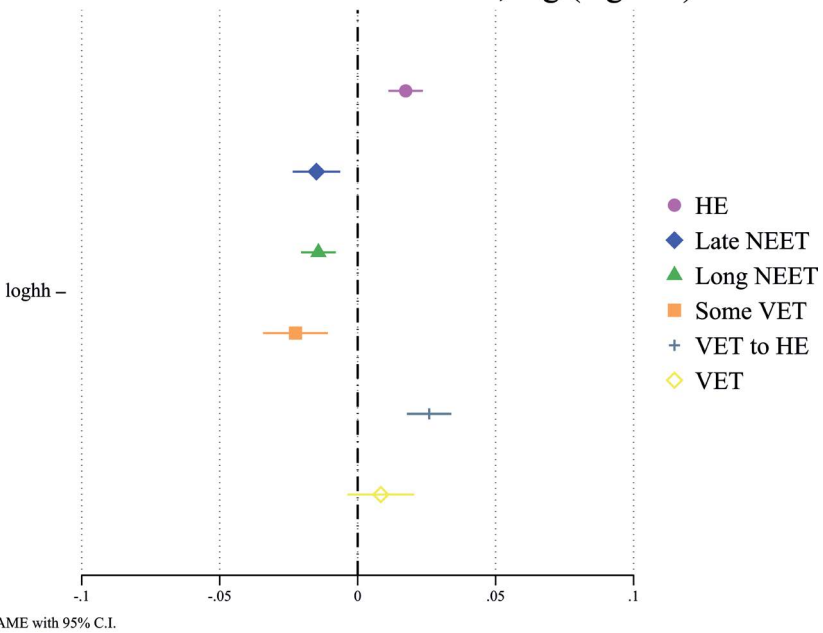


Figure 2.14 Average marginal effects of household income on STW-transitions.

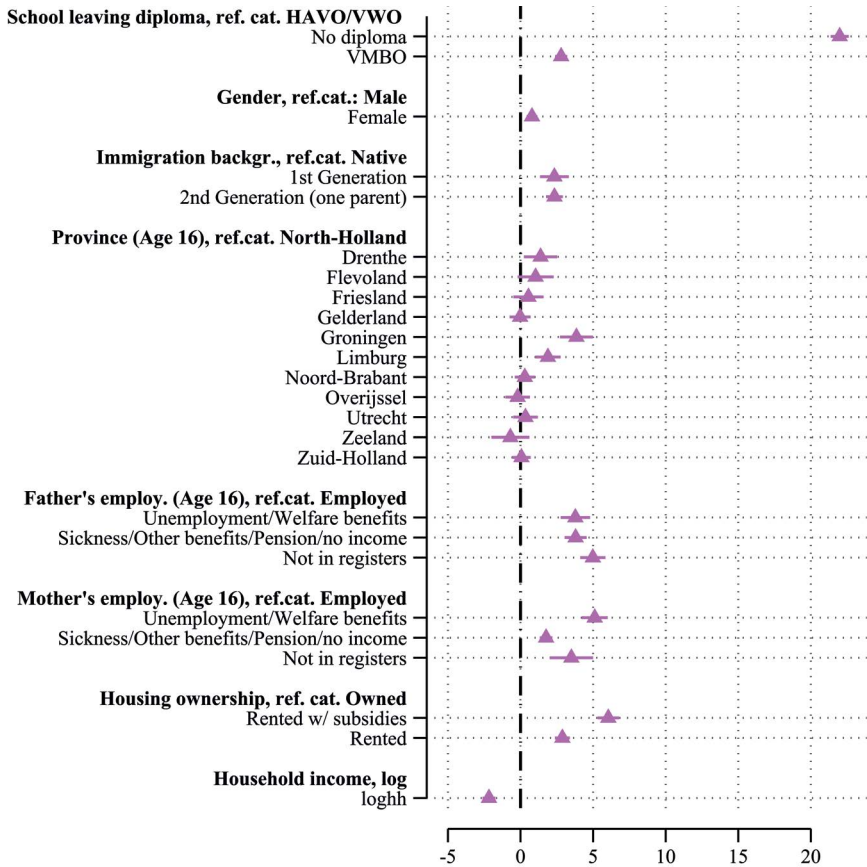


Figure 2.15 Linear regression of NEET months during ten years after leaving school.

likely to be NEET longer as well as those from a background of parents who are unemployed and live in rental housing.

### 2.5.4 Predictive analyses: Long-term consequences of NEET patterns

Finally, we want to study longer-term consequences of being NEET during the school-to-work transition. More specifically, we study whether cluster membership during the school-to-work transition predicts wage differences later in life. Figure 2.16 shows that at age 30 those young people who were either long-term NEET or Late NEET during the school-to-work transition have a considerably lower monthly salary than those who

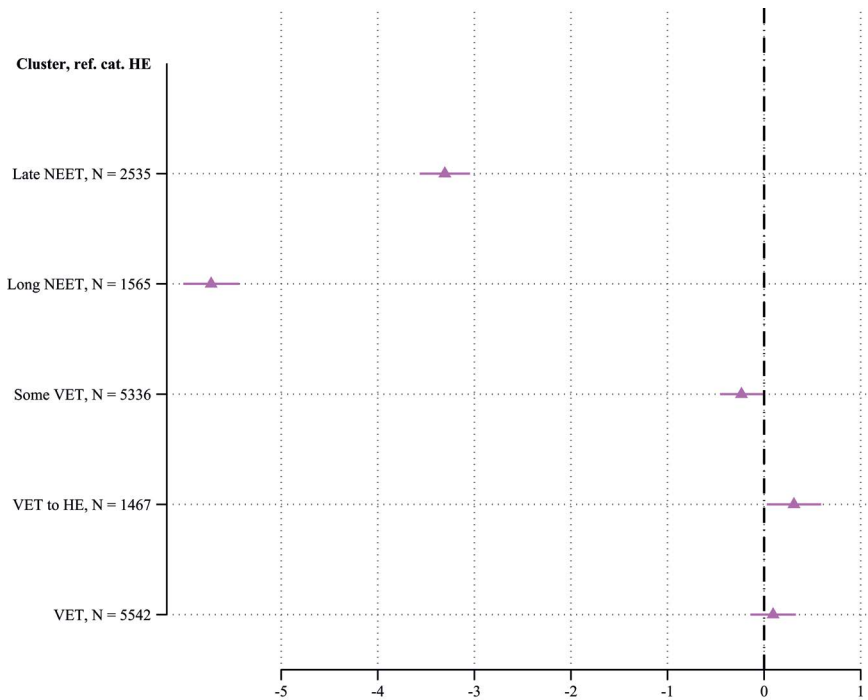


Figure 2.16 Linear regression of income at age 30 on NEET-trajectories.

follow more standard trajectories. For the other clusters, we do not see such scarring effects.

## 2.6 Conclusions and discussion

In this chapter, we studied NEET patterns of young people in the Netherlands using longitudinal data and following youth during their entire school-to-work transition. We should interpret the findings in this chapter against the backdrop of the Dutch institutional context. The Netherlands have a highly stratified, educational system, that tracks relatively early into a myriad of tracks. It is also rather vocationally oriented with, with fully developed educational VET tracks at different levels. Selection is mainly done based on standardised high-stakes tests. The Dutch labour market is an OLM, with a high level of employment protection. Welfare is generally not available for school-leavers, and family policies may contribute to gender-specific patterns in the school-to-work transition.

We first estimated logistic regression models to see which personal characteristics explain experiencing at least one month of NEET during the

school-to-work transition. These analyses suggested that early school-leavers are much more likely to be NEET for at least a month, but also that having a vocational education does not necessarily protect against being NEET during the school-to-work transition. We did find that first- and second-generation immigrants are more likely to experience one month of NEET than Dutch natives. Young women are only slightly more likely than men to experience one month of NEET. We also found indications for the relevance of social backgrounds: those with unemployed fathers and those living in rental houses are more likely to experience NEET.

We then focused on youth who experienced at least one month of NEET status and used sequence analysis to identify clusters of typical trajectories. We found six clusters. By far most youth who experienced one month of NEET status actually have a fairly normal school-to-work transition. Only 6.7% of all youth who experience NEET status can be considered long-term NEET. Another 10.9% is potentially problematic, as they become NEET later in the school-to-work transition. Since our data are right-censored, they may actually be long-term NEET that experiences problems later on. Taken together, less than 18% of all Dutch youth who experience NEET are to be considered potentially problematic. We expected the Netherlands would have a relatively low number of problematic NEETs compared to the other countries. As a comparison with similar analyses that other chapters will show, the Netherlands ranks a bit higher than France (about 13% of NEET are long term), Germany (about 12%), and England (16.9%). Only in Japan, more school-leavers are late (15%) or long-term (17%) NEETs.

We found that women are more likely than men to experience long-term NEET and later NEET spells than men. As we expected, this seems indeed partly a motherhood penalty. Interestingly, women with children are not more likely long-term NEET but are more likely Late NEET, which is in line with the expectation that Dutch women on average make the transition into motherhood relatively late and suggests that motherhood is not the gateway into long-term disengagement. Interestingly, and also in line with our expectations, men with children are less likely to become long-term NEET. This corresponds with the dominance of the male breadwinner model. We also found that migrants are more likely to experience Late NEET-trajectories but not more likely to be long-term NEETs. As we hypothesised, early school-leavers (those without diplomas or with non-qualifying credentials) are much more likely to follow NEET-trajectories that are problematic: Long NEET and Late NEET. Early school leaving is actually the strongest predictor of problematic transitions. Finally, the multinomial analyses confirm the importance of family background and suggest that intergenerational factors strongly contribute to problematic school-to-work transitions in the Netherlands. In fact, parental unemployment seems intergenerationally transmissible to children. Finally, our analyses also suggest that being long-term NEET or Late NEET during the school-to-work transition has considerable scarring effects: youth in these groups earn a much lower salary at age 30.

## Notes

1. We use Ward's algorithm for clustering. Costs are set to 1.2. We have no substantial reasons, theoretical or otherwise, to assume a different cost structure (cf. [Brzinsky-Fay, 2007](#); [Brzinsky-Fay and Solga, 2016](#)).
2. However, the data-driven nature of our analysis should not be over-stated. As researchers, we chose the number of clusters. Although based on data-driven indicators, we also make theoretical decisions for which number of clusters makes the most sense. We can then describe typical patterns of sequences based on our understanding of the patterns in the data.
3. The full multinomial regression table is provided in the online supplement.



# References

- Abbeglen, J.C. (1958). *The Japanese factory: aspects of its social organization*. Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press.
- Abbott, A. (1995). Sequence analysis: new methods for old ideas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 21(1): 93–113.
- Achatz, J., Jahn, K., and Schels, B. (2020). On the non-standard routes: vocational training measures in the school-to-work transitions of lower-qualified youth in Germany. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, Online First, 1–22.
- Aeberhardt, R., Crusson, L., and Pommier, P. (2011). *Les politiques d'accès à l'emploi en faveur des jeunes: qualifier et accompagner*. Paris: INSEE, Portrait Social.
- Aizawa, S., Kagawa, M., and Rappleye, J. [Eds.] (2019). *High school for all in East Asia: comparing experiences*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Akgunduz, Y.E., and Plantenga, J. (2012). Labour market effects of parental leave in Europe. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 37(4): 845–862.
- Allmendinger, J. (1989). Educational systems and labour market outcomes. *European Sociological Review*, 5(3): 231–250.
- Andersen, R., and Van der Werfhorst, H.G. (2010). Education and occupational status in 14 countries: the role of educational institutions and labour market coordination. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(2): 336–355.
- Aoki, M. (1988). *Information, incentives, and bargaining in the Japanese economy: A microtheory of the Japanese economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arrighi, J.-J., Gasquet, C., and Olivier, J. (2009). Qui sort de l'enseignement secondaire? Origine sociale, parcours scolaires et orientation des jeunes de la génération 2004. *Formation emploi: Revue française de sciences sociales*, 109(janvier-mars): 100–112.
- Arita, S. (2020). *Education and social stratification in South Korea*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- Arrow, K.J. (1973). Higher education as a filter. *Journal of Public Economics*, 2(3): 193–216.
- Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung. (2014). *Nationaler Bildungsbericht 2014*. Bielefeld.
- Baert, S., Cockx, B., and Verhaest, D. (2013). Overeducation at the start of the career: stepping stone or trap? *Labour Economics*, 25: 123–140.
- Baethge, M. (2008). Das Übergangssystem: Struktur – Probleme – Gestaltungsperspektiven. pp. 53–67. In: Münk, D., Rützel, J., and Schmidt, C. [Eds.], *Labyrinth Übergangssystem. Forschungserträge und Entwicklungsperspektiven der Benachteiligtenförderung zwischen Schule, Arbeit und Beruf*. Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag.
- Baethge, M., and Wolter, A. (2015). The German skill formation model in transition: from dual system of VET to higher education? *Journal of Labour Market Research*, 48: 97–112.

- Bakker, B.F.M., van Rooijen, J., and Van Toor, L. (2014). The system of social statistical datasets of Statistics Netherlands: an integral approach to the production of register-based social statistics. *Statistical Journal of the IAOS*, 30(4): 411–424.
- Bambra, C. (2007). Going beyond The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism: regime theory and public health research. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 61(12): 1098–1102.
- Bambra, C., and Eikemo, T.A. (2009). Welfare state regimes, unemployment and health: a comparative study of the relationship between unemployment and self-reported health in 23 European countries. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 63(2): 92–98.
- Barbieri, P., Cutuli, G., and Passaretta, G. (2018). Institutions and the school-to-work transition: disentangling the role of the macro-institutional context. *Socio-Economic Review*, 16(1): 161–183.
- Barret, C., Ryk, F., and Volle, N. (2014). *Enquête 2013 auprès de la génération 2010. Face à la crise, le fossé se creuse entre niveaux de diplôme*. Bref 319 du Céreq. Dijon: University of Burgundy.
- Baysu, G., Alanya, A., and de Valk, H.A.G. (2018). School trajectories of the second generation of Turkish immigrants in Sweden, Belgium, Netherlands, Austria, and Germany: the role of school systems. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 59(5–6): 451–479.
- Becker, G.S. (1964). *Human capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Becker, G.S. (1965). A theory of the allocation of time. *The Economic Journal*, 75(299): 493–517.
- Becker, G.S. (1981). *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Becker, G.S. (1994). *Human capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education*. 3rd ed. National Bureau of Economic Research. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Béduwé, C., and Germe, J.F. (2004). Raising the levels of education in France: from growth to stabilisation. *European Journal of Education*, 39(1): 119–132.
- Bekker, S., and Klosse, S. (2016). NEETs. Can the Dutch meet their needs? *Social Policies*, 3(2): 249–268.
- Bennett, R.J., Wicks, P., and McCoshan, A. (1994). *Local empowerment and business services: Britain's experiment with training and enterprise councils*. London: UCL Press.
- Benoteau, I. (2015). Quels effets du recrutement en contrat aidé sur la trajectoire professionnelle? Une évaluation à partir du Panel 2008. *Economie et statistique*, 477(1): 85–129.
- Bentolila, S., and Bertola, G. (1990). Firing costs and labour demand: how bad is euro-sclerosis? *The Review of Economic Studies*, 57(3): 381–402.
- Bergsens, B., Degler, E., and Lüthi, S. (2020). *Unlocking the potential of migrants in Germany*. Paris: OECD.
- Berloffa, G., Matteazzi, E., and Villa, P. (2017). The influence of parental employment status on children's labour outcomes. Does the gender of parents and children matter? *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, 7(2): 136–164.
- Bernard, P.Y., and Troger, V. (2013). La réforme du bac professionnel en trois ans: vers un renforcement de la convention professionnelle dans le système éducatif français? *L'Orientation Scolaire et Professionnelle*, 42(2): 273–297.
- Bernardi, F., Gangl, M., and Van der Werfhorst, H.G. (2004). *The from-school-to-work dynamics: timing of work and quality of work in Italy, the Netherlands and the United States, 1980-1998*. Madrid: Instituto Juan March de estudios e investigaciones.

- Blanchard, P., Bühlmann, F., and Gauthier, J.-A. [Eds.] (2014). *Advances in sequence analysis: theory, method, applications*. London: Springer.
- Blanchard, O.J., and Tirole, J. (2003). *Contours of employment protection reform (November 1, 2003)*. Available at SRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=464282>.
- Blossfeld, H.-P., Buchholz, S., Hofäcker, D., and Kolb, K. [Eds.] (2011a). *Globalized labour markets and social inequality in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blossfeld, H.P., Roßbach, H.G., and Von Maurice, J. (2011c). *Education as a lifelong process – the German National Educational Panel Study (NEPS)*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Blossfeld, H.-P., Von Maurice, J., and Schneider, T. (2011b). The National Education Panel Study: need, main features, and research potential. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, 14: 5–17.
- Boeckmann, I., Misra, J., and Budig, M.J. (2014). Cultural and institutional factors shaping mothers' employment and working hours in postindustrial countries. *Social Forces*, 93(4): 1301–1333.
- Boisson-Cohen, G.H., and Zamora, P. (2017). *L'emploi des jeunes en France*. Paris: Rapport de France Stratégie janvier 2017.
- Bol, T. (2015). Has education become more positional? Educational expansion and labour market outcomes, 1985–2007. *Acta Sociologica*, 58(2): 105–120.
- Bol, T., and Van der Werfhorst, H.G. (2012). *Measuring educational diversity: tracking, vocational orientation, and standardization*. AMCIS working paper, 1, January 2012.
- Bol, T., and Van der Werfhorst, H.G. (2013). *The measurement of tracking, vocational orientation, and standardization of educational systems: a comparative approach*. GINI discussion paper 81. AIAS.
- Bol, T., and Van der Werfhorst, H.G. (2014). *Educational systems dataset, version 4*. Retrieved 17 February 2020, from <http://thijsbol.com/data>.
- Bonnal, L., Fougère, D., and Sérandon, A. (1997). Evaluating the impact of French public employment policies on individual labour market histories. *Review of Economic Studies*, 64: 683–713.
- Bonnal, L., Mendes, S., and Sofer, C. (2002). School-to-work transition: apprenticeship versus vocational school in France. *International Journal of Manpower*, 23(5): 426–442.
- Boudesseul, Y., Grelet, C., and Vivent, G. (2013). The social risks of early school leaving: towards a localised prevention policy? *Training and Employment*, 103:1–4.
- Bourdieu, P., and Passeron, J.-C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture (Vol. 4)*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Breen, R. (2005). Explaining cross-national variation in youth unemployment – market and institutional factors. *European Sociological Review*, 21(2): 125–134.
- Breen, R., and Goldthorpe, J.H. (1997). Explaining educational differentials: towards a formal rational action theory. *Rationality and Society*, 9(3): 275–305.
- Brinbaum, Y., and Guégnard, C. (2013). Choices and enrolments in French secondary and higher education: repercussions for second-generation immigrants. *Comparative Education Review*, 57(3): 481–502.
- Brinbaum, Y., and Trancart, D. (2017). Educational pathways and gender differences at labour market entry in France. pp. 120–144. In: Blossfeld, H.P., Skopek, J., Triventi, M., and Buchholz, S. [Eds.], *Gender, education and employment: an international comparison of school-to-work transitions*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Brinton, M. (1992). Christmas cakes and wedding cakes: the social organization of Japanese women's life course. pp. 79–107. In: Lebra Sugiyama, T. [Ed.], *Japanese Social Organization*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Brinton, M. (1993). *Women and the economic miracle: gender and work in postwar Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Brinton, M. [Ed.] (2001). *Women's working lives in East Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Brinton, M. (2011). *Lost in transition: youth, work, and instability in postindustrial Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinton, M., and Kariya, T. (1998). Institutional embeddedness in Japanese labour markets. pp. 181–207. In: Nee, V., and Brinton, M. [Eds.], *The new institutionalism in sociology*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Broccolichi, S., and Sinthon, R. (2011). Comment s'articulent les inégalités d'acquisition scolaire et d'orientation? Relations ignorées et rectifications tardives. *Revue française de pédagogie*, 175 (avril-juin): 15–38.
- Bruno, C., and Cazes, S. (1998). *French youth unemployment: an overview*. Geneva: International Labour Office Employment and Training Department.
- Brzinsky-Fay, C. (2007). Lost in transition? Labour market entry sequences of school leavers in Europe. *European Sociological Review*, 23(4): 409–422.
- Brzinsky-Fay, C. (2014). Graphical Representation of Transitions and Sequences. In: Blanchard P, Bühlmann, F. and Gauthier, J.-A. (eds.) *Advances in Sequence Analysis: Theory, Method, Applications*. Cham/Heidelberg/New York: Springer.
- Brzinsky-Fay, C., Ebner, C., and Seibert, H. (2016). Veränderte Kontinuität. Berufseinstiegsverläufe von Ausbildungsabsolventen in Westdeutschland seit den 1980er Jahren. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 68(2): 229–258.
- Brzinsky-Fay, C., and Kohler, U. (2010). New developments in sequence analysis. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 38(3): 359–364.
- Brzinsky-Fay, C., and Solga, H. (2016). Compressed, postponed, or disadvantaged? School-to-work-transition patterns and early occupational attainment in West Germany. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 46: 31–36.
- Buchholz, S., and Kolb, K. (2011). Selective flexibilization and deregulation of the labour market: the German answer to increased needs for employment and its consequences for social inequalities. pp. 25–45. In: Blossfeld, H.-P., Buchholz, S., Hofäcker, D., and Kolb, K. [Eds.], *Globalized labour markets and social inequality in Europe*. Basingstoke/New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bussi, M., and Graziano, P. (2019). Europeanisation and the youth guarantee: the case of France. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 28(4): 394–403.
- Bynner, J., and Parsons, S. (2002). Social exclusion and the transition from school to work: the case of young people not in education, employment, or training (NEET). *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 60(2): 289–309.
- Cabus, S.J. (2013). Does enhanced student commitment reduce school dropout? – evidence from two major dropout regions in the Netherlands. *Regional Studies*, 49(4): 599–614.
- Cabus, S., and De Witte, K. (2011). Does school time matter? On the impact of compulsory education age on school dropout. *Economics of Education Review*, 30: 1384–1398.
- Cahuc, P., Carcillo, S., Rinne, U., and Zimmermann, K.F. (2013a). Youth unemployment in old Europe: the polar cases of France and Germany. *IZA Journal of European Labour Studies*, 2(1): 1–29.
- Cahuc, P., Carcillo, S., and Zimmermann, K. (2013b). Employment of low skilled young people in France. *Notes du conseil d'analyse économique*, 4(4): 1–12.
- Cahuc, P., and Ferracci, M. (2014). L'apprentissage au service de l'emploi. *Notes du conseil d'analyse économique*, 9(19): 1–12.

- Calavrezo, O., and Sari, F. (2012). Neighborhood effects and employment outcomes: empirical evidence from French priority neighborhoods. *Urban Public Economics Review*, 17: 12–55.
- Caliendo, M., Künn, S., and Schmidl, R. (2011). *Fighting youth unemployment: the effects of active labour market policies*. IZA discussion paper 6222. Bonn: IZA.
- Caliendo, M., and Schmidl, R. (2016). Youth unemployment and active labour market policies in Europe. *IZA Journal of Labour Policy*, 5(1):1–30.
- Callanan, M., et al. (2009). *Pupils with declining attainment at key stages 3 and 4: profiles, experiences and impacts of underachievement and disengagement (research report no. DCSF-RR086)*. London: Department of Children, Schools and Families.
- Cammeraat, E., Jongen, E., and Koning, P. (2017). *Preventing NEETs during the great recession*. CPB discussion paper 365. Den Haag: Centraal Planbureau.
- Card, D., Kluve, J., and Weber, A. (2015). *What works? A meta-analysis of recent active labour market program evaluations*. IZA discussion paper no. 9236. Bonn: IZA.
- Caro, P. (2011). The mobilities of young people in France during and after their studies. pp. 210–219. In: Larsen, C., Hasberg, R., Schmid, A., Bittner, M., and Clément, F. [Eds.], *Measuring geographical mobility in regional labour market monitoring. State of Art and perspectives*. Augsburg: Rainer Hamm Verlag.
- Caroleo, F.E., Demidova, O., Marelli, E., and Signorelli, M. [Eds.] (2018). *Young people and the labour market: a comparative perspective*. Oxford: Routledge Studies in Labour Economics.
- Caspi et al. (1998), Egan, Daly and Delaney (2015, 2016), Hankins (2008), Gelman (2008), Holmes, Murphy and Mayhew (2021).
- Caspi et al is Caspi, A., Houts, R. M., Belsky, D. W., Harrington, H., Hogan, S., Ramrakha, S., Poulton, R., & Moffitt, T. E. (2016). Childhood forecasting of a small segment of the population with large economic burden. *Nature human behaviour*, 1, 0005. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-016-0005>
- Cassen, R., and Kingdon, G. (2007). *Tackling low educational achievement*. London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Castell, L., Portela, M., and Rivalin, R. (2016). Les principales ressources des 18–24 ans. Premiers résultats de l'enquête nationale sur les ressources des jeunes. *Insee Première*, (1603 (juin): 1–4.
- Cedefop. (2020). *On the way to 2020: data for vocational education and training policies. Indicator overviews: 2019 update*. Cedefop research paper; no 76. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. <http://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2801/62708>.
- Chen, Y.W. (2011). Once a NEET always a NEET? Experiences of employment and unemployment among youth in a job training programme in Taiwan. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 20(1): 33–42.
- Chevalier, T. (2016). Varieties of youth welfare citizenship: towards a two-dimension typology. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 26(1): 3–19.
- Clerkx, L.E., and Van IJzendoorn, M.H. (1992). Child-care in a Dutch context. On the history, current status, and evaluation of nonmaternal child-care in the Netherlands. pp. 55–81. In: Lamb, M.E., Sternberg, K.J., Hwang, C.P., and Broberg, A.G. [Eds.], *Child-care in context. Cross-cultural perspectives*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94: S95–S120.
- Coles, B., Hutton, S., Bradshaw, J., Craig, G., Godfrey, C., and Johnson, J. (2002). *Literature review of the costs of being not in education, employment or training at age 16-18*. Research report 347. London: Department for Education and Skills.

- Contini, D., Filandri, M., and Pacelli, L. (2019). Persistency in the NEET state: a longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 22(7), 1–22.
- Cooke, G. (2013). *No more NEETs: a plan for all young people to be learning or earning*. London: IPPR.
- Cornwell B. (2015). *Social Sequence Analysis. Methods and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Couppié, T., Gasquet, C., and Lopez, A. (2004). *Evolutions de l'emploi tertiaire de base et positionnements des CAP-BEP tertiaires sur le marché du travail*. Céreq RELIEF 6. Dijon: University of Burgundy.
- CPB. (2011). *Ex post analyse effect kinderopvangtoeslag op arbeidsparticipatie*. Den Haag; Centraal Cultureel Planbureau.
- Culpepper, P.D. (1999). The future of the high-skill equilibrium in Germany. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 15(1): 43–59.
- Culpepper, P.D., and Finegold, D. (1999). *The German skills machine: sustaining comparative advantage in a global economy (Vol. 3)*. New York, NY and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Cusworth, L., Bradshaw, J., Coles, B., Keung, A., and Chzhen, Y. (2009). *Understanding the risks of social exclusion across the life course: youth and young adulthood: a research report*. London: Social Exclusion Task Force, Cabinet Office.
- Dale, R. (2010). *Early school leaving lessons from research to policy makers*. Brussels: NESSE.
- Danner, M., Guégnard, C., and Joseph, O. (2018). Le profil des NEET a-t-il évolué en 20 ans? pp. 63–69. In: Couppié, T., Dupray, A., Epiphane, D., and Mora, V. [Eds.], *20 ans d'insertion professionnelle des jeunes: entre permanences et évolutions*. Dijon: Céreq/Essentiels.
- Danner, M., Guégnard, C., and Joseph, O. (2020). Les jeunes NEET: résistances et évolutions sur vingt ans. *Formation emploi*, 149: 61–85.
- De Giorgi, G. (2005). *Long-term effects of a mandatory multistage program: the new deal for young people in the UK*. Paper 0508. London: Institute of Fiscal Studies.
- De Graaf, P.M., and Ultee, W.C. (1998). Education and early occupation in the Netherlands around 1990: categorical and continuous scales and the details of a relationship. pp. 337–367. In: Shavit, Y., and Müller, W. [Eds.], *From school to work: a comparative study of educational qualifications and occupational destinations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- De Grip, A., and Wolbers, M.H.J. (2006). Cross-national differences in job quality among low-skilled young workers in Europe. *International Journal of Manpower*, 27(5): 420–433.
- Dekker, F., and Bertling, L. (2019). *Verschil maken. Een evaluatieonderzoek naar de effectieve aanpakken van jeugdwerkloosheid*. Amsterdam: Regioplan.
- Del Boca, D., Pasqua, S., and Pronzato, C. (2008). Motherhood and market work decisions in institutional context: a European perspective. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 61: 147–171.
- Department for Education. (2011). *What works re-engaging young people who are not in education, employment or training (NEET)? Summary of evidence from the activity agreement pilots and the entry to learning pilots*. Research report DFE-RR065. London: Department for Education.
- Department for Education. (2020). *What different qualification levels mean*. Web resource, available from <https://www.gov.uk/what-different-qualification-levels-mean/list-of-qualification-levels>.
- Department for Work and Pensions. (2019). *Youth obligation support programme statistics. Ad hoc official statistics. July*. London: DWP.
- De Witte, K., and Cabus, S. (2013). Dropout prevention measures in the Netherlands, an evaluation. *Educational Review*, 65(2): 155–176.

- De Witte, K., Cabus, S., Groot, W., and Maassen van den Brink, H. (2014). *Voortijdig schoolverlaten*. Maastricht: Rapportage van TIER/Platform31.
- De Witte, K., and Csillag, M. (2014). Does anybody notice? On the impact of improved truancy reporting on school dropout. *Education Economics*, 22(6): 549–568.
- Dex, S. (1995). The reliability of recall data: a literature review. *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology*, 49(1): 58–98.
- Dicks, A., and Levels, M. (2018). NEET in limburg. trends, spreiding, duiding. ROA Factsheet 2018/2.
- Dietrich, H. (2013). Youth unemployment in the period 2001–2010 and the European crisis – looking at the empirical evidence. *European Review of Labour and Research*, 19(3): 305–324.
- Dingeldey, I. (2007). Between workfare and enablement – the different paths to transformation of the welfare state: a comparative analysis of activating labour market policies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(6): 823–851.
- Di Paola, V., Jellab, A., Moullet, S., Olympio, N., and Verdier, E. (2016). *L'évolution de l'enseignement professionnel: des segmentations éducatives et sociales renouvelées*. CNESCO Report. Paris: CNESCO.
- DiPrete, T.A., Ciocca Eller, C., Bol, T., and van der Werfhorst, H.G. (2017). School-to-work linkages in the United States, Germany, and France. *American Journal of Sociology*, 122(6): 1869–1938.
- Dlouhy, K., and Biemann, T. (2015). Optimal matching analysis in career research: a review and some best-practice recommendations. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 90: 163–173.
- Doeringer, P., and Piore, M. (1971). *Internal labour markets and manpower analysis*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Dörfler, L., and Van der Werfhorst, H.G. (2009). Employers' demand for qualifications and skills: increased merit selection in Austria, 1985–2005. *European Societies*, 11(5): 697–721.
- Duell, N. (2012). *Can active labour market programmes reduce long-term unemployment*. Brussels: EC/ICF GHK Consulting Ltd and CERGE – EI.
- Dupray, A. (2001). The signaling power of education by size of firm and the long-term effects on workers' careers. *International Journal of Manpower*, 22(1/2): 13–25.
- Dupray, A., and Gasquet, C. (2004). L'empreinte du contexte régional sur l'insertion professionnelle des jeunes. *Formation emploi*, 87(1): 29–44.
- Duru-Bellat, M.D. (2006). *L'inflation scolaire: les désillusions de la méritocratie*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Edwards, R.C., Reich, M., and Gordon, D.M. [Eds.] (1975). *Labour market segmentation*. Lexington, MA/Toronto/London, DC: Heath and Company.
- Egan, M., Daly, M., Delaney, L. (2015) 'Childhood psychological distress and youth unemployment: Evidence from two British cohort studies', *Social Science & Medicine*, 124, pp. 11–17. DOI:[10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.11.023](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.11.023).
- Eichhorst, W. (2015). The unexpected appearance of a new German Model. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 53(1): 49–69.
- Eichhorst, W., Hinte, H., and Rinne, U. (2016). *Promoting youth employment in Europe: evidence-based policy lessons*. IZA policy paper no. 119. Bonn: Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit.
- Elbaum, M., and Marchand, O. (1994). Emploi et chômage des jeunes dans les pays industrialisés: La spécificité française. *Travail et emploi*, 58: 111–121.
- Elder, S. (2015). What does NEETs mean and why is the concept so easily misinterpreted? *ILO. Technical Brief*, 1: 1–16.

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990a). The three political economies of the welfare state. *International Journal of Sociology*, 20(3): 92–123.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990b). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social foundations of post-industrial economies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (2000). Who is harmed by labour market regulations? Quantitative evidence. pp. 66–98. In: Esping-Andersen, G., and Regini, M. [Eds.], *Why deregulate labour markets?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Estévez-Abe, M. (2005). Gender bias in skills and social policies: the varieties of capitalism perspective on sex segregation. *Social Politics*, 12(2): 180–215.
- Estévez-Abe, M. (2006). Gendering the varieties of capitalism: a study of occupational segregation by sex in advanced industrial societies. *World Politics*, 59(1): 142–175.
- Estévez-Abe, M. (2012). Gendered consequences of vocational training. The political economy of collective skill formation. pp. 259–283. In: Busemeyer, M.R., and Trampusch, C. [Eds.], *The political economy of collective skill formation*. Oxford/New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Estévez-Abe, M., and Hethey-Maier, T. (2013). Women's work, family earnings, and public policy. pp. 1–20. In: Gornick, J.C. and Jantti, M. [Eds.], *Income inequality: economic disparities and the middle class in affluent countries*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Estévez-Abe, M., Iversen, T., and Soskice, D. (2001). Social protection and the formation of skills: a reinterpretation of the welfare state. pp. 145–183. In: Soskice, D., Estévez-Abe, M., and Iversen, T. [Eds.], *Varieties of capitalism: the institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eurofound. (2012). *NEETS. Young people not in employment, education or training: characteristics, costs and policy responses in Europe*. Luxembourg: European Union.
- Eurofound. (2013). *Caring for children and dependants: effect on careers of young workers. Background paper*. Luxembourg: European Union.
- Eurofound. (2015). *Social inclusion of young people*. Luxembourg: European Union.
- Eurofound. (2016). *Exploring the diversity of NEETs*. Luxembourg: European Union.
- European Commission. (2010a). *Proposal for a council decision on guidelines for the employment policies of the Member States – Part II of the Europe 2020 Integrated Guidelines*. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission. (2010b). *Youth on the move: an initiative to unleash the potential of young people to achieve smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in the European Union*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- European Commission. (2011). *Youth opportunities initiative*. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission. (2016). *Report on PES implementation of the youth guarantee*. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission. (2018). *Youth guarantee country by country – United Kingdom*. Brussels: Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion.
- European Parliament. (2011). *Reducing early school leaving in the EU*. Brussels: European Parliament's Committee on Education and Culture.
- Everitt, B.S., Landau, S., Leese, M., and Stahl, D. (2011). *Cluster analysis*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- Eyraud, F., Marsden, D., and Silvestre, J.J. (1990). Occupational and internal labour markets in Britain and France. *International Labour Review*, 129(4): 501–518.
- Fagnani, J. (2007). Family policies in France and Germany: sisters or distant cousins? *Community, Work and Family*, 10(1): 39–56.



- Fagnani, J. (2012). Recent reforms in childcare and family policies in France and Germany: what was at stake? *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34(3): 509–516.
- Ferrera, M. (2010). The South European countries. pp. 616–629. In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H., and Pierson, C. [Eds.], *The Oxford handbook of the welfare state*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Finn, D. (2010). Outsourcing employment programmes: contract design and differential prices. *European Journal of Social Security*, 12(4): 289–302.
- Furlong, A. (2006). Not a very NEET solution. Representing problematic labour market transitions among early school-leavers. *Work, Employment and Society*, 20(3): 553–569.
- Furlong, A. (2007). The zone of precarity and discourses of vulnerability: NEET in the UK. *The Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 42(March): 101–121.
- Furlong, A., Cartmel, F., Biggart, A., Sweeting, H., and West, P. (2003). *Youth transitions: patterns of vulnerability and processes of social inclusion*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Social Research.
- Gabardinho, A., Ritschard, G., Studer, M., and Müller, N.S. (2011). *Mining sequence data in R with the TraMineR package: a user's guide*. Geneva: University of Geneva.
- Galland, O. (2000). Entrer Dans La Vie Adulte : Des Étapes Toujours plus Tardives, Mais Resserrées. *Economie et Statistique*, 337–338 (7/8): 13–36.
- Gambaro, L., Stewart, K., and Waldfogel, J. (2015). A question of quality: do children from disadvantaged backgrounds receive lower quality early years education and care in England? *British Educational Research Journal*, 41(4): 553–574.
- Gamel, C. (2000). Le diplôme, un signal en voie de dépréciation? *Revue d'Economie Politique*, 110(1): 53–84.
- Gangl, M. (2001). European patterns of labour market entry. A dichotomy of occupationalized vs. non-occupationalized systems? *European Societies*, 3(4): 471–494.
- Gangl, M. (2003). The structure of labour market entry in Europe: a typological analysis. pp. 107–112. In: Müller, W., and Gangl, M. [Eds.], *Transitions from education to work in Europe: the integration of youth into EU labour markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gangl, M., Müller, W., and Raffé, D. (2003). Conclusions: explaining cross-national differences in school-to-work transitions. pp. 277–305. In: Müller, W., and Gangl, M. [Eds.], *Transitions from education to work in Europe: the integration of youth into EU labour markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ganzeboom, H.B.G., De Graaf, P.M., and Treiman, D.J. (1992). A standard international socio-economic index of occupational status. *Social Science Research*, 21(1): 1–56.
- Gaubert, E., Henrard, V., Robert, A., and Rouaud, P. (2017). *Pas d'amélioration de l'insertion professionnelle pour les non-diplômés, Céreq Bref n° 356*. Dijon: University of Burgundy.
- Gautié, J. (2018). *Rapport final d'évaluation de la Garantie Jeunes*. Paris: DARES.
- Gebel, M., and Giesecke, J. (2011). Labour market flexibility and inequality: the changing skill-based temporary employment and unemployment risks in Europe. *Social Forces*, 90(1): 17–39.
- Gebel, M., and Giesecke, J. (2016). Does deregulation help? The impact of employment protection reforms on youths' unemployment and temporary employment risks in Europe. *European Sociological Review*, 32(4): 486–500.
- Gelman (2008), Scaling regression inputs by dividing by two standard deviations *Statist. Med.* 2008; 27:2865–2873.
- Genda, Y. (2007). Jobless youths and the NEET problem in Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 10(1): 23–40.
- Genda, Y., and Maganuma, M. (2004). *NEET: not in education, employment or training*. Tokyo: Gentosha (in Japanese).

- Gesthuizen, M., Solga, H., and Künster, R. (2011). Context matters: economic marginalization of low-educated workers in cross-national perspective. *European Sociological Review*, 27(2): 264–280.
- Gesthuizen, M., and Wolbers, M.H.J. (2010). Employment transitions in the Netherlands, 1980–2004: are low educated men subject to structural or cyclical crowding out? *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 28(4): 437–451.
- Giret, J.F., Guégnard, C., and Joseph, O. (2020). School-to-work transition in France: the role of education in escaping long-term NEET trajectories. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 39(2): 1–17.
- Gornick, J.C., and Meyers, M.K. (2003). *Families that work: policies for reconciling parenthood and employment*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Green, A., Maguire, M. and Canny, A. (2001). *Keeping Track: Mapping and tracking vulnerable young people*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Grelet, Y. (2006). Des territoires qui façonnent les parcours scolaires des jeunes. *Céreq Bref*, n° 228: 1–4.
- Gutiérrez-García, R.A., Benjet, C., Borges, G., Méndez Ríos, E., and Medina-Mora, M.E. (2018). Emerging adults not in education, employment or training (NEET): socio-demographic characteristics, mental health and reasons for being NEET. *BMC Public Health*, 18(1): 1–12.
- Hadjivassiliou, K.P., Eichhorst, W., Tassinari, A., and Wozny, F. (2016). *Assessing the performance of school-to-work transition regimes in the EU*, IZA DP no. 10301. Bonn: IZA.
- Hall, P.A., and Soskice, D. [Eds.] (2001). *Varieties of capitalism. The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilton, S.F. (1990). *Apprenticeship for adulthood: preparing youth for the future apprenticeship*. New York: Free Press.
- Hannan, D.F., Raffe, D., and Smyth, E. (1996). *Cross-national research on school to work transitions: an analytical framework*. 1996 Workshop of the network on transitions in youth. La Ciotat: Cereq.
- Hanushek, E.A., Schwerdt, G., Woessmann, L., and Zhang, L. (2017). General education, vocational education, and labor-market outcomes over the lifecycle. *Journal of Human Resources*, 52(1): 48–87.
- Hartog, J., and Salverda, W. (2018). *The labour market in the Netherlands, 2001-2016*. Bonn: IZA World of Labor, (418).
- HECFE. (2018). *Vocational degrees and employment outcomes*. London: HEFCE. Available from <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk>.
- Henehan, K. (2019). *Trading up or trading off? Understanding recent changes to England's apprenticeships system*. London: Resolution Foundation.
- Hennig, C., Meila, M., Murtagh, F., and Rocci, R. (2016). *Handbook of cluster analysis*. Boca Raton, FL, CRC Press.
- Heppen, J., and Therriault, S.B. (2008). *Developing early warning systems to identify high school dropouts*. National High School Center Issue Brief July. [betterhighschools.org](http://betterhighschools.org).
- Heyer, G., Koch, S., Stephan, G., and Wolff, J. (2012). Evaluation der aktiven Arbeitsmarktpolitik: ein Sachstandsbericht für die Instrumentenreform 2011. *Journal for Labour Market Research*, 45(1): 41–62.
- Hodkinson, P. (1996). Careership: the individual, choices and markets in the transition to work. pp. 121–139. In: Avis, J., Bloomer, M., Esland, G., Gleeson, D., and Hodkinson, P. [Eds.], *Knowledge and nationhood: education, politics and work (Vol. 121-139)*. London: Continuum.
- Hodkinson, P., and Sparkes, A.C. (1997). Careership: a sociological theory of career decision making. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 18(1): 29–44.

- Holmes, C, Murphy, E and Mayhew, K (2021). What accounts for changes in the chance of being NEET in the UK?, *Journal of Education and Work*, 34(4).
- Holte, B.H. (2018). Counting and meeting NEET young people. methodology, perspective and meaning in research on marginalized youth. *Young*, 26(1): 1–16.
- Holte, B.H., Swart, I., and Hiilamo, H. (2019). The NEET concept in comparative youth research: the Nordic countries and South Africa. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 22(2): 256–272.
- Honda, Y., Naito, A., and Goto, K. (2006). *Don't say "NEET"*. Tokyo: Kobunsha (in Japanese).
- Hüfner, A., and Hüfner, K. (2010). Germany. pp. 582–589. In: Peterson, P., Baker, E., and McGraw, B. [Eds.], *International encyclopedia of education*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Hull, D. (2005). *Identifying students at risk of disengaging from education and training*. Victoria: Department of Education and Training.
- Human Fertility Database. (2018). *Mean age at birth in the Netherlands*. Accessed September 2018 on <https://www.humanfertility.org/cgi-bin/country.php?country=NLDandtab=si>.
- Iannelli, C., and Raffè, D. (2007). Vocational upper-secondary education and the transition from school. *European Sociological Review*, 23(1): 49–63.
- Ilardi, V., and Sulzer, E. (2015). *CAP-BEP: des difficultés d'insertion encore aggravées par la crise*. Cereq Bref 335. Dijon: University of Burgundy.
- Imai, J. (2010). *The transformation of Japanese employment relations: reform without labor*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Inspectie SZW. (2015). *Jongeren buiten beeld*. Den Haag: Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment.
- Inspectorate of Education. (2017). *De Staat van het Onderwijs 2015/2016*. De Meern: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen.
- Inspectorate of Education. (2020). *De Staat van het Onderwijs 2020*. De Meern: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen.
- Inui, A. (2005). Why Freeter and NEET are misunderstood: recognizing the new precarious conditions of Japanese youth. *Social Work and Society*, 3(2): 244–251.
- Ishida, H. (1998). Educational credentials and labor-market entry outcomes in Japan. pp. 287–309. In: Shavit, Y., and Müller, W. [Eds.], *From school to work: a comparative study of educational qualifications and occupational destinations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- IZI Solutions. (2016a). *Do's en don'ts voor het bereiken en activeren van jongeren*. Amsterdam: IZI Solutions.
- IZI Solutions. (2016b). *Zichtbaar maar niet in beeld*. Amsterdam: IZI Solutions.
- Jacob, M., and Tieben, N. (2009). Social selectivity of track mobility in secondary schools: A comparison of intra-secondary transitions in Germany and the Netherlands. *European Societies*, 11(5), 747–773.
- JILPT [The Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training]. (2019). *Current situation of youth labor, career and human resource development vol. 3: the results from employment status survey 2017*. JILPT series no. 217 (in Japanese).
- Jongbloed, J., and Giret, J.-F. (2021). Quality of life of NEET youth in comparative perspective : subjective well-being during the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Youth Studies*, Online First, 1–23
- Jordan, L., McGinival, S., Thomas, A., & Coleman, N. (2013). *Early evaluation of the Youth Contract wage incentive scheme*. Published by the Department for Work and Pensions. URL: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/194228/rrep\\_828](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/194228/rrep_828).

- Joseph, O., Lopez, A., and Ryk, F. (2008). *Génération 2004, des jeunes pénalisés par la conjoncture*. Céreq Bref. Marseille: Céreq.
- Kagawa, M., Kodama, H., and Aizawa, S. (2014). *Japan's postwar history of "high school education for all"*. Tokyo: Shinyosha (in Japanese).
- Kalleberg, A.L., and Sorensen, A.B. (1979). The sociology of labour markets. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 5(1): 351–379.
- Kanazaki, S. (2017). Development of youth employment policy after the war. pp. 12–42. In: JILPT [Ed.], *Individualized career of the youth*. Tokyo: The Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training (in Japanese).
- Kariya, T. (1995). *The rise of mass education society*. Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha (in Japanese).
- Kariya, T. (2013). *Education reform and social class in Japan: The emerging incentive divide*. New York, NY: Routledge/University of Tokyo.
- Kariya, T., Sugayama, S., and Ishida, H. [Eds.] (2000). *Schools, public employment offices, and the labour market in postwar Japan*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (in Japanese).
- Karsten, S. (2016). *De hoofdstroom in de Nederlandse Onderwijsdelta: Een nuchtere balans van het mbo*. Apeldoorn: Garant.
- Kelly, E., and McGuinness, S. (2015). Impact of the Great Recession on unemployed and NEET individuals' labour market transitions in Ireland. *Economic Systems*, 39(1): 59–71.
- Kergoat, P. (2010). A reflection on inequalities at the crossroad of education and work. *Revue Suisse de sociologie*, 36(1): 53–72.
- Kluge, J., Puerto, S., Robalino, D., Romero, J.M., Rother, F., Stöterau, J., Weidenkaff, F., and Witte, M. (2019). Do youth employment programs improve labour market outcomes? A systematic review. *World Development*, 114, 237–253.
- Knijn, T. C., & Liefbroer, A. C. (2006). More kin than kind: instrumental support in families., 89–105 in Dykstra, P.A, Kalmijn, M, Knijn, G.C.M, Komter, A.E, Liefbroer, A.C, & Mulder, C.H. (2006). *Family solidarity in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Dutch University Press.
- Knotz, C.M. (2012). Measuring the 'new balance of rights and responsibilities' in labour market policy: a quantitative overview of activation strategies in 20 OECD countries. ZeS-working paper (no. 06/2012).
- Kogan, I., Gebel, M., and Nolke, C. [Eds.] (2008). *Europe Enlarged. A handbook of education, labour and welfare regimes in Central and Eastern Europe*. Abingdon: The Policy Press.
- Kogan, I., and Müller, W. (2003). *School-to-work transitions in Europe: analyses of the EU LFS 2000 ad hoc module*. Mannheim: Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung.
- Kohlrausch, B. (2012). Das Übergangssystem – Übergänge mit System. pp. 595–609. In: Bauer, U., Bittlingmayer, U.H., and Scherr, A. [Eds.], *Handbuch Bildungs- und Erziehungssoziologie. Bildung und Gesellschaft*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Korpi, W. (2000). Faces of inequality: gender, class, and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states. *Social Politics*, 7(2): 127–191.
- Korthals, R., and Dronkers, J. (2016). Tracking and selection on performance. *Applied Economics*, 48(30): 2836–2851.
- Kuyper, H., Lubbers, M.J., and Van der Werf, M.P.C. (2003). *VOCL'99-1: technisch rapport*. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Leave Network. (2018). *Country reports*. Web resource, available from <https://www.leavenetwork.org/annual-review-reports/country-reports/>.
- Lehr, C., et al. (2004). *Essential tools: increasing rates of school completion: moving from policy and research to practice*. Minneapolis, MN: National Center on Secondary Education and Transition.

- Leitner, S. (2003). Varieties of familialism: The Caring Function of the Family in Comparative Perspective, *European Societies* 5(4), 353–375.
- LeTendre, G.K., Hofer, B.K., and Shimizu, H. (2003). What is tracking? Cultural expectations in the United States, Germany, and Japan. *American Educational Research Journal*, 40(1): 43–89.
- Levels, M., Dicks, A., and de Grip, A. (2020). *Neet aan 't werk, neet op sjoël, neet op training: NEET in Limburg in 2020 Beschrijving, bepaling en beleidsadvies*. ROA Factsheet 2020/4. Maastricht: ROA.
- Levels, M., Need, A., Nieuwenhuis, R., Sluiter, R., and Ultee, W. (2012). Unintended pregnancy and induced abortion in the Netherlands 1954–2002. *European Sociological Review*, 28(3): 301–318.
- Levels, M., and Verhagen, A. (2013). Kwetsbare jongeren op de arbeidsmarkt: lessen van het MBO. pp. 47–70. In: *Schoolverlaters tussen Onderwijs en Arbeidsmarkt 2012*. Maastricht: ROA.
- Levels, M., Van der Velden, R., and di Stasio, V. (2014). From school to fitting work: how education-to-job matching of European school leavers is related to educational system characteristics. *Acta Sociologica*, 57(4): 341–361.
- Lim, S.-J., and Raymo, J.M. (2011). A new look at married women's labour force transitions in Japan. *Social Science Research*, 40(2): 460–472.
- Lindbeck, A., and Snower, D.J. (1989). *The insider-outsider theory of employment and unemployment*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lindbeck, A., and Snower, D.J. (2001). Insiders versus outsiders. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 15(1): 165–188.
- Logan, J.A. (1996). Opportunity and choice in socially structured labour markets. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(1): 114–160.
- Loison-Leruste, M., Couronné, J., and Sarfati, F. (2016). *La Garantie jeunes en action. Usages du dispositif et parcours de jeunes. Rapport de Recherche du CEET, 101*. Noisy-le-Grand Cedex: Centre d'études de l'emploi et du travail.
- Lopez, A., and Sulzer, E. (2016). *Insertion des apprentis: un avantage à interroger: un avantage à interroger, Céreq Bref, 346*. Dijon: University of Burgundy.
- Luijkx, R., and Wolbers, M.H.J. (2009). The effects of non-employment in early work-life on subsequent employment chances of individuals in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, 25(6): 647–660.
- Lutz, B., and Sengenberger, W. (1974). *Arbeitsmarktstrukturen und öffentliche Arbeitsmarktpolitik*. Göttingen: Schwartz.
- Maguire, S. (2013). What measures can be taken to address the specific problem of young people who are NEET? *Intereconomics*, 48(4): 196–201.
- Maguire, S. (2015). Young people not in education, employment or training (NEET): recent policy initiatives in England and their effects. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 10(4): 525–536.
- Maguire, S. (2017). A spotlight in young women who are defined as NEET and economically inactive. *Cuadernos de Investigación en Juventud*, 11(3): 3–11.
- Maguire, S., and Keep, E. (under review). Singing from the same hymn sheet? UK policy responses to the NEET agenda. *Journal of Education and Work*.
- Maguire, S., and Rennison, J. (2005). Two years on: the destinations of young people who were NEET at 16. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(3): 187–202.
- Manzoni, A., Vermunt, J.K., Luijkx, R., et al. (2010). Memory bias in retrospectively collected employment careers: a model-based approach to correct for measurement error. *Sociological Methodology*, 16(4): 39–73.

- Marsden, D. (1999). *A theory of employment systems: micro-foundations of societal diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, J.P., and Grubb, D. (2001). What works and for whom: a review of OECD countries' experiences with active labour market policies. *Swedish Economic Policy Review*, 8(2): 9–56.
- Massing, N., and Gauly, B. (2017). Training participation and gender: analyzing individual barriers across different welfare state regimes. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 67(4): 266–285.
- Maurice, M., Sellier, F., and Silvestre, J.J. (1986). *The social foundations of industrial power*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mayer, K.U. (2009). New directions in life course research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35: 413–433.
- MBO Raad. (2017). *MBO Raad en NRTO lanceren perspectiefjaar* [Press release]. Retrieved from <https://www.mбораad.nl/nieuws/mbo-raad-en-nrto-lanceren-perspectiefjaar>.
- McHugh, N., Sinclair, S., Roy, M., Huckfield, L., and Donaldson, C. (2013). Social impact bonds: a wolf in sheep's clothing? *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 21(3): 247–257.
- Meadows, P. (2001). *Young men on the margins of work: an overview report*. York: York Publishing Services.
- Mertens, D. (1976). Beziehungen zwischen Qualifikation und Arbeitsmarkt. Jugendarbeitslosigkeit. Unlösbare Aufgabe für das Bildungs- und Beschäftigungssystem? W. Schlaffke. Köln, Deutscher Instituts-Verlag: 68–117.
- Merton, R.K. (1938). Social structure and anomie. *American Sociological Review*, 3(5): 672–682.
- Mills, M., Präg, P., Tsang, F., Begall, K., Derbyshire, J., Kohle, L., Miani, C., and Hoorens, S. (2014). *Use of childcare in the EU Member States and progress towards the Barcelona targets: short statistical report no. 1*. 10.7249/RR185.
- Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science. (2018). *Wet van 15 juni 2018 tot wijziging van onder meer de Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs inzake regionale samenwerking voortijdig schoolverlaten en jongeren in een kwetsbare positie*. Den Haag: Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 05–07–2018.
- Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. (2001). *Wet Arbeid en Zorg van 16 november 2010*. Staatsblad der Nederlanden. <https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0013008/2020-07-01>.
- Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. (2015a). *Buitenspel. De uitvoering voor jongeren in de WW of bijstand. Nota van bevindingen*. Den Haag: Ministerie SZW.
- Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. (2015b). *Jongeren buiten beeld. Nota van bevindingen*. Den Haag: Ministerie SZW.
- Miyamoto, M. (2015). Social policies for transition to adulthood and possibility of sociology: changing perceptions from Freeter and NEET to social exclusion. *Japanese Sociological Review*, 66(2): 204–223 (in Japanese).
- Moncel, N. (2008). *Recrutement en entreprise: les débutants sont-ils victimes d'un tri trop sélectif*. Céreq Bref, 250. Dijon: University of Burgundy.
- Moreau, G. (2015). L'apprentissage, un bien public? *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, 44(2): 1–18.
- Morgenstern, R.D., and Barrett, N.S. (1974). The retrospective bias in unemployment reporting by sex, race and age. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 69(346): 355–357.
- Moriyama, T. (2012). The effect of the shape of the career on poverty risk: focusing on gender differences. *The Japanese Journal of Labour Studies*, 619: 77–89 (in Japanese).

- Morris, M., and Pullen, C. (2007). *Disengagement and re-engagement of young people in learning at key stage 3*. Totnes: Research in Practice.
- Muffels, R. (2013). Flexibilisering en de toegang tot de arbeidsmarkt. *TPDigitaal*, 7(4): 79–98.
- Mugiyama, R. (2017). Inequality caused by career interruptions: examining Persistent Effects upon Getting Regular Employment. *Japanese Sociological Review*, 68(2): 248–264 (in Japanese).
- Muja, A., Blommaert, L., Gesthuizen, M., and Wolbers, M.H.J. (2019). The role of different types of skills and signals in youth labour market integration. *Empirical Research in Vocational Education and Training*, 11(1): 6.
- Müller, W. (1994). *The process and consequences of education differentiation: summary report*. Berlin: CEDEFOP.
- Müller, W. (2005). Education and youth integration into European labour markets. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 46(5–6): 461–485.
- Müller, W., and Gangl, M. [Eds.] (2003). *Transitions from education to work in Europe. The integration of youth into EU labour markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Müller, W., and Shavit, Y. (1998). The institutional embeddedness of the stratification process: a comparative study of qualifications and occupations in thirteen countries. pp. 1–48. In: Shavit, Y., and Müller, W. [Eds.], *From school to work: a comparative study of educational qualifications and occupational destinations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- National Audit Office. (2014). *Department for work and pensions. The work programme*. HC 266 session 2014–15, July. London: National Audit Office.
- Neild, R.C., and Balfanz, R. (2006). *Unfilled promise: the dimensions and characteristics of Philadelphia's Dropout Crisis, 2000–2005*. Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Youth Network, The Johns Hopkins University and University of Pennsylvania.
- Newton, B., Speckesser, S., Nafilyen, V., et al. (2014). *Youth contract for 16–17 year olds not in education, employment or training evaluation*. DFE-RR318A, September. London: Department for Education (DfE).
- Nieuwenhuis, R., Need, A., and Van der Kolk, H. (2012). Institutional and demographic explanations of women's employment in 18 OECD countries, 1975–1999. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(3): 614–630.
- Nieuwenhuis, R., Need, A., and Van der Kolk, H. (2017). Is there such a thing as too long childcare leave? *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 37(1/2): 2–15.
- OECD. (1993). *Active labour market policies: assessing macroeconomic and micro-economic effects, employment outlook*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2000). *From initial education to working life: making transitions work: preliminary edition*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2009). *Education at a glance 2009: OECD indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2010). *Off to a good start? Jobs for youth*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2011). *Doing better for families*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2012). *Literacy, numeracy and problem solving in technology-rich environments framework for the OECD survey of adult skills*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2013a). *Technical report of the OECD survey of adult skills (PIAAC)*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2013b). *OECD indicators of employment protection*. Retrieved 23 April 2018, from <https://www.oecd.org>.
- OECD. (2013c). *OECD skills outlook 2013: first results from the survey of adult skills*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2016). *Society at a glance 2016: OECD social indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2019a). *OECD employment outlook*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

- OECD. (2019b). *Benefits and wages: net childcare cost for parents using childcare*. Retrieved 2 July 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1787/b0781729-en>.
- OECD. (2020a). *Public expenditure and participant stocks on LMP (active measures)*. Retrieved 1 May 2020, from <https://stats.oecd.org>.
- OECD. (2020b). *Employment: length of maternity leave, parental leave, and paid father-specific leave*. Retrieved 20 August 2020, from <https://stats.oecd.org>.
- OECD. (2020c). *OECD employment outlook 2020: worker security and the COVID-19 crisis*. Paris: OECD.
- Ogasawara, Y. (1998). *Office ladies and salaried men, power, gender and work in Japanese companies*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- O'Higgins, N. (2001). *Youth unemployment and employment policy A global perspective*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Okano, K. (1993). *School to work transition in Japan: an ethnographic study*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Olivetti, C., and Petrongolo, B. (2017). The economic consequences of family policies: lessons from a century of legislation in high-income countries. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(1): 205–230.
- Oostveen, A., Mevissen, J., Hedwig Rossing, H., van der Wel, J., and Bleeke, Y. (2017). *Matchen op werk. Tweede Monitor*. Amsterdam: Regioplan.
- Open University. (2017). *Fixing the broken market in part time studies*. Milton Keynes: The Open University.
- O'Reilly, J., Eichhorst, W., Gábos, A., Hadjivassiliou, K., Lain, D., Leschke, J., et al. (2015). Five characteristics of youth unemployment in Europe: flexibility, education, migration, family legacies, and EU policy. *SAGE Open*, 5(1):1–19.
- Orloff, A. (1996). Gender in the welfare state. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22: 51–78.
- Osawa, M., Kim, M.-J., and Kingston, J. (2013). Precarious work in Japan. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(3): 309–334.
- Osawa, M. (2011). *Social security in contemporary Japan: a comparative analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Osterman, P. (1980). *Getting started: the youth labour market*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT University Press.
- Pechar, H., and Andres, L. (2011). Higher-education policies and welfare regimes: international comparative perspectives. *Higher Education Policy*, 24(1): 25–52.
- Pettit, B., and Hook, J. (2005). The structure of women's employment in comparative perspective. *Social Forces*, 84(2): 779–801.
- Pinkus, L. (2008). Using early-warning data to improve graduation rates: closing cracks in the education system. Alliance for excellent education policy brief. August.
- Pohl, A., and Walther, A. (2007). Activating the disadvantaged. Variations in addressing youth transitions across Europe. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(5): 533–553.
- Portegijs, W., M. Cloin, I.L. Ooms en E. Eggink (2006). *Hoe het werkt met kinderen. Moeders over kinderopvang en werk*. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1): 1–24.
- Quintini, G., and Martin, S. (2006). *Starting well or losing their way? The position of youth in the labour market in the OECD countries*. Paris: OECD.
- Quintini, G., Martin, J.P., and Martin, S. (2007). *The changing nature of the school-to-work transition process in OECD countries*. IZA discussion papers, no. 2582. Bonn: IZA.
- Raffe, D. (2003). Pathways linking education and work: a review of concepts, research, and policy debate. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 6(1): 3–19.



- Raffe, D. (2008). The concept of transition system. *Journal of Education and Work*, 21(4): 277–296.
- Raffe, D. (2011). Cross-national differences in education–work transitions. pp. 312–328. In: London, M. [Ed.], *The Oxford handbook of lifelong learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Raffe, D. (2014). Explaining National Differences in Education–Work Transitions. Twenty Years of Research on Transition Systems. *European Societies*, 16(2): 175–193.
- Raffe, D., Brannen, K., and Croxford, L. (2001). The transition from school to work in the early 1990s: a comparison of England, Wales and Scotland. *Journal of Education and Work*, 14(3): 293–313.
- Rees, G., Williamson, H., and Istance, D. (1996). ‘Status Zero’: a study of jobless school-leavers in South Wales. *Research Papers in Education*, 11(2): 219–235.
- Reeskens, T., and Van Oorschot, W. (2012). Those who are in the gutter look at the stars? Explaining perceptions of labour market opportunities among European young adults. *Work, Employment and Society*, 26(3): 379–395.
- Reynolds, A.J., Ou, S.R., Topitzes, J.W. (2004). Paths of Effects of Early Childhood Intervention on Educational Attainment and Delinquency: A Confirmatory Analysis of the Chicago Child-Parent Centers. *Child Development*, 75(5): 1299–1328.
- Rijksoverheid. (2016). *Longer paternity leave for partners*. News item 09–09–2016. Retrieved 20 September 2020, from <https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2016/09/09/longer-paternity-leave-for-partners>.
- Rijksoverheid. (2020a). *Maatregelen tegen voortijdig schoolverlaten*. Retrieved 14 September 2020, from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/vsv/minder-voortijdig-schoolverlaters>.
- Rijksoverheid. (2020b). *Maximaal 20.000 voortijdig schoolverlaters in 2021*. Retrieved 14 September 2020, from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/vsv/maximaal-20.000-voortijdig-schoolverlaters-in-2021>.
- Ritschard, G., and Studer, M. [Eds.] (2018). *Sequence analysis and related approaches. Innovative methods and applications*. Cham: Springer.
- ROA. (2016). *Schoolverlaters tussen Onderwijs en Arbeidsmarkt 2015. Report ROA-R-2016/2*. Maastricht: ROA.
- Rohlen, T.P. (1983). *Japan’s high schools*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Rosenbaum, J.E., and Kariya, T. (1989). From high school to work: market and institutional mechanisms in Japan. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(6): 1334–1365.
- Rosenbaum, J.E., Kariya, T., Settersten, R., and Maier, T. (1990). Market and network theories of the transition from high school to work: their application to industrialized societies. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16: 263–299.
- Ross, A. (2009). *Disengagement from education among 14-16 year olds*. London: National Centre for Social Research.
- Rueda, D. (2005). Insider–outsider–politics in industrialised democracies: the challenge to social democratic parties. *American Political Science Review*, 99(1): 61–74.
- Russell, H., and O’Connell, P.J. (2001). Getting a job in Europe: the transition from unemployment to work among young people in nine European countries. *Work, Employment and Society*, 15(1): 001–024.
- Ryan, P. (2001). The school-to-work transition: a cross-national perspective. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 39(1): 34–92.
- Sainsbury, D. [Ed.] (1999). *Gender and welfare state regimes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Salverda, W. (1992). *Youth unemployment: dynamics of the Dutch labour market 1955–1988*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

- Sampson, R.J., and Laub, J.H. (2005). A life-course view of the development of crime. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 602(1): 12–45.
- Scherer, S. (2005). Patterns of labour market entry – long wait or career instability? An empirical comparison of Italy, Great Britain and West Germany. *European Sociological Review*, 21(5): 427–440.
- Seawright, J., and Gerring, J. (2008). Case selection techniques in case study research: a menu of qualitative and quantitative options. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2): 294–308.
- Shavit, Y., Arum, R., and Gamoran, A. [Eds.] (2007). *Stratification in higher education: a comparative study*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Shavit, Y., and Müller, W. (1998). *From school to work. A comparative study of educational qualifications and occupational destinations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shavit, Y., and Müller, W. (2000). Vocational secondary education: where diversion and where safety net? *European Societies*, 2(1): 29–50.
- Sibieta, L. (2017). *Reforms to apprenticeship funding in England*. London: Institute for Fiscal Studies.
- Silberman, R., and Fournier, I. (1999). Les enfants d’immigrés sur le marché du travail. Les mécanismes d’une discrimination sélective. *Formation Employ*, 65(1): 31–55.
- Silver, H. (1994). Social exclusion and social solidarity: three paradigms. *International Labour Review*, 133(5–6): 531–578.
- Smyth, E., Gangl, M., Raffe, D., Hannan, D.F., and McCoy. (2003). *A Comparative Analysis of Transitions from Education to Work in Europe (CATEWE): final report to the European Commission (DG12)*. Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute.
- Snijders, T.A.B., and Bosker, R.J. (2012). *Multilevel analysis. An introduction to basic and advanced multilevel modelling*. London/Thousand Oaks, CA/New Delhi/Singapore: Sage.
- Social Exclusion Task Force. (2008). *Think family: improving the life chances of families at risk*. London: Cabinet Office.
- Social Exclusion Unit. (1999). *Bridging the gap: new opportunities for 16-18 year olds not in education, employment or training*. London: Social Exclusion Unit.
- Solga, H. (2002). ‘Stigmatization by negative selection’: explaining less-educated people’s decreasing employment opportunities. *European Sociological Review*, 18(2): 159–178.
- Solga, H. (2008). Lack of training: the employment opportunities for low-skilled persons from a sociological and microeconomic perspective. pp. 173–204. In: Mayer, K.U., and Solga, H. [Eds.], *Skill formation: interdisciplinary and cross-national perspectives*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Solga, H., and Kohlrausch, B. (2013). How low-achieving German youth beat the odds and gain access to vocational training – insights from within-group variation. *European Sociological Review*, 29(5): 1068–1082.
- Solga, H., and Konietzka, D. (1999). Occupational matching and social stratification: theoretical insights and observations taken from a German-German comparison. *European Sociological Review*, 15(1): 25–47.
- Speckesser, S.S., Gonzalez Carreras, F.J., and Kirchner Sala, L. (2019). Active labour market policies for young people and youth unemployment: an analysis based on aggregate data. *International Journal of Manpower*, 40(8): 1510–1534.
- Spence, M. (1973). Job market signaling. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 87(3): 355–374.
- Statistics Netherlands. (2017). *Geboorteregeling; anticonceptiemethode en leeftijd van de vrouw, 1993-2013*. Den Haag/ Heerlen: CBS.
- Steijn, B., Need, A., and Gesthuizen, M. (2006). Well begun, half done?: long-term effects of labour market entry in the Netherlands, 1950–2000. *Work, Employment and Society*, 20(3): 453–472.

- Strelitz, J., and Darton, D. (2003). Tackling disadvantage: place. In: Darton, D., and Strelitz, J. [Eds.], *Tackling UK poverty and disadvantage in the twenty-first century: an exploration of the issues*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Takeuchi, Y. (1997). The self-activating entrance examination system: Its hidden agenda and its correspondence with the Japanese “salary man”. *Higher Education*, 34: 183–198.
- Taki, H. (2011). Distinguishing characteristics of education and inequality in East Asia: an international comparison from an institutional perspective. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, 48(1): 35–60.
- Taki, H. (2019). Secondary Education in East Asia: A Quantitative Comparison with Western Countries. pp. 49–70. In: Aizawa S., Kagawa, M. and Rappleye, J. [Eds.], *High school for all in East Asia*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Thelen, K. (2004). *How institutions evolve: the political economy of skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thévenon, O. (2011). Family policies in OECD countries: a comparative analysis. *Population and Development Review*, 37(1): 57–87.
- Thévenon, O., and Luci, A. (2012). Reconciling work, family and child outcomes: what implications for family support policies? *Population Research and Policy Review*, 31(6): 855–882.
- Thévenon, O., and Solaz, A. (2014). *Parental leave and labour market outcomes: lessons from 40 years of policies in OECD countries*. OECD social, employment and migration working papers, no. 141. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Thijssen, L. (2020). *Racial and ethnic discrimination in Western labour markets: empirical evidence from field experiments*. Utrecht: ICS-dissertation.
- Thompson, R. (2011). Individualisation and social exclusion: the case of young people not in education, employment or training. *Oxford Review of Education*, 37(6): 785–802.
- Thurow, Lester C. (1975). *Generating Inequality: Mechanisms of Distribution in the U.S. Economy*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Tieben, N., and Wolbers, M.H.J. (2010). Success and failure in secondary education: socio-economic background effects on secondary school outcome in the Netherlands, 1927–1998. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(3): 277–290.
- Titmuss, R.M. (1974). In: Abel-Smith, B., and Titmuss, K. [Eds.], *Social policy: an introduction*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Tjaden, J.D. (2017). Migrant background and access to vocational education in Germany: self-selection, discrimination, or both? *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 46(2): 107–123.
- Toivonen, T., and Imoto, I. (2013). Transcending labels and panics: the logic of Japanese youth problems. *Contemporary Japan*, 25(1): 61–86.
- Tsukada, M. (1988). Institutionalised supplementary education in Japan: the Yobiko and Ronin student adaptations. *Comparative Education*, 24(3): 285–303.
- UKCES. (2010). *Outcome based commissioning: lessons from contracting out employment and skills programmes in Australia and the USA*. Wath-upon-Dearne: UKCES.
- Uunk, W., Kalmijn, M., & Muffels, R. (2005). The impact of young children on women’s labour supply: A reassessment of institutional effects in Europe. *Acta Sociologica*, 48(1), 41–62.
- Van Belle, J. (2016). *Paternity and parental leave policies across the European Union*. Cambridge: RAND Europe.
- Van der Meijden, A., and Petit, R. (2014). *Evaluatie kwalificatiedossiers mbo, analyse op bestaande databronnen. Ervaringen van betrokkenen*. ‘s-Hertogenbosch: Expertisecentrum Beroepsopleiding.

- Van der Meijden, A., Van den Berg, J., and Román, A. (2013). *Het mbo tijdens invoering ego. Vijfde meting van de CGO Monitor*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Expertisecentrum Beroepsopleiding.
- Van der Velden, R.K. (2011). De effecten van betrouwbaarheid van onderwijsdiploma's op arbeidsproductiviteit: Toepassing van een simulatiemodel. pp. 27–50. In: Dronkers, J. [Ed.], *Goede bedoelingen in het onderwijs: Kansen en missers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Van der Velden, R.K., and Wolbers, M.H.J. (2003). The integration of young people into the labour market: the role of training systems and labour market regulation. pp. 186–211. In: Muller, W., and Gangl, M. [Eds.], *Transitions from education to work in Europe: the integration of youth into EU labour markets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van der Werfhorst, H.G., and Mijs, J.J. (2010). Achievement inequality and the institutional structure of educational systems: a comparative perspective. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36: 407–428.
- Van Peer, C., and Moors, H. (1996). Perceived obstacles to fertility: opinions on family policies in Flanders and in the Netherlands. pp. 41–66. In: Van den Brekel, H., and Deven, F. [Eds.], *Population and family in the low countries*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Van Reenen, J. (2004). *Active labour market policies and the British new deal for the young unemployed in context*, National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series, No. 9576. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Visee, H., Bleeker, Y., Van der Woude, F., and Mevissen, J. (2016). *Matchen op werk. Ervaringen, inzichten en kansen voor het vervolg*. Amsterdam: Regioplan.
- Voßbemer, J., Gebel, M., Täht, K., Unt, M., Högberg, B., and Strandh, M. (2018). The effects of unemployment and insecure jobs on well-being and health: the moderating role of labour market policies. *Social Indicators Research*, 138(3): 1229–1257.
- Walther, A. (2006). Regimes of youth transitions. *Young*, 14(2): 119–139.
- Weick, K.E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21(1): 1–19.
- Williams, R. (2012). Using the margins command to estimate and interpret adjusted predictions and marginal effects. *Stata Journal*, 12(2): 308–331.
- Witteveen, D. (2020). Encouraged or discouraged? The effect of adverse macroeconomic conditions on school leaving and reentry. *Sociology of Education*. Online access. doi:10.1177/0038040720960718.
- Wolbers, M.H.J. (2003). Job mismatches and their labour-market effects among school-leavers in Europe. *European Sociological Review*, 19(3): 249–266.
- Wolbers, M.H.J. (2007). Patterns of labour market entry – a comparative perspective on school-to-work transitions in 11 European countries. *Acta Sociologica*, 50(3): 189–210.
- Work and Pensions Select Committee. (2012). *Second report: youth unemployment and the youth contract*. Accessed 27 March 2015, from <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmworpen/151/15102.htm>.
- Yates, S., and Payne, M. (2006). Not so NEET? A critique of the use of 'NEET' in setting targets for interventions with young people. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(3): 329–344.
- Yerkes, M.A., and Javornik, J. (2018). Creating capabilities: childcare policies in comparative perspective. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 29(4): 529–544.
- Zaffran, J. (2017). *La force du local, la part du rural. Les parcours d'insertion des jeunes sans diplôme. Céreq Echanges, n° 5, Rendement éducatif, parcours et inégalités*. Dijon: University of Burgundy.