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**COMPARED ANALYSIS OF THE PATHS AND EXIT
CAREERS TO GET OUT OF THE RISK OF SOCIAL
EXCLUSION IN ITALY, GERMANY, UNITED
KINGDOM AND DENMARK**

by

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**Excluded or reintegrated? Compared analysis of the
paths and exit carriers to get out of the risk of social
exclusion in Italy, Germany, United Kingdom and
Denmark.**

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Abstract

The present research intends to analysis the paths to come out of social exclusion risk in four European countries: Italy, Germany, United Kingdom and Denmark; in order to investigate if these paths are different in each context or, on the contrary, if it is possible to recognize a single European path.

The study used the data-set of European Community Household Panel (ECHP). The analysis intends to demonstrate the possible differences among different countries concerning opportunity and possibility to overcome the risk of social exclusion that are drawn by labour market difficulties. Thus in this study unemployment is used as the main indicator of social exclusion risk. Using Event History analysis techniques the aim of the study is to show the differences in the transition from unemployment to employment in all four countries.

Keywords: social exclusion, unemployment, labour market marginal position, event history analysis, longitudinal data.

Introduction

Which is the relation between unemployment and social exclusion? It is possible to identify occupational difficulties as one of the main social vulnerability factors and social exclusion risk? To answer to these questions is necessary to clearly define what we mean with the concept of social exclusion, not easy to do considering the lively discussion that has been developed during last few years about this matter, and up to now, has not been reached to univocal agreement. On this purpose is dedicated the first part of this work. In it, we will try to identify the part that occupational difficulty plays within ways of social exclusion. The basic idea of present work is in spite of several positions that are inclined to decrease the importance of work in the post-industrial society, it still is the main mean for the access to the material resources, and it also a fundamental element for the social integration. As the consequence of this, lack of job put unemployed in an extreme position of vulnerability. Starting from the idea that unemployment represent an significant gauge of the risk of social exclusion, the present study aims to analyse the possibility to go out of this condition, for those European Countries characterised by different geo-politics contests, but also by a different organisation of their welfare regimes, particularly for their “unemployment welfare regimes” (Gallie and Paugam, 2000). The second part of this work is dedicated to this analysis.

The assumption of this study is that instead of the globalisation process of economy, and the European process of unification, every countries’ differences, are still such to clearly define not only the reason for social exclusion of their inhabitants but also the way out of this condition.

1. Occupational difficulties and social exclusion risk.

As we said before, although the stress laid on the matter, still there is not univocal and precise definition, to express what it is meant for social exclusion. This is not only a semantic and speculative problem, it has even important consequences on the practical aspects, if we only think about that the many studies about this matter aims to examine and outline a situation that needs specific political and relief intervention plan. It is obvious that it is difficult to define what social exclusion is because quite often this expression is used as a synonymous of others analytical categories, first of all poverty². In many cases we assist to *tout court* replacement, of the word poverty with the word social exclusion. This replacement certainly comes out of the difficulty to exactly establish border between two concept, but it is also a consequence of the difficulty to cut out the part of reality to identify as poverty and the other one to identify as social exclusion. There has been numerous attempts to over come this ambiguity (Vranken, 1997). We are going to see some of them. A solution to the problem can be found if we define poverty simply as a lack income situation, whereas the social exclusion is, on the other hand, defined as the result of deprivation of some social aspects (relation, income, cultural, power, etc.). Following this interpretative line we can say that poverty is a “mono-dimensional” concept, whereas the social exclusion is a “multi-dimensional”, and that poverty is basically a status, whereas exclusion is a process. This interpretation leave some significant problems open. If on one hand it is undeniable that lack of income appropriate to affront cost of life, puts in very difficult conditions, on the other hand it is undeniable also lack of other dimension than income (illness, loss of psychological help network etc.) can leads to economic poverty (Saraceno, 1999). For this reason, the meaning of poverty can easily be as a cumulative and process case. It is not possible then, to distinguish poverty and social exclusion if we refer to those dimension and problematic areas that they underline, as they are both multi-dimensional social cases coming out of a process that involves different aspects of social life. To completely understand this state it is necessary to give a first definition of social exclusion. Castell (1996) said that social exclusion start always from a condition of social vulnerability, characterised by a changeable degree of unstableness, which match occupational precariousness and fragility of helping social net. When this process of deprivation are done, and when they are cut out of work and social relationship, they are in the area that he defines as *desafiliation*, a social dimension in which they find themselves excluded from the main ways to resources and social relationship.

² For further information on changing of the term of poverty see Kazepov 1995.

In order to that, to speak about social exclusion it is necessary a discontinuity, a gap, from the social vulnerability, in which loss of resources is an important characteristics, to the social exclusion in which the possibilities to take part to the mechanism or reward distribution and social relationship are compromised.

If we mean the poverty as lack of resources it clear that it is tightly related to social exclusion, but it is as much clear that it does not exhaust it. Vranken (2001) arrive to the assumption that concepts of social exclusion have much in common s but they cannot be treated ad synonym. Moreover, and this is another aspect a lot discussed, it is not possible to establish a relation of cause and effect between poverty and social exclusion because not all the situation of broken social links, leads inevitably to a condition of poverty, in the same way not all the condition of lack resources leads to a social exclusion. Kronauer states that “[...] marginal economic position and social isolation. Only when both coincide it is possible to speak of social exclusion” (1998:59).

Now we have a clearer idea of social exclusion: certainly it is a cumulative and multi-dimensional phenomenon, in which is always present an economic poverty coming out of a marginal position in the labour market, because to be unemployed or outsiders (Lindebeck and Snower, 1987) has some consequences that overcome the simply economic aspect (Paugam and Russel, 2000), the condition of unemployment determinates what we call relational deprivation. Work, even in post-industrial society, still is the basic element for the social integration. It is strongest wire among those that compose the invisible but necessary link of individuals, community and society (Gallino, 1998). Still nowadays by means of work a single man and woman build his identity, consequently lack of work becomes a reduction of social relationship, until become a real case of relational isolation (Gallie and Paugam, 2000). Anyway, in a present day society, work is subjected to continuous chancing that everywhere coincide, within advanced economy countries, with a constant increase of instability and heterogeneity of working biographies as a consequence of fix employment decline in big manufactory companies and even in administrative apparatus of the State (Mingione, 1999).

The most important result of this transformation is the contemporary expansion of atypical kind of job, temporary and part-time. All this has changed the characteristics of contemporary unemployment, indeed it has become a structural phenomenon of contemporary labour market, losing the characteristic of exceptional event, as it usually happen in the past, basically related to certain economic-productive crisis. Unemployment or marginality in labour market represent nowadays a clear indicator of social exclusion risk, firs of all because it is an experience that regards an increasing number of working lives, and we can say that they are more and more a constant alternation between employment and unemployment. The unemployment becomes

periodical (Pugliese, 1993); to a period of regular occupation succeeds a time of unemployment waiting for a new temporary job, that will proceed a new time of unemployment.

This situation of vulnerability due to labour market transformation, is even more alarming because other transformations are in other contexts of social life, first of all those demographic changes related to the process of “de-institutionalisation” of family (Bison and Esping-Andersen, 2000). Consequences of these transformations, even if they are different depending on different geographical contexts, increase vulnerability, moreover for those single-parent families (Mingione, 1994) especially those characterized by the presence of little sons, as far as concerned young and young women in particular, or serious health problems for elderly. It is clear as the lack, in these cases, of primary relations, typical of those nuclear family structures or enlarged families, sets a limit to overcome those disadvantage conditions.

The other aspect of contemporary society submitted to transformation is that of welfare system. A long literature has shown (Esping-Andersen 1990, 2000; Mingione 1997, Gallie and Paugam 2000, Ferrera 1996), welfare systems are the result of different social- historical aspects, then for every field those systems have developed different characteristics. This makes even more difficult to generalize, as we made for economic and demographic transformations. In spite of this, we can say that all welfare systems are being restructured, and they are in crisis that quite often leads to a cut of intervention (Esping-Andersen, 1990). This restructure on one side is imposed by changes happened in labour market and among family structures, on the other hand it is the consequence of financial crisis that undertook all those administrative-political systems at east-societies.

Welfare state actions had been, during capitalism golden time, between world war the second and seventies, were actions towards nuclear family, with at least a member (usually the head of family “bread-winner”) regularly employed. Nowadays this landmark has completely changed, consequently even welfare actions have to fit to those new characteristics of vulnerability areas of population. To make this problem worse is that this fitting has to be restricted in the public expense. Paradoxically, facing with a situation in which labour market changes and familiar structures changing, make citizens weaker, welfare actions become less telling and sharp.

As Esping-Andersen states (2000:24) “if we consider social welfare as the result of combination among labour market, family and social state, it is undeniable that contemporary transformations, put to the test the reaching of aim”.

Those that nowadays stand on the edge of labour market, are more subjected than in the past, to the risk of social exclusion as a consequence of transformations happened in all aspects resources allocation (Polanyi, 1974).

Considering this, it is interesting to analyse those possibility to find a job in some European countries somehow representative of different logics that rule the labour market and welfare system used in this continent.

2. The way out of unemployment in Denmark, Germany, Italy and United Kingdom

Before analyse which are those chances to get an employment for those who lost it or for those that had never had one, it's necessary to introduce how the analysis has been led. To define some way out of unemployment they have been used some Event History Analysis techniques starting from the data set of European Community Household Panel³. With the intention to analyse, as in this case, changing of individual path, to use longitudinal analysis is more appropriate then a cross sectional analysis (Trivellato, 1999). To study a changing “impose” the using of a perspective by means of it is identify the temporal axis underneath the investigated process (Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1997). To incorporate into the analysis the temporal dimension allows to face directly problems related to transformations during individual life, that, in this study, are referred to those changing that allow some individual on risk of social exclusion, due to their labour market position, to go out of this condition.

Statistical data about occupational status of interviewed, recorded retrospectively going back to every month of the previous year of the interview, represent the starting point of our study. The length of time of our observation is five years, from January 1993 to December 1997⁴. In order to use these information for the analysis data had been organised in a “event-oriented” matrix (Blossfeld and Rohwer, 1995) that means that rows correspond to single unemployment spell and not to unemployed individual. In this way, we were allowed to take in to consideration even those cases in which a subject had more than a unemployment spell during sixty months of observation.

Tab. 1: Unemployed for number of spells during sixty month

| | Number of spells | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|------|------|-----|-----|----|----|---|---|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Total |
| Denmark | 1401 | 586 | 217 | 88 | 34 | 12 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2343 |
| Italy | 3506 | 1294 | 453 | 204 | 100 | 51 | 15 | 8 | 7 | 5645 |
| Germany | 2531 | 912 | 304 | 88 | 26 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3868 |
| United Kingdom | 1583 | 492 | 182 | 52 | 23 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2342 |
| Total | 9021 | 3284 | 1156 | 432 | 183 | 75 | 25 | 8 | 7 | 14189 |

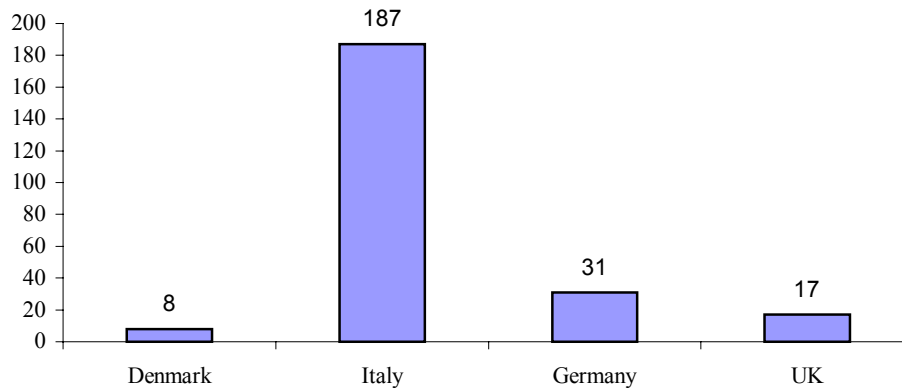
³ Techniques utilised in this study are: Life tables to calculate surviving functions in the spell (graphs 2-6), Kaplan-Meier survival analysis to define time and duration of spells (tab. 2) and Cox Regression to analyse the effect of several covariates in transition rate from unemployment. All these operation were made by means of SPSS 10.1

⁴ Waves currently available of ECHP are five from 1994 to 1998 (ECHP-UDB version of December 2001).

As a whole, analysis took into consideration 9021 subject unemployed with 14191⁵ unemployment spells (tab.1). The largest number of unemployed, as the largest number of spells, belong to Italy that is the only country of our analysis in which subjects had more than seven unemployment spells during the time taken into consideration.

The first useful date to underline all the route to exit from unemployment in these four countries is concerned with the distribution of those case that are unemployed for all sixty months and at the same time are right censored. This means that the spell had started at the beginning of the observation and it is not yet concluded in December 1997.

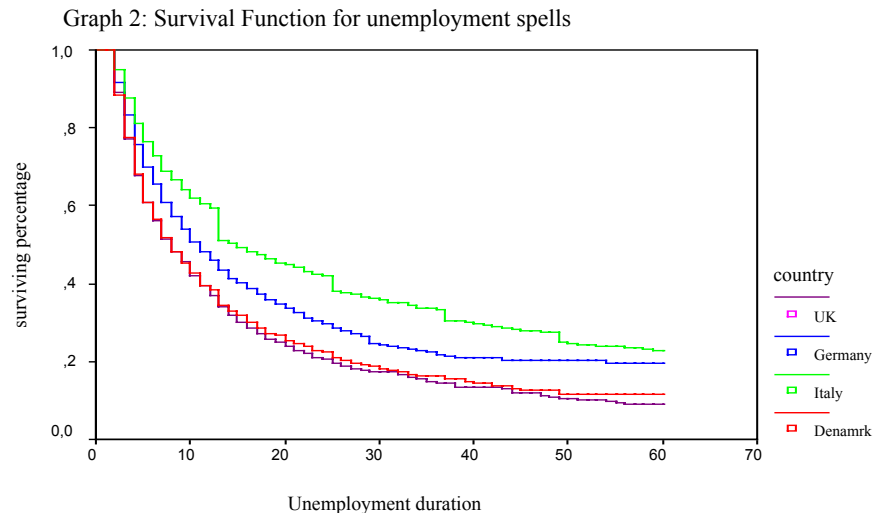
Graph. 1: Number of spells with sixty months duration and right censored



only 243 episodes if our analysis have these characteristics, but it is interesting to notice that in 77% of cases belong to Italy and it is not a surprising data if we consider that this country is the most characteristic one for its percent of long-term unemployed. For example it is possible to notice that from 1983 to 2001 those that had lost their job for more than one year are always been more than 50% of the whole population of unemployed against the percent of 33% in Denmark during the same time (OECD, 2002). But how long an average case of unemployment last in everyone of these countries taken into consideration?

⁵ The amount referred to all spells, less those left-censored. For those cases, because of the loss of relative information on the beginning of episode it is impossible to calculate the duration of spell. Right-censored cases, those episodes of which we don't know when the episode ended, are been included in the analysis and treated as half cases. For further information about censoring in Event History Analysis, see Blossfeld and Rohwer 1995, Yamaguchi 1991, and Guo 1993.

Comparing the survival functions inside spell, which is the percentage of unemployment cases not yet finished for each time unit (Graph 2), it is quite clear that Denmark and United Kingdom are different for a similar state of episode; already after first months these are the two countries where those who leave the unemployment status are more then in the others countries. In Italy⁶ after three years, in particular, about the 30% of unemployment cases is not yet finished against 12% in UK and 22% in Germany and 15,3% in Denmark.



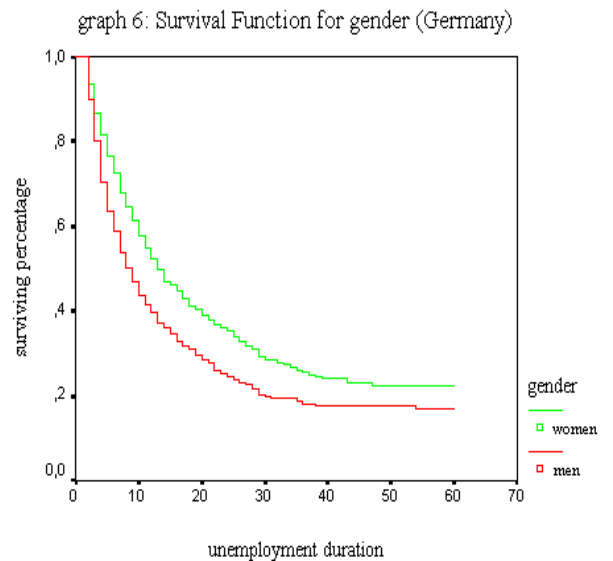
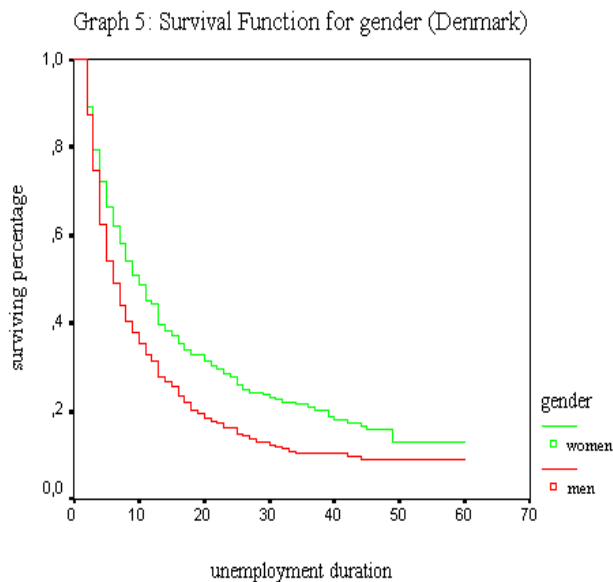
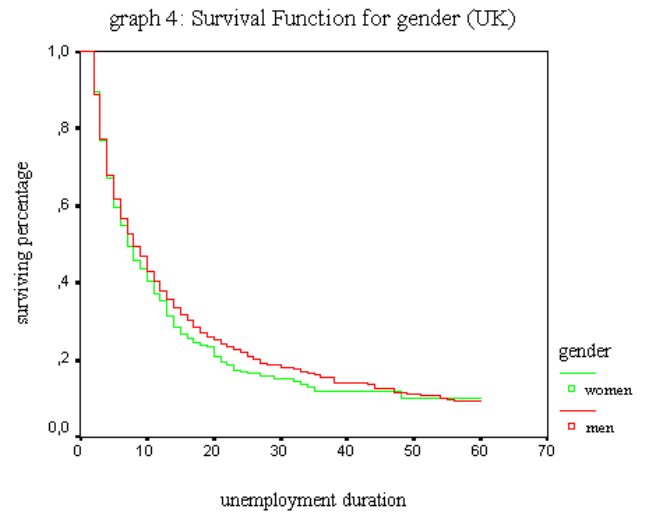
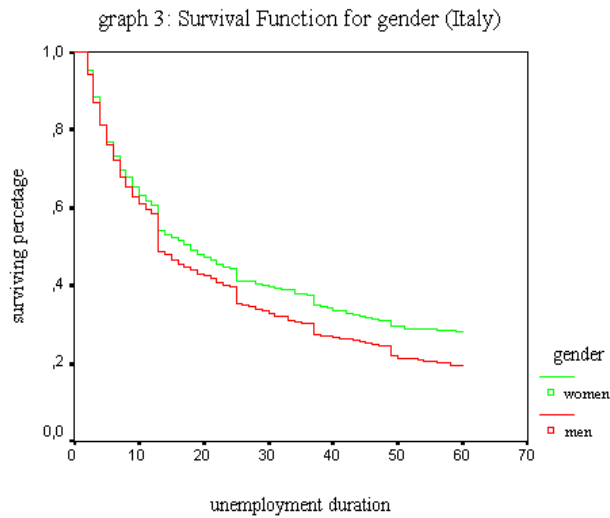
As a whole regarding those four countries analysed the mean duration within the episode is little more than 21 months and they are necessary little more than 11 months until 50% of spells is concluded with an access to a new job (tab. 2). Difference among those four countries are significant anyway; in Italy a case of unemployment has an average duration of more than two years whereas in Denmark and UK is less than one year and an half.

Tab.2 Kaplan-Meier estimation of mean and median duration in the episode per gender (in months)

| | Men | | Women | | Men and women | |
|----------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|---------------|--------|
| | Mean | median | mean | median | mean | median |
| Denmark | 13,07 | 5,80 | 18,71 | 9,40 | 16,19 | 7,48 |
| Italy | 24,34 | 12,88 | 27,88 | 17,34 | 25,87 | 14,32 |
| Germany | 18,15 | 8,03 | 23,16 | 12,91 | 20,61 | 10,22 |
| United Kingdom | 15,86 | 7,86 | 14,69 | 6,88 | 15,39 | 7,44 |
| All countries | 19,52 | 9,85 | 23,33 | 12,47 | 21,23 | 11,34 |

⁶ As far as it is concerned for this country it is necessary to specify that the percentage of those that conclude their unemployment episode, seems to coincide with annual term of all the pauses related to 12, 24, 36 and 48 months, indeed we can notice a remarkable increasing of cases of exit out of unemployment. It is necessary to take with caution this date, because it is the effect of a more chance to find a job during those pause, indeed from survival tables, we can see that a larger number of concluded cases coincide with these moment, but it is also the result of right-censored cases that are particularly high in correspondence with those point along the temporal line, than it is also the effect of those statistical gathering data techniques

If we deepen the analysis taking into consideration the unemployed gender we can underline a first important characteristics: in all the analysed countries, except for UK, women exit from unemployment later than men. Italian women particularly remain unemployed one year more the UK women. In this last country unemployed women that has not yet found a job, for every time unit, are always less, in percent, respect to unemployed man (graph 4), while in Italy non only the possibility to have access to a job is reduced comparing with men, with the passing time, but also we have to underline from five years since the episode started more than 20% has not yet found a job (graph 3). Moreover, even in Germany and Denmark there is a difference in surviving percentage within the episode, in both country, anyway, this difference tends to reduce with the passing time (graph. 5 and 6)



Results so far explained, allow us to evidence some important differences for the possibilities of to go out from unemployment for these country. First consideration to do regard that there is less difference between Denmark and UK than those expected to be. Literature about different unemployment welfare regime (Gallie and Paugam 2000, Schimd and Gazier 2002) and about different welfare regime (Esping-Andersen 1990, 2000, Ferrera 1996) want to present those countries as opposite. Our data show that in spite of these differences both assure less unemployment length and for the United Kingdom, even less difference for gender than the German “employed-centred” model but moreover less than the Italian “sub-protective” model.

The possibilities to face with unemployment depends not only on regulation characteristic of labour market and on the different logic of welfare regime, but moreover it depends on how these instruments are used to create new job opportunities, both Denmark and UK, are the only two countries that, during '90 had a similar occupational increase, whereas Italy and Germany had a significant decrease of occupational opportunity during the same time (Eurostat 2002, OECD 2002). But what individual and relational characteristics are related to the main possibilities to exit out of unemployment for those analysed counties?

To answer to this question, some models of Cox Regression are being built, in which dependent variable is represented by the length of unemployment spell. The analysis has been led on two level: on the first one, for each country we have created six models of transition from unemployment to employment, starting from the simplest one, including only gender and age information as independent variables, until arrive to the sixth in which all the information referring to family structure, human capita acquired, the presence of State support and some indicators of basic social relations are included. The choice to build successive models, with added information comes out of necessity to put in evidence not only the “impact” that these information have in this transition, but also the consequent modification of their effect in the moment when other variables are taken into consideration.

On the second level of the analysis all information are compared between men and women. As we saw, this is a fundamental variable to understand chance to exit from unemployment, and because of this it deserve a further investigation.

2.1 Denmark

First model considered for Denmark confirm those trends already come out of survival functions and relative to a bigger mobility towards employment of men then women. On this country, young have a comparative advantage higher than adult's one, indeed not only age has a significant effect on the possibility to go out of unemployment, but these possibilities are higher for those which age

is between 17 and 24 years old, comparing with those that are more than 55 years old and that the control group of this variable. None familiar “typology” has a significant effect on phenomenon, with the exception for singles for those it is possible to think that it’s more difficult for them to obtain a new job because it may be a consequence of a volunteer choice to stay in this status, as a result of not having any responsibility of the economic support of other people.

Tab. 3: Effects on the transition rate from unemployment in Denmark (Cox Regression)

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Personal information ¹ | | | | | | |
| Men | .360** | .373** | .363** | .305** | .344** | .332** |
| 17-24 years | 1.234** | 1.236** | 1.246** | 1.266** | 1.445** | 1.452** |
| 25-34 years | .915** | .928** | .895** | .891** | .975** | .985** |
| 35-44 years | .847** | .863** | .844** | .806** | .860** | .862** |
| 45-54 years | .706** | .735** | .709** | .678** | .714** | .713** |
| Family information | | | | | | |
| Singles (yes) | | -.216* | -.242* | -.225* | -.211* | -.214* |
| Couple without children (yes) | | -.018 | -.052 | -.079 | -.081 | -.084 |
| Couple with one child less than 16 (yes) | | -.063 | -.057 | -.015 | .008 | .015 |
| Couple with two children less than 16 (yes) | | .145 | .125 | .108 | .086 | .089 |
| Couple with more than two children less than 16 (yes) | | -.171 | -.185 | -.180 | -.145 | -.140 |
| Couple with children at least one more than 16 (yes) | | -.051 | -.002 | -.009 | .006 | .013 |
| Educational level² | | | | | | |
| High level | | | .423** | .386** | .330** | .311** |
| Medium level | | | .324** | .277** | .221** | .210** |
| Previous job experiences | | | | | | |
| Worked before (yes) | | | | .563** | .491** | .490** |
| Worked in public sector (yes) | | | | .563** | .540** | .533** |
| Worked part-time (yes) | | | | .592* | .556* | .543* |
| Public income support | | | | | | |
| In social assistance benefit (yes) | | | | | -.414** | -.396** |
| In unemployment benefit (yes) | | | | | .086* | .079 |
| Social Relations | | | | | | |
| Member of club, party or others groups (yes) | | | | | | .086 |
| Frequency in meeting neighbours | | | | | | .023 |
| Frequency in meeting friends | | | | | | .044 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 21183.34 | 21163.87 | 20382.27 | 20348.88 | 20331.00 | 20684.33 |

¹ control group: more than 55 years; ² control group: low educational level;

** p < 0,001; * p < 0,05

The human capital plays an important role in unemployment transition, both indicators relative to this aspect, which are educational level and previous job experience, have a significant and positive effect on ways out of unemployment. From this point of view, Danish situation confirm the profit of insiders in labour market, respect to outsiders (Lindbeck and Snower, 1997): those that had previous job experience and moreover in a high protected situation such as public administration, and have acquired high skills consequently to their educational level, have more possibility to access to a new job.

The V model, put in evidence the risk of “welfare dependence” in this country, for those that receive the social assistance benefit have less possibility to exit from unemployment. None effect have social relations, both those more informal relative to the frequency of friend meeting and other

people who live in the same quarter, and those more formal related to being a member of an association, a club or a political party.

2.2 Italy

The Italian contest analysis shows important differences compared to Denmark one and moreover it shows a significant variation of the effect of gender and age from one model to the other.

The first model confirm those typical characteristics of the Italian labour market related to the main occupational difficulties for women and youngs (Reyneri, 1996). Anyway what is significant in the first model lose importance if we take into consideration other variables: in the second model the information regarding familiar contest already “cancel” the gender and age effect. This model put in evidence the importance that has presence of little sons in the family, as much that number of sons not yet economically independent increase, it grow also the transition towards job. This data is certainly related to the ruling logic of labour market, that in this country, is still based on family centrality, in which those that have to support sons have a privileged access to job opportunities.

Human capital in this case is important in relation with its previous job experience, if we only consider the educational level aspect of unemployed (mod III on table 4), we don't notice any significant effect on transition rate. This data has arose even in other studies(Barbieri et al. 2000, Bernardi, Schizzerotto et al. 2000), it can be imputed to the weak link, several times underlined (Buzzi, Cavalli, De Lillo 1997, Cavalli, De Lillo 1993) between educational world and working world. The Italian training system is often accused of not preparing young people to a direct inclusion into labour world and this can be hold as one of the most important, even if not the only one, reason for the intellectual unemployment in Italy.

When we take into consideration, the other aspect of Human capital relative to the previous job experience, the effect of the variables of first models is significant modified.

Those that worked previously, have a transition rate considerably higher comparing to those that never worked. The most important data anyway is that young people in this model have more chances than adults to exit from unemployment

Tab. 4: Effects on the transition rate from unemployment in Italy (Cox Regression)

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Personal information ¹ | | | | | | |
| Men | .145** | .222 | .018 | .045 | .100* | .086* |
| 17-24 years | -.267* | -.004 | .030 | .655** | .803** | .783** |
| 25-34 years | -.042* | .173 | .201* | .579** | .664** | .645** |
| 35-44 years | .251 | .317** | .333* | .515** | .552** | .542** |
| 45-54 years | .363** | .408** | .417** | .548** | .533** | .522** |
| Family information | | | | | | |
| Singles (yes) | | .483* | .513* | .244* | .239* | .233* |
| Couple without children (yes) | | .672** | .656** | .314* | .370* | .372* |
| Couple with one child less than 16 (yes) | | .683** | .689** | .469** | .422** | .434** |
| Couple with two children less than 16 (yes) | | .612** | .634** | .341* | .201* | .208* |
| Couple with more than two children less than 16 (yes) | | .533* | .521* | .291 | .175 | .177 |
| Couple with children at least one more than 16 (yes) | | .334** | .341* | .224* | .173* | .164* |
| Educational level² | | | | | | |
| High level | | | .056 | .319** | .391** | .375** |
| Medium level | | | -.040 | .053* | .082* | .080* |
| Previous job experiences | | | | | | |
| Worked before (yes) | | | | 1.211** | 1.132** | 1.129** |
| Worked in public sector (yes) | | | | -.165 | -.201* | -.198* |
| Worked part-time (yes) | | | | .451* | .353* | .360* |
| Public income support | | | | | | |
| In social assistance benefit (yes) | | | | | -.226 | -.235 |
| In unemployment benefit (yes) | | | | | .870** | .869** |
| Social Relations | | | | | | |
| Member of club, party or others groups (yes) | | | | | | .062 |
| Frequency in meeting neighbours | | | | | | .024 |
| Frequency in meeting friends | | | | | | .001 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 48976.69 | 48881.36 | 48605.21 | 45606.79 | 45343.46 | 45263.63 |

¹ control group: more than 55 years; ² control group: low educational level;

** p < 0,001; * p < 0,05

This result confirm the hypothesis of a barricade at the entrance of Italian labour market (Pugliese, 1993, Reyneri, 1996) because of that young people find more difficulties to enter into the labour market, but when they manage to acquire a working experience, then their chance to face with a situation of unemployment increase and in this case an high educational qualification is a further advantage, different from previous model, even this variable has a significant and positive effect. For those that had been excluded from protected labour market of public sector, possibilities of reoccupation are less than those who have previously worked for private sector. Moreover in Italy it is not noticeable any “welfare dependence” effect, this is not a surprising result considering character basically residual of Italian welfare (Bison and Esping-Andersen, 2000), on the contrary it seems that income support measures for unemployed have a positive effect on possibilities to go out of occupational marginality. This result has to be interpreted considering the particular system of unemployment benefit existing in this country. Indeed in Italy the unemployment benefit is

“simply” an economic measure⁷, and eligibility requisite for this benefit are acquired only depositing taxes consequently to previous job. Thus only those who worked before being unemployed had access to this measure of “social insurance”, the effect of this variable must to be read as the consequence of the effect of the previous job experience. Indeed considering that to this benefit are not linked other measures of reemployment it can’t be considered a real helpful instrument for unemployed in order to find a new job.

2.3 Germany

The German contest is much more similar to the Danish one than to the Italian. Even in this case, gender and age influences are very significant in the transition from unemployment. In all the analysed models, familiar conditions are not important at all, whereas fundamental are those variables related to the human capital and moreover related to educational level

This result that agrees with other studies led about school and work relation (Detzel and Rubery, 2002) is important because the German occupational system is based in a tight relation between school and job, this relation pretends to support young people access to work.

It is not by chance that German contest is the only one where young unemployment rate does not significantly move away from the adults one (Eurostat, 2002).

As several investigations put in evidence (Blossfeld 1992, Blossfeld and others 1993), the problem is that those who had not the possibilities, for different reasons, to acquire high educational skills, are in a condition of big exclusion risk, even consequently to the fact that in this country low professional level working activities has not been developed, especially for services (Detzel and Rubery, 2002)

The tight relation between school labour market is underlined even by the definition used to identify particularities of German ruling labour market. The expression “new-corporative” (Esping-Andersen, 1990, Reyneri, 1996) underlines the direct involving of private companies in the basic and professional school plans. The strong role of the educational system is underlined by the fact that previous professional experience have less importance, comparing to other countries, as a guarantee to find a job. Then we can say, if in Italy professional skills are important and useful in labour market, and it is possible to acquire them only by means of work itself, in Germany this skills are guarantee only by the educational system.

⁷ The unemployment benefit exclude those that lost their job in big industries, for those there is a specific measure, that is “Cassa integrazione straordinaria guadagni”, it can last until six years, it is a check of 30% of previous wage for maximum extension of six months (Dell’Arlinga and Lodovici, 1996).

Tab. 5: Effects on the transition rate from unemployment in Germany (Cox Regression)

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Personal information ¹ | | | | | | |
| Men | .378** | .369** | .397** | .385** | .391** | .397** |
| 17-24 years | 1.548** | 1.582** | 1.69** | 1.740** | 1.767** | 1.835** |
| 25-34 years | 1.373** | 1.421** | 1.35** | 1.393** | 1.419** | 1.450** |
| 35-44 years | 1.337** | 1.378** | 1.26** | 1.302** | 1.310** | 1.291** |
| 45-54 years | 1.105** | 1.120** | 1.026** | 1.075** | 1.079** | 1.046** |
| Family information | | | | | | |
| Singles (yes) | | -.105 | -.155 | -.132 | -.139 | -.131 |
| Couple without children (yes) | | .133 | .135 | .153 | .134 | .105 |
| Couple with one child less than 16 (yes) | | -.031 | -.031 | -.051 | -.066 | -.054 |
| Couple with two children less than 16 (yes) | | .091 | .098 | .106 | .090 | .085 |
| Couple with more than two children less than 16 (yes) | | -.240 | -.252 | -.231 | -.083 | -.097 |
| Couple with children at least one more than 16 (yes) | | .044 | .039 | .015 | .009 | .007 |
| Educational level² | | | | | | |
| High level | | | .815** | .850** | .808** | .758** |
| Medium level | | | .579** | .617** | .572** | .539** |
| Previous job experiences | | | | | | |
| Worked before (yes) | | | | -.182 | -.214 | -.235 |
| Worked in public sector (yes) | | | | .515* | .531* | .571* |
| Worked part-time (yes) | | | | .178 | .168 | .159 |
| Public income support | | | | | | |
| In social assistance benefit (yes) | | | | | -.666** | -.657** |
| In unemployment benefit (yes) | | | | | .087 | .084 |
| Social Relations | | | | | | |
| Member of club, party or others groups (yes) | | | | | | .107 |
| Frequency in meeting neighbours | | | | | | |
| Frequency in meeting friends | | | | | | .152** |
| | | | | | | |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 32680.06 | 32670.51 | 29258.51 | 28333.00 | 28304.65 | 28143.61 |

¹ control group: more than 55 years; ² control group: low educational level;

** p < 0,001; * p < 0,05

Even in this contest, it seems there is a risk of “welfare dependence”, considering that the social assistance benefit has a negative effect in the transition from unemployment. Even for this data set, as we have already said for the Italian example, we have to consider it as a system that rules the access to unemployment benefits and social assistance check. Even in Germany chances to get unemployment benefit are related to the previous working experiences, this is one of the reasons why this unemployment welfare regime is also defined as “employed-centred” (Gallie and Paugam, 2000).

Those that are excluded from the access to these benefits have the possibilities to get the social assistance cheque. This means that these welfare measures are assigned to subjects that stand on the edge of the labour market and for this reason their chances to find a new job are significantly fewer. Friendly relations in this country have a positive relation with the chances to find a job, even if their effect is not so relevant.

2.4 United Kingdom

As far as is concerned for United Kingdom, those variables that we have included for our models, confirm that women are advantage in the transition rate comparing to that of men.

According to some authors (Reynery 1996, Schimd and Gazier 2002, Pugliese 1993) this particular aspect of British labour market is awardable a lot to the spread of part.time jobs, that allowed women to reach a better management of their double-presence, both in forma labour market and in the familiar activities, (Bonazzi et al. 1991).

This trend can not be due only to part-time, because since middle '90, the increasing of this kind of job has been stopped, after a continuous increasing during '80, halting at about 23% of the total job activities (OECD, 2002). The most important reason why women, and also young people, the other analytic category in our model, that have more chances to go out of unemployment, is spreading of low-skilled job.

Tab. 6: Effects on the transition rate from unemployment in UK (Cox Regression)

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Personal information ¹ | | | | | | |
| Men | -.057* | -.086 | -.106* | -.151* | -.149* | -.143* |
| 17-24 years | 1.088** | 1.113** | 1.080** | 1.083** | 1.083** | 1.298** |
| 25-34 years | .900** | .986** | .928** | .877** | .879** | .885** |
| 35-44 years | .824** | .895** | .857** | .828** | .829** | .742** |
| 45-54 years | .693** | .716** | .680** | .671** | .672** | .588** |
| Family information | | | | | | |
| Singles (yes) | | -.138 | -.205* | -.261* | -.258* | -.397* |
| Couple without children (yes) | | .174 | .124 | .079 | .079 | .053 |
| Couple with one child less than 16 (yes) | | -.148* | -.140 | -.177 | -.177 | -.362 |
| Couple with two children less than 16 (yes) | | -.100 | -.116 | -.144 | -.143 | .081 |
| Couple with more than two children less than 16 (yes) | | -.289* | -.221 | -.265 | -.267 | -.511 |
| Couple with children at least one more than 16 (yes) | | .153 | .129 | .041 | .040 | .049 |
| Educational level² | | | | | | |
| High level | | | .313** | .284** | .285** | .477* |
| Medium level | | | .337** | .324** | .324** | .491* |
| Previous job experiences | | | | | | |
| Worked before (yes) | | | | 1.062** | 1.064** | .971** |
| Worked in public sector (yes) | | | | .712** | .713** | .659 |
| Worked part-time (yes) | | | | .628** | .631** | .318 |
| Public income support | | | | | | |
| In social assistance benefit (yes) | | | | | --- | --- |
| In unemployment benefit (yes) | | | | | -.027 | .209 |
| Social Relations | | | | | | |
| Member of club, party or others groups (yes) | | | | | | .266** |
| Frequency in meeting neighbours | | | | | | -.079 |
| Frequency in meeting friends | | | | | | .077 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 21472.72 | 21443.69 | 20878.34 | 20751.07 | 20750.85 | 20749.53 |

¹ control group: more than 55 years; ² control group: low educational level;

** p < 0,001; * p < 0,05

Gershuny (1997) put in evidence how important these job are, especially wide-spread in services, because they guarantee, especially to those youngs with no educational qualifications, an easier

access to labour market, but he had also underlined that, consequently to the reduction of job mobility of last years, this kind of opportunities can be transformed into isolations traps for those who belong to the secondary segment of labour market. Other results of this analysis put also in evidence that chances to find an occupation are more related to previous job experience in anyone area (public or private) and every kind (part-time or full-time).

Educational skills don't have a relevant effect in transition, comparing with Germany, even if their support is positive anyway. The integration system of school and work in United Kingdom is still definitely weak, although the "National Vocational Qualification, started in 1997, the biggest limit for this program is that it does not guarantee a direct intervention of productive forces in the educational programs (Detzel and Rubeery, 2002). This result allows us to a further investigation between educational skill and chances to get out of unemployment. The effect of this variable is important, and even fundamental, where there is a direct connection between school and job, as in Germany, indeed in these cases direct involving of employers in the formative programs, allow to gain the trust comparing with the formative system that guarantees to those who have an high educational qualification, more possibilities to get a job. Where this does not happen, as for example in Italy and UK, there is less influence of educational aspect in transition from unemployment. This does not mean that in these countries those aspects are not important, but it only underlines that educational skill are not a strong enough guarantee as a chance to get out of unemployment.

United Kingdom is the only country where we can find a significant relation between social relations and transition from unemployment. Even if the effect is not particularly high, to belong to anyone association, club or political party, can help to find a new job. It is important to underline that are the most informal social relationship, weak relationship (Granovetter, 1995), to play this role and this will confirm the Barbieri et al. (2000) thesis, they state that social capital and informal relations in particular, have a much more important role, especially where labour market are characterized by a strong deregulation and high job mobility, in these situations it is indeed important to have access to an enlarged informative field guaranteed by these social relations. In others labour markets that do not have these peculiarities this social capital is less important or because labour market is strongly ruled by State which allows an efficient meeting between supply and demand, as it happens in Denmark, or because labour market is particularly strict and not flexible, as a consequence of this spread information does not guarantee a bigger knowledge about job opportunities, and this is what happens in Italy.

2.5 An deeper investigation of gender

As we have stated in the first part of this analysis and considering what arise from statistics of labour market (Eurostat 2002, OECD 2002), gender differences in labour market and chances to get out of unemployment are present in many different way in the analysed countries. From an hand UK and Denmark represent two countries with less “gender discrimination” while Italy, on the other hand, is the country where this matter is more evident. Germany has a medium collocation between these two positions.

Which are those variables that distinguish women transition from unemployment comparing to those of men?

Tab. 7: Effects on the transition rate from unemployment for gender (Cox Regression)

| | Denmark | | Italy | | Germany | | UK | |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women |
| Age¹ | | | | | | | | |
| 17-24 years | 1.273** | 1.569** | 1.031** | .369 | 1.763** | 1.875** | 1.239** | 1.185** |
| 25-34 years | .993** | .945** | .832** | .287 | 1.548** | 1.263** | .873** | .999** |
| 35-44 years | .712** | .934** | .793** | .070 | 1.374** | 1.106** | .768** | 1.070** |
| 45-54 years | .823** | .560** | .548** | .278 | 1.041** | .940 | .663** | .851** |
| Family information | | | | | | | | |
| Singles (yes) | -.197 | -.250* | .613** | -.091 | -.241* | .050 | -.236 | -.291 |
| Lone Mother (yes) | | -.118 | | .252 | | .078 | | -.615** |
| Couple without children (yes) | -.171 | .010 | .412* | .747* | .063 | .240 | .145 | -.066 |
| Couple with one child less than 16 (yes) | -.035 | .001 | .516** | .611 | .241 | -.437* | .035 | -.233 |
| Couple with two children less than 16 (yes) | .342* | -.134 | .285 | .390 | .190 | -.104* | -.096 | -.052 |
| Couple with more than two children less than 16 (yes) | .029 | -.121 | .257 | .340 | -.071 | -.051 | -.215 | -.729 |
| Couple with children at least one more than 16 (yes) | .039 | -.248 | .378** | .163 | .028 | .041 | -.056 | .129 |
| Educational level² | | | | | | | | |
| High level | -.015 | .591** | .591** | .273* | .727** | .771** | .289** | .208* |
| Medium level | .145 | .271* | .047 | .148* | .661** | .376** | .141 | .111 |
| Previous job experiences | | | | | | | | |
| Worked before (yes) | .300 | .703** | 1.054** | 1.209** | -.243 | -.102 | .830** | 1.240** |
| Worked in public sector (yes) | .612* | .496** | .203 | -.370* | .097 | 1.087** | .956* | .341 |
| Worked part-time (yes) | .713 | .509* | .065 | .768** | -.123 | .427* | .565 | .595* |
| Public income support | | | | | | | | |
| In social assistance benefit (yes) | -.412* | -.336* | -.403 | -.013 | -.572* | -.872** | | |
| In unemployment benefit (yes) | .122 | .002 | .705** | 1.005** | .010 | .198 | .176* | .036 |
| Social Relations | | | | | | | | |
| Member of club, party or others groups (yes) | .151 | .036 | .094 | .044 | .124 | .070 | .164* | .122 |
| Frequency in meeting neighbours | .038 | .009 | .036 | .010 | | | | |
| Frequency in meeting friends | .070 | .017 | .014 | .011 | .158** | .146* | .104* | .018 |

¹ control group: more than 55 years; ² control group: low educational level;

** p < 0,001; * p < 0,05

In Denmark where youngs have a transition rate from unemployment higher than adults as for women as for men, human capital is more important for unemployed women, indeed it's request to

them to have a high educational and to have a previous job experience to have a new job easier. In this country is also interesting underline, that for women who have children this is not a problem to have a job. This result is the consequence of the wider diffusion of public childcare services which guarantees women to keep on working during the time of growth of their sons. On the other hand, in Italy this lack of services arise if we take into consideration that bigger value of transition rate coincide with situations in which women don't have sons. Moreover in this country the aspect more important to have a chance to exit from unemployment is previous job experience. In Germany, a high educational qualification, which is the most significant aspect in this contest of transition, guarantees same chances of re-employment to women and to men, but for women is also important to have a previous job experience, especially as a public employment. As far as it is concerned for this country to distinguish different information between women and men, allows us to deepen a more important datus already arose and relative to what we already called as "welfare dependence" effect, that as is it show on table 7, it is more evident for women. According to Gallie and Alm (2000) this is the consequence of a merge between traditional familiar culture and means of State support to familiar income, that disincentive women sharing, especially mothers, of the labour market, and as a consequence of this it disincentive also their chances of way out of unemployment. In Italy this phenomenon does not exist, although it is easier to think about a familiar culture more traditional, according to this the first women task is taking care of family, for its welfare residual role, while in Denmark, as in all the other North European countries, this effect is weakened by a more "secularised" familiar culture.

As far as it is concerned for UK data, it arise an important information, that does not arise in any other analysed contest, and which is relative to the significant difficulty of lone-mothers of coming out of occupational exclusion. It is interesting to notice that in Denmark, where percentage, of lone-mothers on the total of families with sons is a bit less than in UK, this problem does not arise. This again underlines the importance the importance of public structures of childcare, which guarantee women more chances to find a job. Dictch (1996) for example demonstrated that private services for children in UK have a double cost comparing with Danish, considering that in this country only 2% of children of less than two years attend to a public school against 48% of Danish children (Gornick an Meyers, 1997), it is obvious that in this contest mothers are more bound to take care of their children, especially when there is no other relative who can do it⁸. Consequently the number of chances for a women that are even mothers is strongly conditioned by quantity and quality of childcare services in that country, where this are more common and efficient, as in Denamrk, little sons are not an handicap to obtain a new job, otherwise where this services are not enough, as far as

⁸ It has to be considered for example that rate of activity for Danish mothers is 90,5% against 48% of British mothers (Pedresen et al, 2000)

a marginal role played by social assistance in Italy, or because services are more left to the free market as in the UK, sons are further problem that prevent women to exit out of marginal condition in labour market (Pedresen et al., 2000).

This analysis shows that, in spite of differences existing in these countries, what is really significant for women to come out of difficult situation to find a job is the condition of having already had a previous occupation, this is true where this aspect is absolutely important, as in Italy and UK, but also in Germany where in the aggregated analysis of men and women together, this aspect had not a significant role.

Conclusions

Result of this analysis allow us to answer to the first question of this work and it is: which subjects and which condition make easier to go out of the social exclusion risk deriving of marginal position in the labour market?

These have to be read with a particular reference to the unemployment welfare regimes characteristics that distinguish those four countries, in a more explicit way. Considering our analysis on a specific contest, we can say that Danish system, based on a universal re-distribution logic, aims to guarantee to everyone same chances to face with a difficult situation deriving both from their labour market position and from others fields related to the possibilities to get material and symbolic resources. So it does not express exclusive risk for special groups of subject. Moreover considering that Denmark is the country, in Europe, that has a higher percentage charge for its GDP in active labour market policies (Hauser et al. 2000) those that are in a difficult occupational condition have important guarantees given by the State for their job reinstatement. So we can attribute to this sum of factors the short unemployment duration in this country, comparing with Italy and Germany. Anyway it is also true that particular characteristics especially regarding personal skill give more chances to exit from unemployment, but loss of gender discrimination, considering also that a high educational qualification and previous job experience, have a positive influence in transition, but not as much as in other countries, all this allow us to think that all that chances given as a way out of weak social condition are equally delivered to everyone on risk.

On the contrary in Italy, for which it will be necessary a further investigation considering the big geographical divided, the fundamental importance that have previous job experience bring us into consideration that the bigger risk is where there are bigger difficulties to find a first occupation. This problem is also related to the weak connection between school and work, it is not by chance that a high educational qualification does not guarantee higher chance in a difficult situation unless there is also a working experience. Consequence of this is that youngs and women are more on risk.

But this risk is anyway mitigated by the important role of substitution of family respect to market and State (Bison and Esping-Andersen, 2000). Italy is the country where youngs keep on living in family longer than in others European countries (Eurostat, 2002), for this reason percentage of youngs unemployed who live in poverty is less than in other contexts (Gallie, Jacob and Paugam, 2000). The risk of social exclusion is where family can not support longer those who are still looking for first job a risk that, during last few years, is becoming bigger as a consequence of the flexibility imposes to labour market that make unstable also occupation of heads of family.

In Germany risk of exclusion is for those that can not have a high educational qualification. If from one hand the efficient connection between school and work is a very positive aspect, especially for young unemployment, from the other hand could be an important reason for exclusion. In this country the problem for those that have not studied is not that of being employed in “bad-job”, but is that of not being employed at all. Consequently to transformation of work demand, these are not a reserve labour force, but risk to become what Lenski (1966:99) called: “[...] superfluous of the work society”.

In UK the most important chances of way out of unemployment are related to previous job experience like in Italy, but differently from this country, in the British context there is no barrage to the entrance into labour market for some subjects as a consequence of part-time and low-skilled jobs diffusion. Here the bigger risk of social exclusion is not only given by unemployment, but it is much more related by not having chances of rising mobility, and then to be isolated into secondary segment of labour market, characterised by low salaries and weak occupational warranty. But the most important problem is given by the residual role of welfare state, that together with a high process of family *de-institutionalisation*, notwithstanding the apparent advantage of women to get a job, put on a big risk those situations where to have a children is an handicap in making an activity. Then lone-mothers are the most on risk in UK

Present work has then confirmed hypothesis of different processes to comes out of a marginal social situation in these four countries. It has also put in evidence that this processes not only depend on market different aspects of occupational chances, but also depend on others aspects on integration between economy and society, social network and re-distribution structures.

Risk of social exclusion is higher where is only the market that manage chances to access, in countries where other factors (family and State) keep on having an important function in this process, those risks are kept under control.

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