

### Breakout sessions: Labour market outcomes Chaucer

### 15:50-17:10

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## Downward mobility, opportunity hoarding and the 'glass floor'

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### Background

- The study of social mobility has traditionally tended to focus on measuring rates, changes in these rates over time and international rankings.
- More recently studies have looked beyond single summary measures at variation in rates across a distribution.
- There has tended to be a focus on upward mobility.
- Recently attention has shifted to exploring advantage. Stubbornly high levels of inequality, increasing shares of income and wealth held by an elite group, concern about the hoarding of opportunities in top professions have led many to question how advantage is transmitted across generations.
- A study for the US has shown evidence of a 'glass floor' whereby those from advantaged family backgrounds are found to be more likely to be high earners than cognitive skill assessments predict (Reeves and Howard, 2014).
- Some commentators have long noted the paradox that many call for higher social mobility without regard for the less politically palatable fact that for relative upward mobility to increase so too must downward mobility.





### **Research Questions**

- Is there evidence of a 'glass floor' in the UK?
- What factors enable well-off parents effectively to construct a glass floor and limit potential downward mobility?
- Is there evidence that opportunities are 'hoarded' by advantaged families?





### Methodology and Data

- Track the progress of children through to labour market outcomes at age 42.
- Delineate children by family social and economic background. Compare the outcomes of children with initially high and initially low cognitive skills by family background.
- Seek to identify what factors partially or fully account for social and economic gradients in labour market success.
- BCS70 Information from the birth, age 5, age 10 and age 16 surveys to measure family background, cognitive skills, social and emotional skills, and schooling.
- To assess adult success we use information on employee earnings and self-employed income, and occupation at age 42.

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### **Outcome measures**

• Top quintile of hourly labour income at age 42

We also looked at high earnings for employees (only) and weekly as well as hourly measures

- Top job NS-SEC 1
- 1.1 Large employers and higher managerial and administrative occupations
- 1.2 Higher professional occupations





### Social class and cognitive skills







Percent of cohort members from Social Class I (professionals) or the highest family income quintile in the top hourly earnings quintile age 42

		Social Class		Income
	Parental	Father's father	Mother's father	Family
Birth	44%			
Age 5	38%	41%	30%	
Age 10	40%			36%
Age 16	40%			38%

Percent of cohort members from Social Class V (unskilled) or the lowest family income quintile in the top hourly earnings quintile age 42

		Social Class		Income
	Parental	Father's father	Mother's father	Family
Birth	8%			
Age 5	9%	16%	15%	
Age 10	7%			11%
Age 16	10%			12%





Accounting for social class and family income gradients - explanatory variables

- Parental education (age 5)
- Maths and reading aptitude (age 10)
- Social and emotional skills (age 10)
  - Self-esteem
  - Locus of control
  - Behavioural problems
- Type of secondary school attended
- Highest educational qualifications





### Sample characteristics

		High skill	Low skill
Parental education (highest)	No qualification (ref)	0.23	0.43
	Vocational ed	0.12	0.14
	O levels	0.24	0.22
	A levels	0.12	0.07
	SRN	0.02	0.02
	Cert ed	0.03	0.01
	Degree +	0.23	0.09
	Other	0.01	0.01
Reading aptitude age 10	Q1 lowest (ref)	0.07	0.27
	Q2	0.11	0.20
	Q3	0.21	0.20
	Q4	0.18	0.11
	Q5 highest 10	0.28	0.09
Maths aptitude age 10	Q1 lowest (ref)	0.07	0.27
	Q2	0.12	0.21
	Q3	0.18	0.15
	Q4	0.22	0.14
	Q5 highest	0.26	0.09



Outcome:

earnings at age 42

High

Early low attainers	Average marginal effects	Mode	el 1	Model 2	2	Model	3
Family income age 10	Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2	0.032		0.012		0.006	
	Q3	0.041		0.011		0.006	
	Q4	0.076		0.021		0.016	
	Q5 high	0.127	***	0.031		0.011	
Parental qualification	No qual (ref)						
	Voc ed			0.005		0.004	
	O levels			0.069	***	0.042	**
	A levels			0.040		0.008	
	Degree +			0.127	***	0.062	**
Maths aptitude age 10	Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2			0.071	***	0.064	**
	Q3			0.094	***	0.076	
	Q4			0.126	***	0.097	***
	Q5 high			0.167	***	0.108	***
Locus of control age 10	Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2			0.007		-0.006	
	Q3			0.066	**	0.048	*
	Q4			0.048	*	0.031	
	Q5 high			0.042		0.021	
Secondary school type	Comprehensive (ref)						
	Grammar					0.092	**
	Secondary modern					-0.008	
	Private					0.112	***
Highest qual level	None (ref)						
	GCSE or less					-0.029	
	A Level					0.001	
	FE or HE (vocational)					0.061	**
	Degree+ (academic)					0.165	

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Outcome:

earnings at age 42

High

Early high attainers	Average marginal effects	M	odel 1	Model 2	2	Model	3
Family income age 10	Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2	0.016		0.005		-0.001	
	Q3	0.074	**	0.038		0.020	
	Q4	0.130	***	0.077	**	0.071	**
	Q5 high	0.217	***	0.115	***	0.080	**
Parental qualification	No qual (ref)						
	Voc ed			0.105	***	0.081	**
	O levels			0.065	**	0.037	
	A levels			0.087	**	0.054	
	Degree +			0.114	***	0.024	
Maths aptitude age 10	Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2			0.125	**	0.097	
	Q3			0.190	***	0.149	***
	Q4			0.203	***	0.154	***
	Q5 high			0.305	***	0.218	***
Locus of control age 10	Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2			0.039		0.021	
	Q3			0.088	**	0.065	*
	Q4			0.098	***	0.047	
	Q5 high			0.079	**	0.035	
Secondary school type	Comprehensive (ref)						
	Grammar					-0.002	
	Secondary modern					0.040	
	Private					0.107	***
Highest qual level	None (ref)						
	GCSE or less					-0.052	
	A Level					0.015	
	FE or HE (vocational)					0.054	
	Degree+ (academic)					0.239	***





Early high attain	ers Average marginal effects	Μ	lodel 1	Model 2	2	Model	3
Parental social class	SC I	0.221	***	0.080	**	0.047	
age 10	SC II	0.158	***	0.077	***	0.062	**
SC III-M (ref)	SC III-NM	0.076	***	0.024		0.023	
	SC IV	-0.059		-0.058		-0.047	
	SC V	-0.238	*	-0.128		-0.098	
Parental qualification	No qual (ref)						
	Voc ed			0.106	***	0.082	***
:	O levels			0.073	***	0.042	
	A levels			0.083	**	0.057	*
	Degree +			0.114	***	0.033	
Maths aptitude age 1	0 Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2			0.129	**	0.099	*
	Q3			0.190	***	0.154	***
	Q4			0.194	***	0.150	***
	Q5 high			0.293	***	0.215	***
Locus of control age 2	0 Q1 low (ref)						
	Q2			0.057	*	0.035	
	Q3			0.093	**	0.068	*
	Q4			0.107	***	0.056	*
	Q5 high			0.086	***	0.039	
Secondary school typ	Comprehensive (ref)						
	Grammar					-0.009	
	Secondary modern					0.029	
	Private					0.105	***
Highest qual level	None (ref)						
	GCSE or less					-0.056	
	A Level					0.000	
_	FE or HE (vocational)					0.039	
E	Degree+ (academic)					0.218	***



### Predicted probabilities – high earner

		Low att	ainers	High at	tainers
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Family income	Income Q1	14%(14%)	6%(6%)	25%(23%)	12%(12%)
	Income Q5	16%(31%)	7%(17%)	35%(48%)	19%(32%)
Parents' highest qualification	No qualification	13%	5%	26%	12%
quanneation	Degree	22%	10%	29%	14%
Secondary school	Comprehensive	15%	6%	28%	14%
	Private	33%	18%	43%	25%
Highest qualification	No qualification	12%	5%	19%	9%
quanneation	Degree	40%	23%	52%	33%





### Summary

- We find social and economic gradients in family background in terms of the likelihood that individuals will be high earners or in a top job at age 42
- These gradients are observed within early cognitive skill groups (low attainers and high attainers)





## Accounting for social gradients in career success

#### **Positive and significant**

- Parental education; particularly graduate qualification is positive and significant
- Maths aptitude at age 10
- Locus of control at age 10
- Grammar or private secondary school
- Educational attainment (in particular degree)

#### Negative and significant

• Moderate and severe behavioural problems (age 10)





## Taking all of these factors into consideration...

- We find that due to the advantageous position of initially *low attaining* children from higher income and social class backgrounds we can largely account for social and economic gradients
- For initially *high attaining* children social and economic background differences remain 'unexplained'. This shows that initially low attaining children from less advantaged backgrounds are less successful at, or less able to, convert high early potential into career success.





### Conclusions

- We find evidence suggesting that children from higher income and social class backgrounds hoard opportunities in schools and subsequently in the labour market.
- A range of factors and influences help to limit downward mobility among advantage children with early low cognitive skills.
- In an era where "room at the top" is not expanding, policy makers serious about increasing upward mobility for children from less advantaged backgrounds will need to address barriers that are preventing them from reaching their full potential and remove barriers that block downward mobility.





National Institute of Economic and Social Research

What young English people do when they reach school-leaving age: a cross-cohort comparison for the last 30 years

> Jake Anders & Richard Dorsett CLOSER conference 30 November 2015





# Estimating the impact of health on NEET status

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\*Daniel Gladwell is funded by the University of Sheffield Faculty Scholarship.



### Outline

- Background
- Model of ability formation
- Data
- Results
- Conclusion



### Background

- NEET: young people Not in Education, Employment or Training
- In 2014 9.5% of the 15-19 year olds were classified as NEET in the UK
  - Equivalent figure for OECD was 7.2%
- Why is this important?



### Consequences of being NEET (1)

- Those who leave full time education early are unlikely to return to it (Dickerson and Jones, 2004)
- Lower educational attainment is associated with
  - lower pecuniary outcomes such as lifetime wealth and consumption (Card, 1999 and 2001)
  - lower non-pecuniary outcomes regarding adult health, marriage and parenting style

(Oreopoulos and Salvanes, 2014)



### Consequences of being NEET (2)

- Lower attachment to the labour market in the long term (Bell and Blanchflower, 2011)
- Lower earnings later in life (Gregg and Tominey, 2005; Mroz and Savage, 2006)
- There are associated societal costs:
  - For the UK estimated public finance cost of NEET, based on 2008 figures, is £12 billion:
    - benefits and lost tax revenues
    - costs for the health and criminal justice systems

(Coles et al. 2010)



### Understanding NEET status

• NEET (in literature) is modelled as a static concept

 $NEET_t = f(X)$ 

- Either as a binary or a categorical variable
- X: vector of all current and past factors, which determine NEET status at time *t*



### **Determinants of NEET status**

Often discussed in literature:

- earlier academic attainment of the young person (YP)
- health of the YP (inferred from impact on test scores)
- parental socioeconomic status
- aspirations and attitudes, both of the parents and the YP
- neighbourhoods
- macroeconomic conditions



### This paper

- We estimate a dynamic model of ability formation (Cunha and Heckman, 2007)
  - Relative importance of the different determinants of NEET status and the stage of a YP's life when these factors have the biggest impact
  - Ours is the first study that looks at the impact of both physical and mental health on NEET status within the same framework.



## This paper

- We use a Structural Equation Model (SEM)
  - The methodology allows us to address the issue of measurement error in estimating ability and mental health
  - It also allows inferences (both direct and indirect) to be made about:
    - an individual's ability at a point in time
    - determinants of ability and NEET status through time



### Data

- Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England (LSYPE)
  - The study follows a cohort of approximately 15,500 YP in English secondary schools
  - The main aim of the study was to provide evidence on the factors central to individuals' educational progress and attainment
  - First wave (2004), participants were aged 13/14 years
  - The survey was conducted annually; we use first five waves
  - By wave 5 (2008) the individuals were aged 17/18 years







- Ability
  - Assumed to be latent
  - Different tests that YP takes are used as indicators
- NEET
  - Observed variable
  - Binary variable
- Initial conditions
  - Birthweight, gestation, ethnicity, mother's qualifications



- Covariates
  - Health
    - general health and mental health
    - mental health and ability endogeneity
    - mental health a latent variable
  - Household socioeconomic status
  - Aspirations
    - both of the YP and their parents
  - Local index of multiple deprivations



## **Results:** Ability

- Evidence of 'self-productivity' in ability formation
- Poor general health is correlated with lower levels of ability
- Past mental health is an important predictor of ability only for girls
- Other covariates:
  - Lower socioeconomic status, deprived neighbourhood and non-white ethnicity all have a negative impact on ability formation
  - Aspirations are positively correlated with ability

Dependent Variable	Explanatory Variable	Girls	Boys			
Ability (t=1)	Latent Variables	•	•			
	Past Ability	0.84***	0.83***			
	Observed Variables - contemporaneous					
	Illness: not affecting schooling	-0.15*	0.08			
	Illness: affecting schooling	-0.66***	-0.66***			
	Parental rating of school	0.09***	0.09***			
	Parental rating of teachers	0.13***	0.05*			
	Household Socioeconomic Status	0.11***	0.11***			
	Observed Variables – initial conditions					
	Birth weight	0.00	0.04*			
	Weeks born early	0.01	0.03			
	School year month	0.10***	0.10***			
	Mother's Highest Qualification	0.15***	0.17***			
	Ethnicity	-0.21***	-0.53***			
Ability (t=2)	Latent Variables					
	Past Ability	0.80***	0.81***			
	Past Mental Health Difficulties	-0.10***	-0.01			
	Observed Variables - past					
	University plans	0.12***	0.11***			
	Parent thinks YP will do	0.11***	0.10***			
	Parent would like YP to do	0.01	0.05*			
	<b>Observed Variables - contemporaneous</b>					
	Young person's health	-0.06**	-0.11***			
	Household Socioeconomic Status	0.11***	0.07*			
	Local Index of Multiple Deprivation	-0.20***	-0.12***			



### Results: NEET

- Period immediately after compulsory education (*t*=3) (YP age: 16 / 17 years)
  - Ability has a negative impact on the probability of being NEET
  - Aspirations of the YP to remain in education is correlated with a significant reduction in the probability of being NEET
  - General health has no impact on NEET status



Dependent	Explanatory Variable	Girls	Boys
Variable	T - 4 4 X7		
NEET $(t=3)$	Latent Variables	0.054444	
	Past Ability	-0.25***	-0.23***
	Observed Variables - past		
	University plans	-0.24***	-0.26***
	Parent thinks YP will do	-0.10*	-0.13***
	Parent would like YP to do	-0.02	0.02
	<b>Observed Variables - contemporaneous</b>		
	Illness not affecting daily activates	-0.39	-0.15
	Illness affecting daily activates	0.08	0.05
	Household Socioeconomic Status	-0.09	0.04
	Observed Variable – time invariant		
	Ethnicity	-0.28	-0.18
NEET (t=4)	Latent Variables		
	Past Ability	-0.14***	-0.06
	Past Mental Health Difficulties	0.15***	-0.08*
	Observed Variable - past		
	NEET	0.34***	0.43***
	Observed Variable - contemporaneous		
	Household Socioeconomic Status	-0.15**	-0.03
	Observed Variable – time invariant		
	Ethnicity	0.21*	-0.09


## Results: NEET

- NEET status in time period 4 (t = 4), (YP age: 17 / 18 years)
  - Persistence in the NEET status
    - Degree of persistence is, however, lower than in the (static) probit specification
  - For girls
    - Controlling for NEET status at age 16/17, past ability has a negative impact on NEET status
    - Past mental health predicts NEET status



### Conclusion

- Ability plays a substantial role in protecting / exposing individuals to the risk of being NEET.
- Mother's education, Ethnicity and Aspirations are key predictors of NEET status
  - these factors work indirectly through the pathway of ability formation.
- General health affects accumulation of ability
  - it impacts NEET status indirectly only via ability.
- Mental health is an important predicator of NEET status (both directly and indirectly) - but only for girls



#### Issues

- Causality
  - Conventional regression analysis establish association not causality
  - In SEM we 'assume' causality can't be tested
- Measurement error
- Attrition
  - Is an issue as in any other longitudinal analysis
- Other potential data sets
  - ALSPAC however participants only from the Avon region



#### Closing plenary session Auditorium

#### 17:10-17:40

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National Institute of Economic and Social Research

What young English people do when they reach school-leaving age: a cross-cohort comparison for the last 30 years

> Jake Anders & Richard Dorsett CLOSER conference 30 November 2015

#### Motivation and aims

- A minority of young people do not achieve a successful transition from education into employment
- Although cyclical, there is also an important structural component
- Scarring (eg Gregg, 2001; Gregg & Tominey, 2005) implies potential for long-term personal and social costs
- This study aims to:
  - Document how young people's immediate post-school leaving age (SLA) transitions have changed over time
  - Examine how age-16 characteristics predict trajectories and whether these influences have themselves changed over time.

### Approach

- Sequence analysis to quantify the degree of similarity between 16-19 year-olds patterns of transition between four states :
  - Education,
  - Employment
  - Unemployed NEET
  - Inactive NEET
- Cluster analysis to identify groups of individuals with similar patterns
- Do this separately for four cohorts:
  - NCDS (born 1958)
  - BCS (born 1970)
  - YCS, sweep 8 (born 1980)
  - LSYPE (born 1990).
- Consider resulting groups in two ways:
  - Descriptively
  - Examining predictors of cluster membership

### An overview of sequence Analysis

- Take successive pairs of individuals
- Calculate number of substitutions needed to render one person's sequence the same as that of the other:

х

х

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х

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- States considered: employment, education, unemployed NEET, inactive NEET\*.
- (Dis)similarity measure calculated by summing the "costs" ascribed to each substitution.
- We give less common transition types a higher cost, on the logic that rarer transitions are likely to correspond to moves between more distinctive states

#### **Cluster Analysis**

- Used to identify groups of people with broadly similar patterns.
- Technical details:
  - non-hierarchical "partitioning around medoids"
  - Some guidance from diagnostic measures (average 'silhouette' distance), but also desire to have intuitive groups
- Resulted in 7-cluster solutions in all cohorts
- Further aggregate into three broader groupings:
  - Entering the Labour Market
  - Accumulating Human Capital
  - Potential Cause for Concern

### Presenting results: index plots

- Colour-coded timeline of individuals' monthly status for all individuals within a cluster
- Depict full post-SLA histories for individuals in each cluster



#### NCDS

















29

#### BCS







#### YCS









219 of 8682 sequences





#### LSYPE









252 of 9347 sequences





# How have the patterns changed over time?

- The proportion "Entering the labour market" has fallen from 91% in NCDS to 37% in YCS and LSYPE.
- The "Accumulating Human Capital" group has grown from 4% in the NCDS to around 50% in the YCS and LSYPE.
- The "Potential Cause for Concern" group has also grown, from 4-5% in the NCDS to 12% in the LSYPE.
  - In addition, those in later cohorts are much more likely to receive two additional years of education prior to becoming NEET.







Months



# How have the patterns changed over time?

- The proportion "Entering the labour market" has fallen from 91% in NCDS to 37% in YCS and LSYPE.
- The "Accumulating Human Capital" group has grown from 4% in the NCDS to around 50% in the YCS and LSYPE.
- The "Potential Cause for Concern" group has also grown, from 4-5% in the NCDS to 12% in the LSYPE.
  - In addition, those in later cohorts are much more likely to receive two additional years of education prior to becoming NEET.



**YCS:** 55%

BCS:

24%

NCDS:

4%



LSYPE: 51%



#### "Accumulating Human Capital"



# How have the patterns changed over time?

- The proportion "Entering the labour market" has fallen from 91% in NCDS to 37% in YCS and LSYPE.
- The "Accumulating Human Capital" group has grown from 4% in the NCDS to around 5% in the YCS and LSYPE.
- The "Potential Cause for Concern" group has also grown, from 4-5% in the first three cohorts to 12% in the LSYPE.
  - In addition, those in later cohorts are much more likely to receive two additional years of education prior to becoming NEET.





Months

Months

161 of 8356 sequences

15

Months

22

#### **"Potential Cause** for Concern"



In LSYPE purple represents NEET (unemployed) and NEET (inactive)

# Using age 16 characteristics to predict grouping

- Limited number of variables for prediction available across all datasets:
  - gender
  - ethnicity (white/ non-white)
  - single parent family
  - parental education (degree+/ A-level/ < A-level)</li>
  - housing tenure (owner-occupier/ social rent/ other)
  - workless household

#### Age 16 characteristics predicting "Entering the Labour Market"



Notes: Chart reports average marginal effects on probability of individual being in a cluster within the "Entering the Labour Market" grouping. Arms show 95% confidence intervals.

#### Age 16 characteristics predicting "Accumulating Human Capital"?



Notes: Chart reports average marginal effects on probability of individual being in a cluster within the "Accumulating Human Capital" grouping. Arms show 95% confidence intervals.

#### Age 16 characteristics predicting "Potential Cause for Concern"?



Notes: Chart reports average marginal effects on probability of individual being in a cluster within the "Potential Cause for Concern" grouping. Arms show 95% confidence intervals.

### Summary and Conclusions

- There has been marked change over the past 30 years in young people's early transitions:
  - rapid entry to employment is now less common
  - more people stay longer in education
  - a small but growing minority seem not to achieve a positive transition
- The correlates of being in this latter group have changed: females and non-whites have gone from being more likely to be at risk of a difficult transition, to being less likely.
- Cumulative disadvantage from various indicators of SES continue to play a large role in predicting difficult transitions.

#### But are early transitions important?

• They are to the extent they are predictive of longer-term outcomes:

	18-24 Groupings				
16-18 Groupings	ELM	AHC	PCC	Missing	Total (freq.)
NCDS					
- ELM	61.9	1.1	12.4	24.6	7,110
- AHC	13.7	41.7	2.1	42.5	852
- PCC	8.6	0.5	55.6	35.3	394
- Missing	75.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	16
Total	54.6	5.2	13.4	26.9	8,372
BCS					
- ELM	81.3	5.7	12.2	0.9	6,867
- AHC	6.8	87.2	4.4	1.6	2,282
- PCC	23.0	6.8	69.4	0.8	369
Total	61.1	25.3	12.6	1.0	9,518