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Active labour market policy as a socialising agent: a cross-national analysis of learning attitudes

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ABSTRACT

Most active labour market policy (ALMP) research investigates potential socioeconomic consequences such as unemployment risks and earning potential but too often neglects potential cultural effects. When approaching ALMP research based on institutional and socialisation theory, researchers would expect that people internalise cultural and normative elements from their institutional environment. This study discusses the influence of country-level ALMP training programme effort on the learning attitude of people by considering participants own educational and familial background. Only ALMP training programme effort is studied because this type of programme is directly aimed at active learning. This study presents an analysis of macro-level data from the OECD on labour market policy spending combined with micro-level data from the PIAAC, totalling 64,150 observations from 19 countries. The results show that people who have higher education credentials or have more highly educated parents have on average a more proactive learning attitude. These differences tend to be smaller in countries that put more effort in ALMP training programmes. People with less education or who have lesser educated parents tend to have a more proactive learning attitude in countries that put more effort in ALMP training programmes compared to their equals in countries that put in less effort.

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KEYWORDS

Learning attitude; active labour market policy; institutions; training programmes; socialisation

Introduction

This study shows that active labour market policies (ALMPs) on the country-level are associated with differences in learning attitudes at the individual level. ALMPs aim to actively integrate people into the labour and contribute to economic growth and social inclusion (Morel, Palier, and Palme 2012). Most of ALMP research focuses on socio-economic effects of specific programmes, such as differences in unemployment risks and income (for review studies, see Brown and Koettl 2015; Calmfors, Forslund, and Hemström 2001; Martin and Grubb 2001) and do not address potential cultural consequences.

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These studies are often based on theoretical frameworks in which external incentives are believed to influence social behaviour by altering costs and benefits. Institutional theory argues that institutions themselves contain cognitive-cultural and normative dimensions alongside the presumed regulative dimension. Institutions structure internalised norms of individuals and provide mutual understanding and shared cognitive frameworks alongside formal and informal rules that aim to structure social behaviour through external coercion (Scott and Davis 2016). This implies that institutional differences in labour markets are also associated with dispositional differences. Socialisation theory, with its focus on the transfer and internalisation of norms, values, and cognitive frameworks, helps to understand these differences.

Socialisation is a process integrating people into social groups such as generations and social classes by incrementally restricting the behavioural and dispositional options of individuals. At the same time, individuals are prepared for the roles they are expected to fulfil. As a result, individuals are enabled to act according to the behavioural and dispositional norms of a specific group. This is a process that starts from birth and develops through observation and imitation, where various aspects of behaviour and personality are reinforced by the group, leading to the internalisation of value systems and behavioural patterns (Singh-Manoux and Marmot 2005). Primary and secondary phases of socialisation can be distinguished, with different socialising agents playing a dominant role in each phase. Socialising agents are groups or contexts that significantly influence or direct the socialisation process (Giddens 2009). In the context of learning and education, the family is an important socialising agent during the primary socialisation phase that takes place during early childhood (Bernstein 1971; Bourdieu 1984; Breen and Goldthorpe 1997). Institutions of education are important socialising agents during an individual's secondary socialisation phase (Parsons and Platt 1970).

This study focuses on how differences in learning attitudes that are caused by being exposed to varying socialising agents during childhood are affected by labour market institutions. More specifically, we investigate how institutional structures of national labour markets with various degrees of ALMP training programme effort affect differences in learning attitudes of individuals. This study follows the call of Clasen, Clegg, and Goerne (2016) for increased use of disaggregated data for ALMP indicators at the macro-level. The common practice in comparative research is to view ALMPs as a single policy type. However, ALMPs consist of multiple types of programmes such as employment programmes, training programmes and job search assistance. These programmes have varying goals, namely increasing labour demand, enhancing and increasing labour supply and improving labour market matching (Brown and Koettl 2015). Bonoli (2010) shows that countries use ALMP programmes in different degrees. These cross-country differences do not necessarily follow the lines of welfare regimes. For instance, Scandinavian countries tend to focus more on upskilling in their ALMP strategy than other countries. However, differences in spending patterns are observed between the Scandinavian countries as well. As research shows that the effects of different programmes vary (Sianesi 2008), it is therefore important to make an analytical distinction between the types of ALMP programmes. Of the different ALMPs, training programmes focus most strongly on active learning and learning attitudes matter more in the efficacy of training programmes compared to other activation programmes. Hence, if an impact of ALMPs is to be found, it should be in the area of

these training programmes. Therefore, this study focuses on differences in ALMP training programme effort only.

This study contributes to policy debates on educational inequalities in a labour market context. It is argued that, besides being in a structural position that provides fewer training opportunities (Lindsay, Canduela, and Raeside 2013; Sutherland 2016), lesser educated people are more negatively psychologically predisposed to training than higher educated people (Fouarge, Schils, and de Grip 2013; Illeris 2006). As the learning attitude is positively related to participation (Cieslik 2006; Illeris 2006) and performance (Hui et al. 2018) in educational activities, reducing the dispositional difference between lower and higher educated people should contribute indirectly to a more inclusive labour market, which is in line with the policy aim of ALMPs. Figure 1 shows that lesser educated people tend to participate more in labour market training in countries that invest more in ALMP training programmes. This implies that attitudinal differences exist between comparable individuals in varying countries, which is related to the institutional structure of the labour market. The research question of this study is: *How are differences in learning*

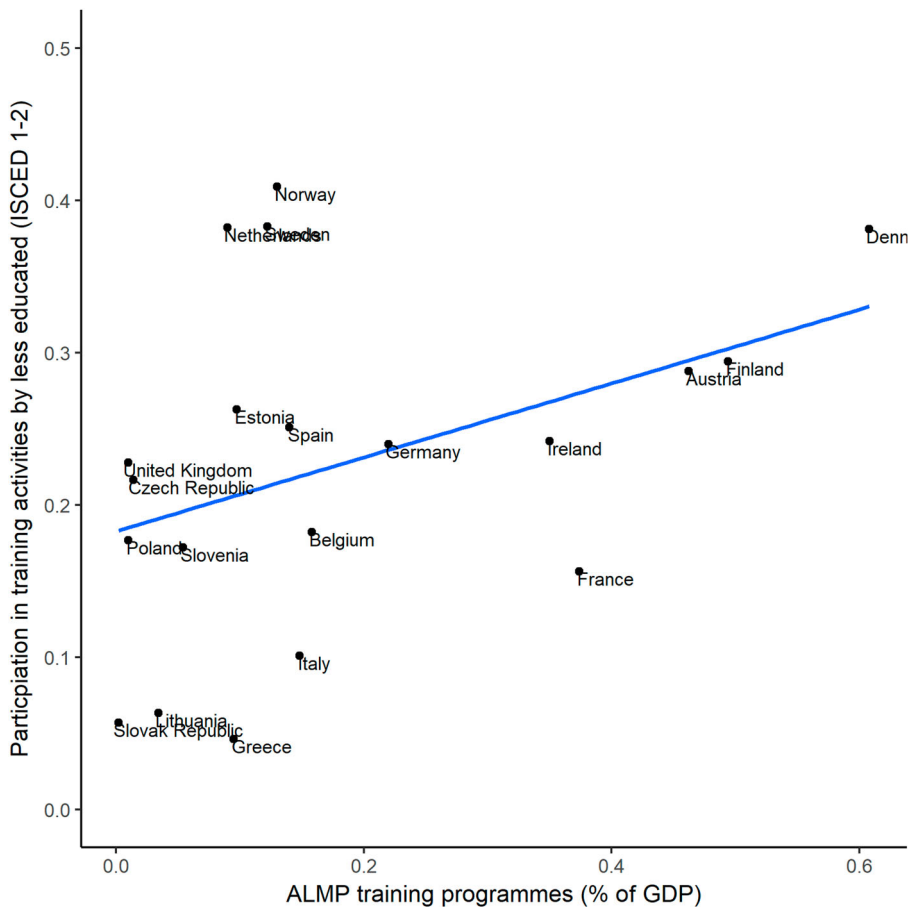


Figure 1. Participation of less educated people in training activities and ALMP training programme effort (average of 2011-2015) Source: PIAAC and OECD, own calculations. Training activities consist of open or distance education, on-the-job training, seminars or workshops, and private lessons.

attitudes based on educational differences influenced by ALMP training programme effort at the macro-level?

This article is structured as follows. In the first section, we discuss the effects of different socialisation processes on learning attitudes. We then outline the data and the methods used for this study, which is followed by a presentation of the results of our analysis. The paper ends with a conclusion and a discussion of the results and their theoretical implications.

Early life socialisation and learning attitudes

Generally, two theoretical perspectives try to explain how familial socialisation affects life choices and opportunities, namely cultural reproduction theory and rational action theory. Both perspectives argue that education is valued differently in the socialisation processes of the lesser and higher educated. During primary socialisation, a child internalises general societal norms in order to become a member of society. This internalisation is mediated by the position of the family within the larger social system. A child from a lower socio-economic class, for instance, develops a societal view from a lower class perspective and, thus, develops different societal views than that of a child from an upper-class background (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

Cultural reproduction theory argues that socialisation processes, among other things, support the maintenance or improvement of the structural position of the social group. As educational attainment is an important determinant of socio-economic position, it follows that children of highly-educated parents are socialised in a manner that reduces the cultural distance between the child and the educational system (Bourdieu 1984). Their socialisation environment shows more resemblance in expected behavioural, attitudinal and linguistic competencies, which are then valued and further developed throughout their educational career (Bernstein 1971). Because education is reinforced by their privileged social position, individuals with highly-educated parents tend to have a more proactive learning attitude. Rational action theory reaches a similar conclusion. Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) argue that the avoidance of status demotion, instead of status improvement, is key in the cost and benefit analyses of educational decisions. The costs tend not to outweigh the benefits for lesser educated people when they generally possess fewer resources and have a lower probability of success. In order to maintain their status, people of a lower socio-economic class need less education than people from a higher socio-economic background. This implies that education is of lesser importance to lesser educated people than to people with higher education because their relative risk of status loss is much lower. Not only is the socialisation process differently organised in a cultural sense, but education as a whole is valued differently between educational groups and plays, therefore, a different role in their socialisation processes.

Empirical research supports the idea that family background is a strong predictor for the educational dispositions of people. For instance, studies show that parental attitudes predict the orientation of their children in adult life (Glass, Bengtson, and Dunham 1986), that status demotion avoidance is a relevant factor in educational decisions and the cost-benefit considerations are influenced by social class (Stocke 2007). Furthermore, Finger (2016) shows that the educational level of the parents is also a determinant in the

college application intentions of students. Overall, there is evidence that people have a more proactive learning attitude if their parents are highly educated.

Primary and secondary socialisation are connected since secondary socialisation builds on the internalised behaviour and norms that are acquired during primary socialisation (Berger and Luckmann 1966). This implies that educational careers are influenced by the primary socialisation process and, in turn, learning attitudes later in life are influenced by the educational career of the individual. The content of the learning process in the educational system differs between the higher and lesser educated, which contribute to differences in the learning attitudes between both groups. Parsons and Platt (1970) argue that learning consists of two interconnected processes, namely a cognitive process and the process of internalising norms and values. The cognitive process is aimed at developing skills to solve cognitive problems and internalising cognitive content. As higher educated people are trained to solve more complex intellectual problems, it can be assumed that these acquired skills are also used for their own purposes during their educational career. This implies that their experiences in the educational system are in general more positive and enjoyable compared to those of the lesser educated. These positive experiences translate to a more proactive learning attitude beyond their educational career. Conversely, several studies (Cieslik 2006; Illeris 2003, 2006) show that people with less education often refer to negative learning experiences during their formal educational years as the reason for non-participation in training programmes. Furthermore, higher educated people are exposed to the specific norms and values of whatever tier of the educational system they are in. Such norms and values tend to differ from the educational tier lesser educated people are in. As the norms and values of the higher education system are more based on knowledge production (Parsons and Platt 1970), it follows that they develop a more proactive learning attitude than the lesser educated. Thus, both primary socialisation and secondary socialisation processes are more likely to contribute to a more proactive learning attitude for the higher educated compared to those with a lower level of education.

Working life socialisation and ALMP training effort

Internalisation processes do not stop after the period of full-time education, since people internalise norms and values during their working life too (Saks and Ashforth 1997). This implies that the norms and cognitive schema that are encapsulated in ALMP training programmes influence the relationship between one's family background, one's own educational attainment and one's learning attitude. High levels of ALMP training programme effort at the national level communicates the conviction that continuous learning is essential to stay attached to the labour market and improves future job prospects in a changing labour market. Additionally, ALMP training programmes are not only aimed at reducing external barriers, such as enrolment costs, but are also often designed to reduce internal barriers, for example, by offering modular learning programmes and rewarding them more swiftly (Lavrijsen and Nicaise 2017). The socialising activities within ALMP training are designed to address attitudinal discrepancies between the individual and the environment. Internalisation processes are not only accomplished through direct experiences but also through observation and interaction with others (Singh-Manoux and Marmot 2005). This implies that learning attitudes are positively

affected not only through participation in ALMP training programmes but also through interactions with peer groups, case managers and employers. For example, Cieslik (2006) illustrates this principle with a respondent that positively changed his learning attitude and identity not only under the influence of changing labour market conditions and learning opportunities but also through interactions with family members and colleagues.

Employers can also influence learning attitudes. Political economists identify the employer as a key actor in training systems (Busemeyer 2009; Hall and Soskice 2001). Employers can influence learning attitudes because people are exposed to learning values at the workplace. Following socialisation rationale, it is logical to assume that employers have internalised more pro-learning values in labour markets with high levels of ALMP training than those in low-effort countries, due to their exposure to public and policy debates. In this context, employers could also function as a socialising agent towards their employees through the implementation of training policies and the instigation of debates on the work floor. Furthermore, some ALMP training programmes take place in the workplace. It is often argued in the evaluation literature on ALMP training programmes that on-the-job training is more effective compared to traditional classroom training (Brown and Koettl 2015). This difference in effectiveness is explained through the increased amount of information the employer and programme participant can obtain on the other party, which makes a successful long-term match more likely (Carling and Richardson 2004). This higher probability of success increases the probability that participation is perceived as meaningful and therefore contributes to a positive learning attitude. Another potential effect of on-the-job training is that it more closely matches the learning identity of programme participants than classroom training does. Lesser educated people often refer to negative experiences with learning during their earlier life as a reason for non-participation in work-related training opportunities (Cieslik 2006; Illeris 2006). Furthermore, some groups of participants with formerly-successful careers who are then put in an unmarketable position have built up an identity as a valuable employee and productive citizen. Being forced in the subordinate role of pupil again is experienced as negative because it conflicts with their current identity (Illeris 2006). Workplace training is less associated with a traditional schooling environment and learning activities within workplace training have a higher probability of being perceived as meaningful. This implies that institutional structures that primarily rely on ALMP-funded workplace training have a different effect on the learning attitude of participants with a weaker labour market position than those which rely primarily on ALMP-funded classroom training.

However, participation in and social interactions with others in relation to ALMP training programmes do not necessarily imply a positive change in the learning attitude for all. Studies show mixed results regarding the effectiveness of ALMP training programmes (Carling and Richardson 2004) and positive effects tend to manifest over longer periods of time (Strandh and Nordlund 2008). One of the criticisms of ALMP training is that those with more education are more often selected for participation than those who have less education, i.e. creaming (Brown and Koettl 2015). This implies that those who already possess a proactive learning attitude are more exposed to pro-learning norms and values and have a higher chance of experiencing positive effects of such programmes. Additionally, not all training programmes are aimed at the development of human capital since some are also used to keep the unemployed with limited labour opportunities busy (Bonoli 2010). A potential consequence is that participation is perceived as useless, which

translates to a more negative attitude to learning through direct participation or through interactions with peers. Another aspect of ALMP training that may contribute to a more negative learning attitude is compulsory participation, such as when participation is required in order to stay eligible for unemployment benefits and assistance. Research (Illeris 2003) shows that adult learners are less inclined to demonstrate genuine and proactive learning behaviour if they do not perceive the learning activity as meaningful. Being forced to participate might further impair the learning attitude of those who already perceive learning in a negative way. Thus, although increased ALMP training effort may propagate pro-learning values it might also be associated with the formation of more negative learning attitudes due to negative personal experiences and the negative experiences of the peers of those who are predisposed to a negative learning attitude. As a result, attitudinal differences become larger because those who are positively-predisposed to learning acquire a more positive learning attitude, while those who are negatively-predisposed acquire a more negative learning attitude.

Because institutions influence attitudes and cognitive frameworks (Scott and Davis 2016), it is expected that the effect of the educational background on learning attitudes partly depends on the institutional structure of the labour market in which people are embedded. For example, people with a lower education who live in a country that puts more effort in ALMP training programmes have a higher chance of being confronted with pro-learning values and training experiences (good or bad) by others than comparable individuals in low-effort countries. Thus, we expect that depending on the configuration of the institutional structure people are more or less likely to be affected by social mechanisms (institutional embeddedness) that affect the learning attitude. However, ALMP training programmes are not the only macro-level factors that might influence learning attitudinal differences between various social groups. For example, early childhood education policies aim to reduce the social reproduction of inequality during the primary socialisation phase (Morel, Palier, and Palme 2012), and characteristics of the educational system, such as tracking, also influence learning attitudes (Lavrijsen and Nicaise 2017). However, being exposed to new training opportunities and the conviction that learning new skills improve one's labour market position in the context of structural labour market changes is shown to affect learning attitude and identity (Cieslik 2006). Although ALMP training programmes might be a part of a broader institutional framework that promotes lifelong learning or influences the learning attitude in earlier socialisation phases, it is still expected that ALMP training programme effort has a contextual effect on learning attitudes due to the implied link between learning and labour market opportunities.

To conclude, the combined insights from socialisation theory and evaluations studies do not provide a clear indication of whether differences between people with lesser education and higher education become smaller or bigger under the influence of ALMP training programme effort. Furthermore, the training programme design might be an influential factor in how learning attitudes are affected, depending on whether it takes place primarily in the workplace or in the classroom. This all results in the following hypotheses:

- The difference in learning attitudes of people with less education compared to those with high education (H1a), as well as between people with higher- and lesser-

educated parents (H1b), varies between countries based on ALMP training programme effort.

- The difference in learning attitudes of people with less education compared to those with high education (H2a), as well as between people with higher- and lesser-educated parents (H2b), varies between countries based on ALMP workplace training programme effort.
- The difference in learning attitudes of people with less education compared to those with high education (H3a), as well as between people with higher- and lesser-educated parents (H3b), varies differs between countries based on ALMP classroom training programme effort.

Data and methods

The data used contain both micro- and macro-level measurements. Micro-level data originated from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC), in which cross-sectional data was collected from 2011 to 2015. The total dataset contains around 250,000 observations of people between 16 and 65 years old that were collected in 33 countries. Because this study focuses on the effects of ALMP training policies on the learning attitudes of labour market participants in Europe after the period of secondary socialisation, we only include respondents who were older than 25 and who were part of the labour force. Thus, we selected respondents who were listed as either employed or unemployed; students, apprentices, retired people, permanently disabled people, people in compulsory military or community service, and people providing domestic work or looking after children or family were excluded from the analysis. Macro-level data originated from the OECD database on labour market policies. Only complete cases were included in our analysis, which resulted in a sample of 64,158 observations from 19 countries.

Variables

The dependent variable in this study is the degree to which one possesses a proactive learning attitude. Six items were used to create a scale to measure a respondent's learning attitude: When I hear or read about new ideas, I try to relate them to real life situations to which they might apply; I like learning new things; When I come across something new, I try to relate it to what I already know; I like to figure out how different ideas fit together; I like to get to the bottom of difficult things and If I don't understand something, I look for additional information to make it clearer. The items were measured on a Likert-scale with the following options: not at all (1), very little (2), to some extent (3), to a high extent (4) and to a very high extent (5). A principal component analysis showed that these items contain only one component with an eigenvalue of 3.427, with component loadings ranging from 0.693 to 0.8. The internal consistency of the scale is checked by country as it might differ between them. All Cronbach's alphas had acceptable levels, ranging from 0.79 to 0.91. The component score was calculated as the average of the six items.

The main independent variables are one's own level of educational attainment; educational attainment of one's parents; and the level of one's country's ALMP training programme effort. Educational attainment was measured using the ISCED framework. Three

educational groups were created, namely low, middle and high. Lesser educated are people with low secondary education or less, corresponding to the ISCED categories 1, 2, 3-C-short. Middle educated are people with upper secondary education or post-secondary but non-tertiary education, which corresponds with ISCED categories 3 A-B-C-long, and 4 A-B-C. Higher educated are people with tertiary education, which corresponds with ISCED categories 5A-B and 6. ALMP training policy effort is included in the model as a moderator. It is measured as the public expenditure on training policies that aim to support groups with a disadvantaged labour market position, for instance, the unemployed and the employed-at-risk. Public expenditure was operationalised as the percentage of the gross domestic product of a country. Because data on the micro-level was collected between 2011 and 2015, the mean public expenditure was calculated for that period. ALMP training policy effort was also differentiated into classroom training and workplace training. The OECD provides four indicators for specific ALMP training programmes. The first indicator measures classroom training for programmes in which participants spent 75% or more time in a classroom during their training period. The second measures workplace training, meaning programmes in which participants spent 75% of their time in the workplace. The third measures a hybrid form where participants spent 50% of their time in the classroom and the 50% of their time in the workplace. The last indicator includes spending on apprenticeship programmes that are not a part of the regular educational system. The first indicator was used to measure classroom training and the other three were added together to measure workplace training.

Several control variables were incorporated into the model. Educational attainment and social origin were correlated with the labour market status of a person. Labour market status also influences the probability and exposure to training opportunities of public and private origin. Labour market status is operationalised as having full-time employment, part-time employment or of being unemployed. The economic sector someone works in or used to work (in the case of unemployment) might also be related to the amount of exposure to national training policy and to a subject's learning attitude. Economic sectors are differentiated into private, public and non-profit. Gender was also controlled for by including a dummy variable referring to being male. Age was included into the model as a control variable and also if the respondent is an immigrant was controlled for. Moreover, as Abrassart (2013) argues that the level of cognitive skills differs cross-nationally between lesser educated people and has an impact on their labour market position, literacy and numeracy skill levels were controlled for. PIAAC provides 10 plausible scores for each based on various cognitive tests (for further detail, see OECD [2016]). We averaged these plausible scores to serve as indicators for both literacy and numeracy skills. Both indicators were z-standardised to ease the computational burden. The descriptive statistics of the variables are presented in [Table 1](#).

Method

The dependent variable is measured on a continuous scale and therefore linear regression was the appropriate analytical method. However, due to the clustered structure of the data, where people are clustered into countries, the independence of observations assumption is violated which would result in biased estimates. A common method to analyse clustered data is multilevel modelling (MLM), which accounts for clustering through the inclusion

Table 1. Descriptives.

	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Micro-level (<i>N</i> = 64,158)				
Proactive learning attitude	3.718	0.689	1	5
<i>Educational level</i>				
low	0.147		0	1
middle	0.451		0	1
high	0.402		0	1
<i>Educational level mother</i>				
low	0.552		0	1
middle	0.317		0	1
high	0.130		0	1
<i>Educational level father</i>				
low	0.467		0	1
middle	0.363		0	1
high	0.170		0	1
Male	0.512		0	1
Ethnic minority	0.896		0	1
Literacy index	275.475	42.768	87.184	415.639
Numeracy index	275.921	46.425	57.791	444.132
<i>Age</i>				
25–34	0.256		0	1
35–44	0.289		0	1
44–54	0.278		0	1
55+	0.177		0	1
<i>Employment status</i>				
Employed (fulltime)	0.763		0	1
Employed (part-time)	0.149		0	1
Unemployed	0.089		0	1
<i>Economic sector</i>				
Private	0.697		0	1
Public	0.283		0	1
Non-profit	0.021		0	1
Macro-level (<i>N</i> = 19)				
Overall spending on ALMP training	0.137	0.153	0.002	0.608
Classroom training	0.094	0.131	0	0.598
Workplace training	0.033	0.039	0	0.150

of random variables that capture the amount of variability between the clusters. MLM also estimates fixed effects, which are the estimations of the general relationship between the independent and dependent variables regardless of which cluster a respondent belongs to (Hox 2010).

Nevertheless, multilevel modelling is criticised in cross-national comparative research for several reasons. First, country-level samples are generally small at 25 or less, due to data availability or analytical scope. This small sample size affects the maximum likelihood estimation procedure. The result is that standard errors are too narrow and, consequently, *p*-values are too small. Hence, the probability of Type-I errors is inflated; in other words, the probability is higher that researchers claim that meaningful differences exist while in reality it does not (Bryan and Jenkins 2016; Mcneish 2017; Stegmueller 2013). However individual-level fixed effects are trustworthy as long as no random variable is attached to the individual fixed effect in the form of a random slope (Bryan and Jenkins 2016). McNeish (2017) shows that using a restricted maximum likelihood estimator instead of a full maximum likelihood estimator in combination with a Kenward-Roger correction results in trustworthy results. The Kenward-Roger correction inflates standard errors and adjusts degrees of freedom based on the variability of individual variables. Lower variability results in lesser

degrees of freedom. Therefore, our analyses used REML combined with a Kenward-Roger correction to estimate the coefficients.

Another consequence of having a low number of countries was that the degrees of freedom on the second level were low, meaning that few country-level variables could be included in the model. This type of model is prone to omitted variable bias at the country level, which is a second common critique of MLM. Using a fixed effect model (FEM) addressed this problem (Möhring 2012; Yu 2015). FEMs are used to account for clustered data by including N-1 cluster dummies (Allison 2009; Huang 2017; McNeish and Stapleton 2016). In the context of cross-national comparative research, N-1 country dummies were included in the model to bring country-specific error estimates into the fixed part of the model. This meant that no heterogeneity existed on the country level and, thus, omitted variable bias on the country level is no longer possible, although omitted variable bias on the individual level is still possible. By including N-1 country dummies in the model, no degrees of freedom were available at the country level (Möhring 2012). Main country effects on individual outcomes could not, therefore, be included. However, it was possible to include a cross-level interaction, as such an interaction also varies on the individual level (Allison 2009; McNeish and Stapleton 2016; Möhring 2012; Yu 2015). Although an FEM addresses the omitted variable problem, it tends not to completely control for the within-cluster error correlation. We therefore followed the recommendation to use cluster robust standard errors (CRSE) in tandem with our FEM (Cameron and Miller 2015). We also used a saddlepoint correction in combination with the CRSE, which lead to more conservative *p*-values.

A downside of FEMs when interpreting cross-level interactions is the exclusion of the main effect of the country-level variable, which makes the interpretation of the coefficients less clear. If one is only interested in the difference between slopes, then this is not problematic. However, because we were interested in the attitudinal position of specific groups relative to others, the intercept was needed to arrive at a valid interpretation. Within our multilevel framework, it was possible to include the main effect, and, thus, the interpretation became more specific. Therefore an MLM was used for the interpretation of the results and an FEM was used to check the robustness of the interaction coefficients.

Finally, due to convenience sampling on the country level, the countries in the sample were not random. Hence, the possibility exists that the relationships we found were the product of influential cases and selection processes (Möhring 2012). Bowers and Drake (2005) advise the use of visualisation techniques to provide additional information on micro-level processes within macro-level units. The main dependent and control variables on the micro-level were estimated for each country using OLS regression, which has the benefit of all slopes being random and which reduces potential omitted variables bias on the micro-level. The coefficients of the educational level and those of parents were extracted from the models and plotted against ALMP training effort variables. This visualised the cross-level interaction we were interested in. Both the FEMs and the visualisations of the cross-level interactions are presented in the appendix.

Results

Hypotheses H1a/b assumed that the difference in learning attitudes based on one's own educational attainment (H1a) and based on the educational level of the parents (H1b)

varies according to ALMP training programme effort. The results of model 2 in Table A1 (see Appendix) show that one's educational level and that of one's parents positively relate to learning attitudes. Model 2 shows that the difference between less educated people and higher educated people is negatively moderated by ALMP training policy effort ($b = -0.572, p < 0.05$). The same pattern is observed concerning the attitudinal difference between people with a middle and a lesser education, but the effect is not significant ($b = -0.220, p > 0.05$). The analysis also shows that the learning attitude of the less educated is on average higher in countries that spend more on ALMP training than the less educated in countries with low spending levels ($b = 0.683, p < 0.05$). Figure 2 visualises how the relationship between education and the learning attitude is influenced by low and high ALMP training effort. The low value corresponds with the first quantile of the ALMP training distribution and the high value corresponds with the third quantile.¹ This figure shows that the slope is less steep when ALMP training effort is relatively high, which means that the difference in learning attitudes is smaller. Also, the less educated have a more proactive learning attitude in countries with more ALMP training policy effort compared to countries with less national training policy effort.

It was also expected that differences in learning attitudes based on the educational level of the parents is influenced by ALMP training programme effort (H1b). Model 3 and 4 (in Appendix, Table A1) show that the effect of parents' educational level of is moderated by ALMP training programme effort. The differences in learning attitudes between people with a higher or middle educated father and people with a lesser educated father are smaller in countries that put more effort in ALMP training policies compared to countries that put in less effort (respectively, $b = -0.399, p < 0.05$; $b = -0.198, p < 0.05$). The differences in the attitude to learning between people who have a high or middle educated mother and people who have a lesser educated mother are smaller in countries that put in more effort compared to countries that put in less effort (respectively, $b = -0.372, p < 0.05$; $b = -0.188, p < 0.05$). The model also shows that people with a lesser educated father or lesser educated mother have a more proactive learning attitude on average in countries with high spending levels compared to people with a lesser educated father or mother in countries with low spending levels (respectively, $b = 0.491, p < 0.05$; $b = 0.474,$

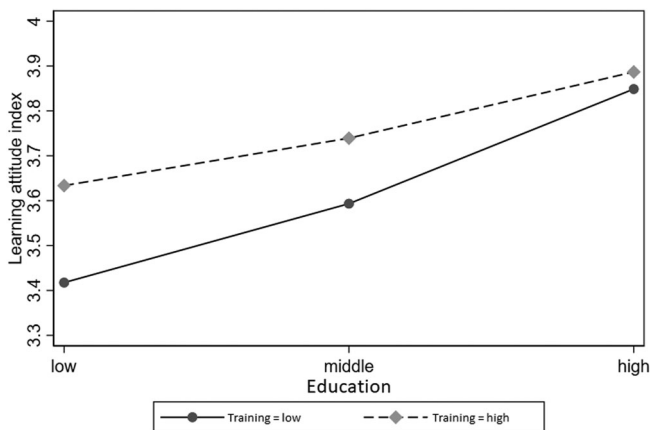


Figure 2. Effect plot of education on the learning attitude by ALMP training programme spending.

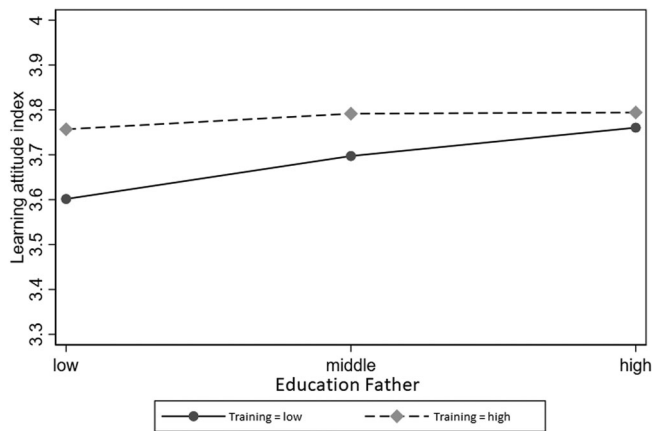


Figure 3. Effect plot of educational level of the father on the learning attitude by ALMP training programme spending.

$p < 0.05$). Figures 2 and 3 illustrate that the effect of the educational level of both parents is less positive when ALMP effort is relatively high. Both figures also show in particular that people with lesser educated parents have a more proactive learning attitude when the level of ALMP training effort is higher.

The FEMs (see Appendix, Table A4) shows comparable interaction coefficients concerning overall spending in training programmes compared to the MLMs. This implies that the interaction coefficient is not influenced by other country-specific characteristics like ECEC policies or elements of the educational system. The visualisation of the cross-level interaction (see Appendix, Figure A1) of one's own educational attainment with ALMP training programme effort shows a general negative association between within-country estimates and ALMP training spending. Spain, Sweden and Norway seem to fall outside of the general pattern as they have relatively small regression coefficient and also have relatively low spending levels of ALMP training programmes. The plots with within-country effects confirm the results concerning the educational level of parents (see Appendix, Figures A2 and A3). However, in the case of the educational level of the father, Spain, Italy and Norway have a relatively low regression coefficient (lesser vs. higher educated) compared to their spending levels. In the case of the educational level of the mother and its effect on learning attitudes, Austria is an outlier regarding the difference between a lesser- and higher-educated mother. The regression coefficient is relatively large compared to the spending level.

Furthermore, this analysis only focuses on mean differences. It can also be argued that even though lesser educated people have on average a more proactive learning attitude in countries that put more effort in ALMP training, a considerable amount of people still develop a more negative learning attitude. This should result in higher standard deviations within the social groups under study. The standard deviations were estimated per group within each country and were correlated with ALMP training programme spending, and all show a negative relationship (see Appendix, Table A2). To conclude, the results support hypotheses H1a and H1b.

It was also assumed that ALMP workplace training programmes influences the learning attitude of individuals with varying educational (H2a) and familial-educational

backgrounds (H2b). Table A3 (see Appendix) shows that ALMP workplace training does not moderate the relationship between educational level and learning attitude but does moderate the differences in the learning attitudes depending on the educational level of the parent. The attitudinal difference that is associated with having a lesser-educated mother or father compared to having a higher-educated mother or father is negatively moderated by workplace training effort (respectively, $b = -1,609$, $p < 0.05$; $b = -1.467$, $p < 0.05$). The FEMs also shows that workplace training negatively moderates the relation between the educational level of both the parents and the learning attitude (see Appendix, Table A5). The plots of regression coefficients show that in general the patterns are negative (see Appendix, Figures A4 and A5). However, in the case of differences between having a less- and highly-educated mother Austria seems to be an outlier with a relative large regression coefficient, and in the case of the father Norway seems to be an outlier concerning the difference of having a less- or highly-educated father. As a result, we conclude that these results support hypothesis H2b but reject hypotheses H2a.

Hypothesis 3 assumed that differences in learning attitudes based on one's own educational level (H3a) and that of the parents (H3b) is influenced by ALMP classroom training effort. Table A3 (see Appendix) shows that ALMP classroom training does not influence the differences in learning attitudes based on the educational level of one's and that of the parents. The FEM (see Appendix, Table A5) also shows that ALMP classroom training does not moderate the relationship between educational level and learning attitude. In the FEM, however, classroom training also seems to moderate the relationship between the educational level of parents and learning attitude. Due to the discrepancy between the MLM and the FEM, we do not consider the result robust enough. Hence, the results do not support H3a/b.

Conclusion and discussion

This study set out to investigate how ALMP training effort at the macro-level is related to differences in learning attitudes at the micro-level. Most ALMP research tends to focus on potential socio-economic effects and utilise theoretical frameworks that are rooted in economic rational choice theories. To provide additional insight into the effects of ALMPs, we focussed on potential cultural effects in the form of attitudinal differences, and combined an institutional theoretical perspective with socialisation theory. The results of this study indicate that ALMP training programmes act as a socialising agent with regard to learning attitudes, which supports the idea that human capital theory is limited in explaining learning behaviour and attitudes toward learning and training. By bringing in additional theoretical perspectives, we can better understand the efficacy of ALMP training programmes.

Human capital theory assumes that social actors are rational egoists, which underplays the importance of social and cultural factors in explaining and understanding differences in learning behaviour between people of varying social groups (Fevre et al. 1999). The importance of class and social reproduction is also excluded by human capital theory (Bowles and Gintis 1975). However, we showed that one's own educational level and the educational background of one's parents influence one's learning attitude later in life. We also showed that learning attitudinal differences tend to be smaller in countries that put more effort in ALMP training programmes in general, as we expected

based on socialisation theory. This outcome supports the claim made by other researchers that macro-level institutional structures influence learning attitudes and behaviour (Lavrijsen and Nicaise 2017; Roosmaa and Saar 2017; Rubenson and Desjardins 2009). Both insights show that human capital theory is limited in explaining variations in the effects of ALMPs.

Besides accounting for overall ALMP training effort, this study also differentiated between ALMP classroom training and ALMP workplace training. We not only assumed that the amount of effort influenced learning attitudes but further that specific design features of ALMP training programmes might matter. Our results indicate that workplace training programmes seem to influence the relationship between the educational level of one's parents and the learning attitude. This can be seen as an indication that the type of ALMP training programme, and workplace training in particular, reduces socialisation effects that originate from the primary socialisation phase and which are related to social class.

The insights of this study also suggest that ALMP training programmes can function as cultural platforms that contribute to a national culture that stimulates learning. Proactive learning is depicted in policy debates as a necessary means to capitalise on the transformation of the economy and reduce the reproduction of inequality (Hemerijck 2017; Morel, Palier, and Palme 2012). ALMP training programmes seem to reduce dispositional barriers to learning for groups that commonly report less proactive learning attitudes. ALMP training programmes can also act as cultural intervention to reduce the inequality of experienced barriers to participation in learning activities, which may eventually improve the labour market position of disadvantaged groups. Moreover, in the evaluation of ALMP training programmes, policymakers might include cultural performance indicators as assessment tools. Instead of solely focussing on socioeconomic criteria, potential cultural effects should also be evaluated because they might indirectly contribute to policy goals that are not specifically linked to the programme in question.

Limitations and future research

Although interesting results were obtained, this study is not without limitations. Due to the cross-sectional nature of the data, causal claims cannot be made. Future research could focus on collecting panel data that contains information on attitudes toward learning and how they develop in various institutional systems depending on social position. Including data on the learning attitude of parents is especially interesting from a socialisation theoretical perspective. Another option would be the use of randomised trials to investigate if exposure to pro-training norms alters attitudes about learning, and, if so, for how long.

Another limitation is the use of a broad measure to identify the efforts governments make on ALMP training policies. This measure only takes the level of spending into account. It is possible that cheaper programmes can still be effective due to specific design characteristics other than those tested in this study. We also did not account for variations within a country. The use of activation measures can differ on regional and municipal levels. The measure does not include the level of spending at levels lower than the national. Spending behaviour of actors other than the government, such as social partners, were also not accounted for.

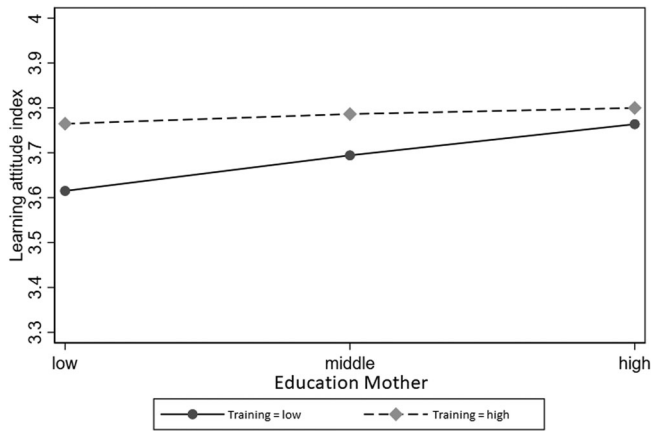


Figure 4. Effect plot of educational level of the mother on the learning attitude by ALMP training programme spending.

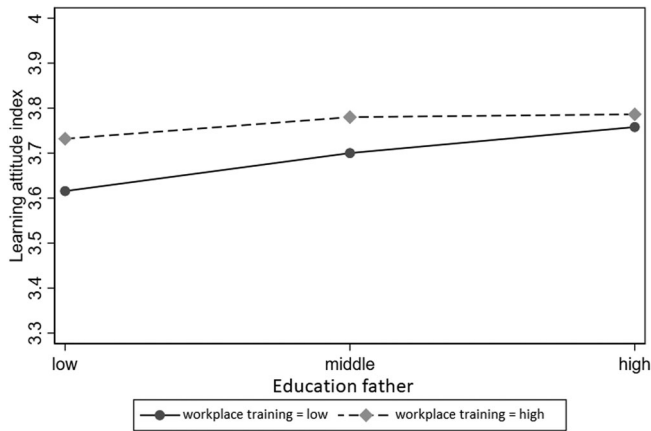


Figure 5. Effect plot of educational level of the father on the learning attitude by ALMP workplace training programme spending.

Future research could utilise a more qualitative approach to provide more detailed information on how ALMPs might influence the learning attitude of participants and non-participants. Quantitative research is very capable of capturing generic patterns but lacks the ability to provide highly-detailed insights. This methodological characteristic might actually favour the expectations of socialisation theory. Socialisation theory is criticised because it does not account well for agency (see for instance Jenk [1966]). Thus, by only focussing on generic patterns minorities that deviate from the norm are easily overlooked.

Varieties of capitalism (Hall and Soskice 2001) also provides an interesting direction for future research. This theory is based on the idea of institutional complementarity, which states that the effect of one institution is influenced by another, such that institutional effects are influenced by their broader institutional framework. In the context

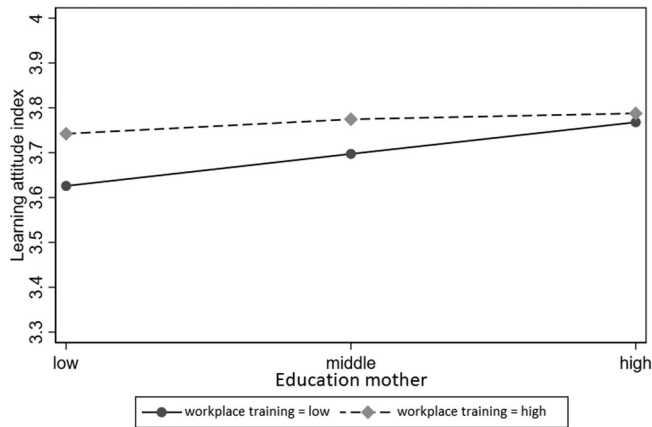


Figure 6. Effect plot of educational level of the mother on the learning attitude by ALMP workplace training programme spending.

of ALMP training programmes, an interesting direction would be analysis of the institutional configuration of the welfare state or the structure of the economy in which such programmes are implemented. Specific configurations or elements might strengthen or dampen the effects that ALMP training programmes have on learning attitudes.

Notes

1. This also applies for Figures 3–6 but the high and low values in Figures 5 and 6 are based on the ALMP workplace training distribution.

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Appendix

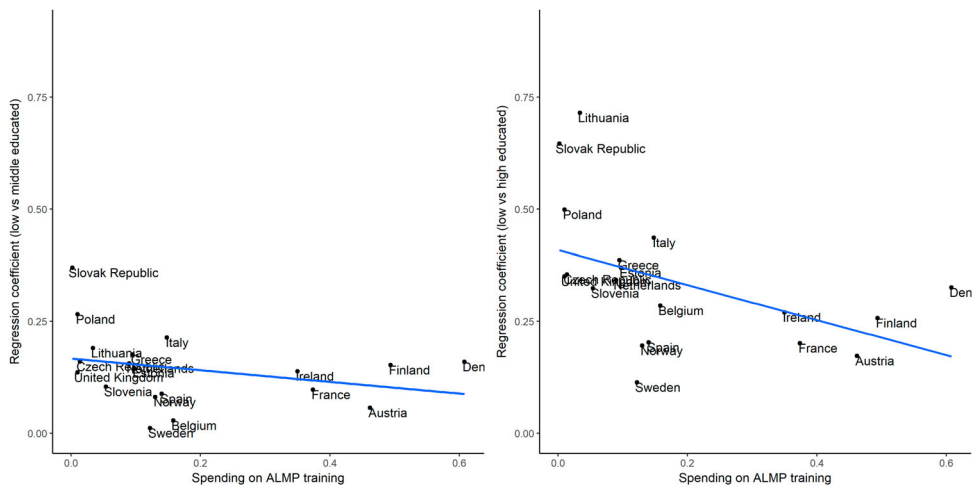


Figure A1. Regression coefficient of education on the learning attitude by ALMP training programme spending.

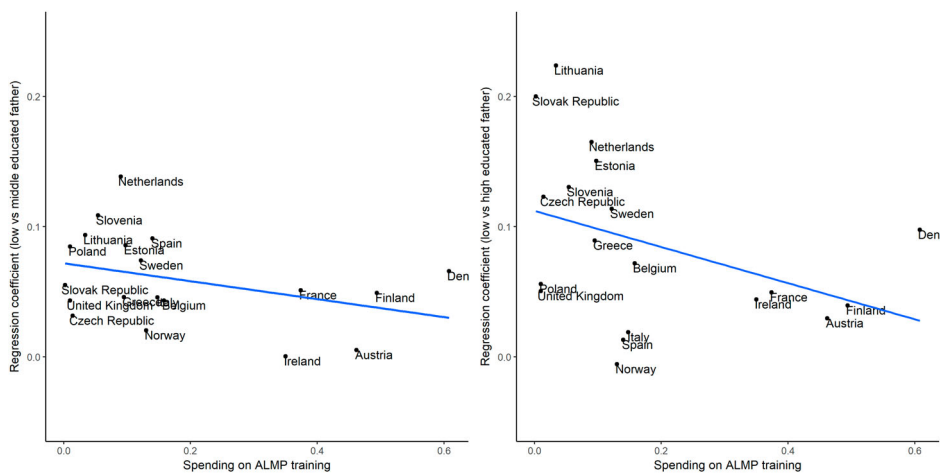


Figure A2. Regression coefficient of educational level of the father on the learning attitude by ALMP training programme spending

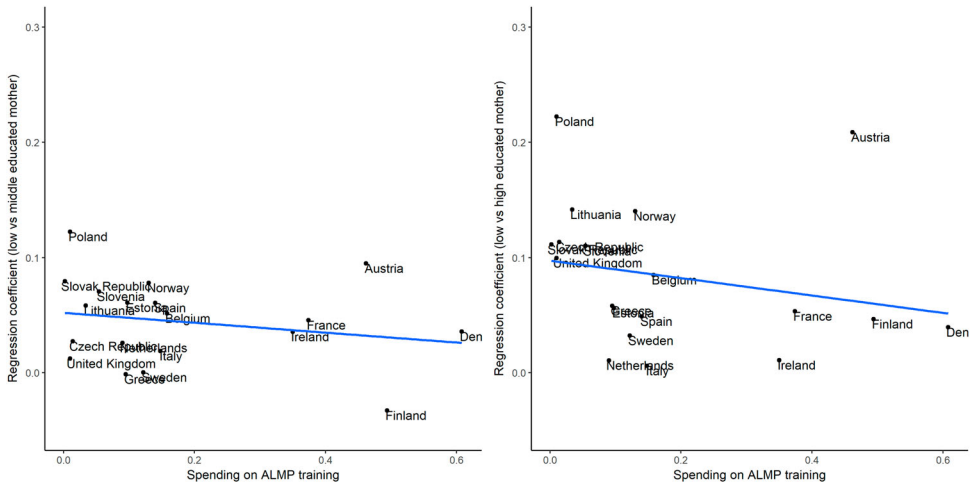


Figure A3. Regression coefficient of educational level of the father on the learning attitude by ALMP training programme spending.

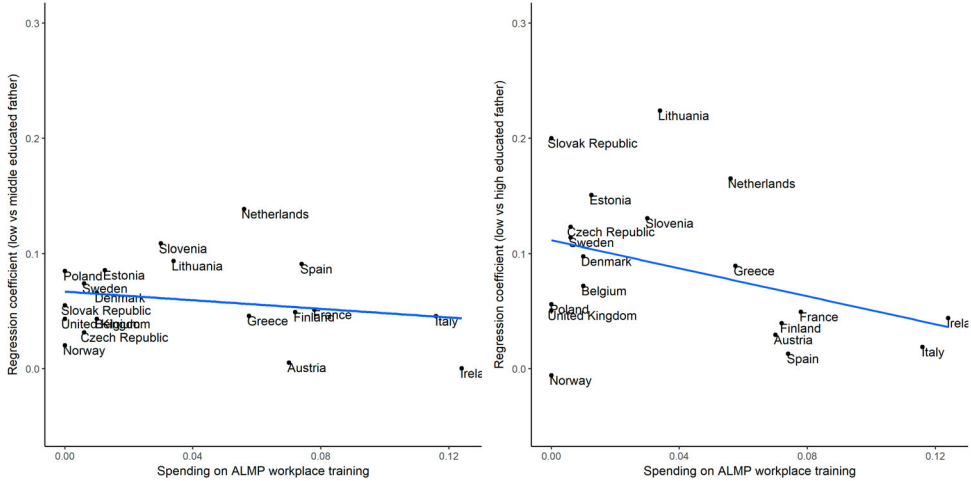


Figure A4. Regression coefficient of educational level of the father on the learning attitude by ALMP workplace training programme spending.

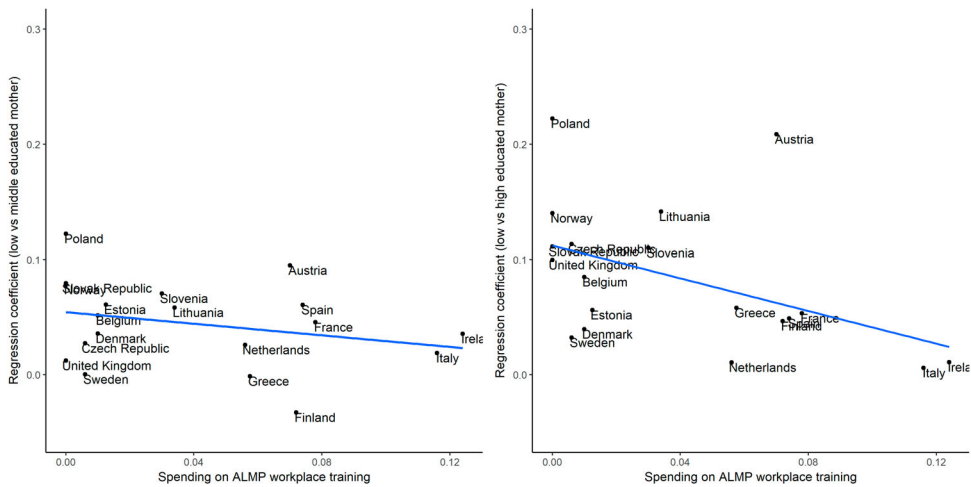


Figure A5. Figure A5. Regression coefficient of educational level of the mother on the learning attitude by ALMP workplace training programme spending.

Table A1. Multilevel linear regression with Kenward-Roger correction on learning attitude.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	3.538*** (0.0385)	3.524*** (0.0456)	3.536*** (0.0407)	3.535*** (0.0407)
<i>Education mother (ref: low)</i>				
middle	0.0489*** (0.00690)	0.0449*** (0.00687)	0.0461*** (0.00693)	0.0513** (0.0148)
high	0.0975*** (0.00987)	0.0862*** (0.00984)	0.0881*** (0.00992)	0.0923** (0.0263)
<i>Education father (ref: low)</i>				
middle	0.0631*** (0.00670)	0.0614*** (0.00668)	0.0655*** (0.0142)	0.0583*** (0.00673)
high	0.0966*** (0.00901)	0.0946*** (0.00896)	0.0963** (0.0272)	0.0924*** (0.00901)
<i>Education (ref: low)</i>				
middle	0.118*** (0.00815)	0.141*** (0.0218)	0.125*** (0.00817)	0.124*** (0.00817)
high	0.315*** (0.00917)	0.341*** (0.0381)	0.319*** (0.00918)	0.318*** (0.00918)
Training _c		0.683* (0.246)	0.491* (0.215)	0.474* (0.215)
Ed. middle*Training _c		-0.220 (0.120)		
Ed. high*Training _c		-0.572* (0.210)		
Fath ed middle*Training _c			-0.198* (0.0756)	
Fath ed high*Training _c			-0.399* (0.147)	
Moth ed middle*Training _c				-0.188* (0.0787)
Moth ed high*Training _c				-0.372* (0.141)
Male	0.00437 (0.00548)	0.00575 (0.00547)	0.00380 (0.00547)	0.00382 (0.00547)
<i>Age (ref: 25–34)</i>				

(Continued)

Table A1. Continued.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
35–44	–0.0240*** (0.00696)	–0.0196** (0.00694)	–0.0215** (0.00695)	–0.0219** (0.00696)
45–54	–0.0525*** (0.00731)	–0.0495*** (0.00729)	–0.0467*** (0.00731)	–0.0476*** (0.00731)
55+	–0.0562*** (0.00846)	–0.0573*** (0.00844)	–0.0509*** (0.00846)	–0.0510*** (0.00847)
<i>Economic sector (ref: private)</i>				
public	0.0183** (0.00595)	0.0168** (0.00593)	0.0184** (0.00594)	0.0180** (0.00594)
non-profit	0.0493** (0.0179)	0.0476** (0.0178)	0.0477** (0.0179)	0.0469** (0.0179)
<i>Employment status (ref: fulltime)</i>				
parttime	–0.0493*** (0.00764)	–0.0509*** (0.00761)	–0.0519*** (0.00763)	–0.0509*** (0.00763)
unemployed	–0.0270** (0.00922)	–0.0210* (0.00919)	–0.0253** (0.00919)	–0.0247** (0.00920)
Migrant	–0.0604*** (0.00864)	–0.0601*** (0.00862)	–0.0662*** (0.00865)	–0.0653*** (0.00864)
Literacy skills	0.00124 (0.00636)	0.00713 (0.00636)	0.00534 (0.00636)	0.00557 (0.00636)
Numeracy skills	0.107*** (0.00654)	0.102*** (0.00653)	0.104*** (0.00653)	0.103*** (0.00653)
<i>Variance</i>				
Intercept	0.0250	0.00759	0.00290	0.00321
Ed middle		0.0257		
Ed high		0.0361		
Fath ed middle			0.0123	
Fath ed high			0.0282	
Moth ed middle				
Moth ed high				0.0282
Individual	0.405	0.401	0.403	0.403
Observations	64158	64158	64158	64158
Groups	19	19	19	19
AIC	124391.4	123799.4	124120.1	124154.4
BIC	124572.8	124026.2	124346.8	124381.1

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A2. Correlates between standard deviations of learning attitude index and ALMP training effort.

Group	Education	Education of father	Education of mother
Low	–0.44	–0.54	–0.53
Middle	–0.51	–0.49	–0.50
High	–0.43	–0.43	–0.49

Table A3. Multilevel linear regression with Kenward-Roger correction on learning attitude.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	3.521*** (0.0463)	3.532*** (0.0402)	3.531*** (0.0401)
<i>Education mother (ref: low)</i>			
middle	0.0449*** (0.00687)	0.0462*** (0.00693)	0.0518** (0.0150)
high	0.0862*** (0.00984)	0.0881*** (0.00992)	0.0936** (0.0257)
<i>Education father (ref: low)</i>			
middle	0.0615*** (0.00668)	0.0663*** (0.0144)	0.0587*** (0.00673)
high	0.0947*** (0.00896)	0.0983** (0.0272)	0.0927*** (0.00901)
<i>Education (ref: low)</i>			
middle	0.141*** (0.0229)	0.125*** (0.00818)	0.125*** (0.00817)
high	0.343*** (0.0405)	0.320*** (0.00919)	0.318*** (0.00918)
Workplace _c	2.093 (1.148)	1.939 (0.979)	1.939 (0.976)
Classroom _c	0.534 (0.278)	0.345 (0.237)	0.326 (0.236)
Ed middle*Workplace _c	-0.245 (0.577)		
Ed high*Workplace _c	-1.050 (1.027)		
Ed middle*Classroom _c	-0.215 (0.140)		
Ed high*Classroom _c	-0.501 (0.248)		
Fath ed middle*Workplace _c		-0.608 (0.360)	
Fath ed high*Workplace _c		-1.467* (0.690)	
Fath ed middle*Classroom _c		-0.156 (0.0853)	
Fath ed high*Classroom _c		-0.279 (0.164)	
Moth ed middle*Workplace _c			-0.651 (0.375)
Moth ed high*Workplace _c			-1.609* (0.649)
Moth ed middle*Classroom _c			-0.137 (0.0888)
Moth ed high*Classroom _c			-0.232 (0.153)
Male	0.00573 (0.00547)	0.00376 (0.00547)	0.00376 (0.00547)
<i>Age (ref: 25–34)</i>			
35–44	-0.0196** (0.00694)	-0.0215** (0.00695)	-0.0219** (0.00696)
45–54	-0.0495*** (0.00729)	-0.0465*** (0.00731)	-0.0474*** (0.00731)
55+	-0.0572*** (0.00844)	-0.0505*** (0.00846)	-0.0506*** (0.00847)
<i>Economic sector (ref: private)</i>			
public	0.0169** (0.00593)	0.0184** (0.00594)	0.0181** (0.00594)
non-profit	0.0476** (0.0178)	0.0477** (0.0179)	0.0469** (0.0179)
<i>Employment status (ref: fulltime)</i>			
parttime			

(Continued)

Table A3. Continued.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
unemployed	-0.0510*** (0.00761)	-0.0519*** (0.00763)	-0.0509*** (0.00763)
Migrant	-0.0210* (0.00919)	-0.0254** (0.00919)	-0.0248** (0.00920)
Literacy skills	-0.0602*** (0.00862)	-0.0665*** (0.00865)	-0.0656*** (0.00864)
Numeracy skills	0.00717 (0.00636)	0.00536 (0.00636)	0.00549 (0.00636)
<i>Variance</i>			
Intercept	0.102*** (0.00653)	0.104*** (0.00653)	0.104*** (0.00653)
Ed middle	0.00848	0.00300	0.00329
Ed high	0.0292		
Fath ed middle	0.0371	0.0123	
Fath ed high		0.0273	
Moth ed middle			0.0103
Moth ed high			0.0272
Individual	0.401	0.403	0.403
Observations	64158	64158	64158
Groups	19	19	19
AIC	123800.8	124119.7	124152.7
BIC	124054.8	124373.7	124406.7

Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A4. Fixed effects linear regression on learning attitude with saddlepoint correction and CRSE.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	3.512*** (0.031)	3.566*** (0.032)	3.556*** (0.031)	3.541*** (0.030)
<i>Education mother (ref:low)</i>				
middle	0.049*** (0.011)	0.048*** (0.011)	0.048*** (0.010)	0.052*** (0.013)
high	0.098*** (0.021)	0.096*** (0.020)	0.096*** (0.019)	0.102*** (0.022)
<i>Education father (ref: low)</i>				
middle	0.063*** (0.010)	0.062*** (0.010)	0.066*** (0.012)	0.061*** (0.009)
high	0.097*** (0.018)	0.096*** (0.018)	0.102*** (0.023)	0.096*** (0.018)
<i>Education (ref:low)</i>				
middle	0.118*** (0.021)	0.122*** (0.022)	0.119*** (0.021)	0.119*** (0.020)
high	0.315*** (0.027)	0.320*** (0.032)	0.314*** (0.028)	0.314*** (0.027)
Ed middle*Training _c		-0.133 (0.108)		
Ed high*Training _c		-0.452* (0.186)		
Fath ed middle*Training _c			-0.194* (0.079)	
Fath ed high*Training _c			-0.361* (0.153)	
Moth ed middle*Training _c				-0.183 (0.086)
Moth ed high*Training _c				-0.386* (0.148)
<i>Age (ref: 25–34)</i>				

(Continued)

Table A4. Continued.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
35–44	–0.024** (0.010)	–0.022** (0.010)	–0.023** (0.010)	–0.022** (0.010)
45–54	–0.052*** (0.014)	–0.051*** (0.014)	–0.050*** (0.014)	–0.050*** (0.014)
55+	–0.056** (0.022)	–0.057** (0.021)	–0.055** (0.021)	–0.055** (0.021)
Male	0.004 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)
<i>Economic sector (ref: private)</i>				
public	0.018* (0.009)	0.017* (0.009)	0.018* (0.009)	0.018* (0.009)
non-profit	0.049*** (0.014)	0.048*** (0.014)	0.048*** (0.014)	0.048*** (0.014)
<i>Employment status (ref: fulltime)</i>				
parttime	–0.049*** (0.011)	–0.050*** (0.011)	–0.050*** (0.011)	–0.050*** (0.011)
unemployed	–0.027 (0.023)	–0.026 (0.022)	–0.027 (0.023)	–0.026 (0.023)
Immigrant	–0.060** (0.027)	–0.061** (0.026)	–0.062** (0.026)	–0.062** (0.026)
Literacy	0.001 (0.026)	0.002 (0.026)	0.003 (0.026)	0.003 (0.026)
Numeracy	0.107*** (0.029)	0.107*** (0.029)	0.106*** (0.029)	0.106*** (0.029)
+ country dummies				
Observations	64,158	64,158	64,158	64,158
R ²	0.146	0.148	0.147	0.148

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.**Table A5.** Fixed effects linear regression on learning attitude with saddlepoint correction and CRSE.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	3.567*** (0.033)	3.543*** (0.031)	3.561*** (0.029)
<i>Education mother (ref: low)</i>			
middle	0.048*** (0.011)	0.095** (0.023)	0.048*** (0.010)
high	0.095*** (0.020)	0.190*** (0.039)	0.095*** (0.020)
<i>Education father (ref: low)</i>			
middle	0.063*** (0.010)	0.063*** (0.009)	0.114*** (0.023)
high	0.096*** (0.018)	0.096*** (0.018)	0.185** (0.044)
<i>Education (ref: low)</i>			
middle	0.149** (0.046)	0.121*** (0.021)	0.121*** (0.021)
high	0.412*** (0.061)	0.316*** (0.028)	0.317*** (0.028)
Ed middle*Workplace _c	–0.157 (0.549)		
Ed high*Workplace _c	–1.018 (0.823)		
Ed middle*Classroom _c	–0.132 (0.098)		
Ed high*Classroom _c	–0.383 (0.158)		
Moth ed middle*Workplace _c			

(Continued)

Table A5. Continued.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
		-0.708* (0.294)	
Moth ed high*Workplace _c		-1.401* (0.465)	
Moth ed middle*Classroom _c		-0.127 (0.068)	
Moth ed high*Classroom _c		-0.297* (0.121)	
Fath ed middle*Workplace _c			-0.707* (0.291)
Fath ed high*Workplace _c			-1.263* (0.546)
Fath ed middle*Classroom _c			-0.149* (0.057)
Fath ed high*Classroom _c			-0.276 (0.125)
<i>Age (ref: 25–34)</i>			
35–44	-0.022* (0.010)	-0.022* (0.010)	-0.023* (0.010)
45–54	-0.051** (0.014)	-0.050** (0.014)	-0.050** (0.014)
55+	-0.056* (0.022)	-0.053* (0.022)	-0.054* (0.021)
Male	0.004 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)
<i>Economic sector (ref: private)</i>			
public	0.017 (0.009)	0.018 (0.009)	0.018 (0.009)
non-profit	0.049** (0.015)	0.048** (0.014)	0.048** (0.014)
<i>Employment status (ref: fulltime)</i>			
parttime	-0.050*** (0.011)	-0.050*** (0.011)	-0.050*** (0.011)
unemployed	-0.027 (0.022)	-0.027 (0.023)	-0.027 (0.023)
Migrant	-0.061* (0.026)	-0.063* (0.026)	-0.063* (0.026)
Literacy skills	0.002 (0.026)	0.002 (0.026)	0.003 (0.026)
Numeracy skills	0.106** (0.029)	0.106** (0.029)	0.106** (0.029)
+ <i>country dummies</i>			
Observations	64,158	64,158	64,158
R ²	0.148	0.148	0.148

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.