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## (Unemployed) Fathers and Sons

A gender perspective on the long-term consequences of paternal jobloss and unemployment on labour market trajectories

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## Background

#### Parental job loss and unemployment

Parental job loss and unemployment impacts children in a variety of ways (Brand, 2015) and through multiple causal pathways (Andersen, 2013) both pecuniary and non-pecuniary (Young 2012).

In this paper, we focus mainly on the non-pecuniary effects of job loss and unemployment for children such as the impact on their self-concept and the consequences for their educational and labour market trajectories.

**Few explicit gender specific analyses** on this topic – the economic litterature often conflates parental with either paternal or maternal unemployment.

While there are **generic consequences of jobloss and unemployment** regardless of which parent experiences it, the assumption behind this paper is that there are also important **gender specific consequences**.





# Background

Paternal unemployment in a gender perspective

Paid work is very important for men's identity (e.g. Demantas & Myers, 2015) -> unemployment constitutes a threat not only to the livelihood of the family but to the self-concept of the father and to the masculinity ideals that are prevalent among both higher- and lower-educated men (e.g. Bloksgaard et. al., 2015)

Jimenez & Walkerdine (2011) show how feelings of shame and embarrasment are shaping the relationship between fathers and sons and their experiences of job loss and unemployment.

Unemployment may not be equally 'harmful' to all men -> theories of **intersectionality** suggests that multiple masculinities exists (e.g. Connell, 1995; Christensen & Jensen, 2014) for which views of work and unemployment may diverge

## Background

#### Educational and labour market trajectories

**Existing studies** of the impact of parental job loss and unemployment **often focus on single educational events** (e.g. Lindemann & Gangl 2019; 2020) or labour market **outcomes based on a single time point** or accumulated over a **shorter period** (e.g. Mörk, Sjögren & Svaleryd 2020).

If parental job loss and unemployment is thought to impact children in a variety of ways, it becomes **crucial to study transitions** between compulsory school, secondary and tertiary education and the labour market as a period that **focus on the 'entire sequence of changes in labour market as well as educational status'** (cf. Brzinsky-Fay 2007).

For this reason, we use **sequence analysis** to model educational and labour market trajectories from ages 16 to 36.





# Background Paternal unemployment - the case of Denmark

Earlier studies show 'remarkable small adverse consequences of parental unemployment in Nordic countries' (Lindemann & Gangl, 2020) -> explained by two institutional mechanisms (opportunity and insurance) that reduces the pecuniary consequences of job loss and unemployment.

Universal free education and state grants for students + relatively generous unemployment benefits -> low perceived cost of education even for children whose fathers had precarious labour market trajectories

**Denmark as a least likely case** -> if an association exists here despite this institutional context an association will likely be even greater in other contexts where the institutional mechanisms does not work this way.



#### Theoretical estimands

The 'theoretical estimand' (Lundberg, Johnson & Stewart, 2021) of the paper can be formulated like this:

RQ1: Difference in whether son i would have a certain type of labour market trajectory if his father had a long spell of unemployment during his formative years vs. his father having stable labour market participation during his formative years.

RQ2: Difference in whether son i would have a certain type of labour market trajectory if his father who had a long spell of unemployment during his formative years had a traditional form of masculinity vs. his father not having a traditional form of masculinity

The **target population** for whom we estimate **RQ1** is **sons** (**born in 1983**) of **fathers**, which means that we exclude girls as well as boys without information about their legal father. We compare the **labour market trajectories** of boys whose fathers did or did not experience unemployment in their **formative years**, i.e., when the boys was 10-14 years of age.

The target population for whom we estimate RQ2 is sons (born in 1983) of fathers who experienced unemployment in their formative years while working in male dominated occupations. We compare the labour market trajectories of the former boys with boys whose fathers experienced unemployment while working in female dominated occupations. In order to reduce the risk that the differences in unemployment between male and female dominated occupations is caused by differences in educational status of the fathers, we narrow the target population to be sons of unskilled fathers.



### Empirical estimands

We estimate the theoretical estimands by four different means:

- 1. We compare the **state distribution plots** of the comparison groups to each other in order to examine to what extent the trajectories diverge from each other.
- 2. We **construct a typology of sequences** and compare the extent to which the comparison groups tend to be members of the different types.
- 3. We calculate the **mean duration in each of the seven state spaces** for the comparison groups and the different types in order to examine to what extent the groups spend different amounts of time in the state spaces.
- 4. We calculate the **turbulence of the labour market trajectories** of the comparison groups in order to see whether the boys with unemployed fathers have more turbulent trajectories.



### Methods, data, statistics

Information on labour market participation, educational events and public transfer payments from all Danish adults born in 1983 (n=54,575) were derived from three **population registers at Statistics Denmark**. In this analysis, only young men (n=26,430) were included in order to study the impact of paternal job loss and unemployment on their trajectories. In order to take into account the influence of paternal education for educational choices, we focus on the boys of unskilled fathers (n=6,755).

The information was linked and coded in two different ways. For the basic analyses **7** distinct state spaces on a monthly basis from age 16 to age 36 (January 1999 to December 2019) yielding sequences of 252 months. In the extended coding, the employment state space was differentiated to 10 trades and the educational state spaces were reduced to two.

Information on **paternal unemployment** was derived from the IDA register for the period 1993-1997, i.e. when the boys were **age 10-14**. This age period was chosen because Brand (2015) suggests that during adolescence the children of unemployed parents becomes conscious of the possible stigma associated with job loss and unemployment.



#### State spaces

#### Basic coding

- 1. Basic education
- 2. Upper secondary education
- 3. Vocational training
- 4. Tertiary education
- 5. Other education
- 6. Employed
- 7. Outside labour market

#### Extended coding

- 1. Basic/Upper secondary education/Tertiary education
- 2. Vocational training
- 3. Employed: Agriculture
- 4. Employed: Mining/Manufacturing
- 5. Employed: Construction
- 6. Employed: Wholesale and retail
- 7. Employed: Transport
- 8. Employed: Accomodation and food service
- 9. Employed: Information and communication
- 10. Employed: Financial service
- 11. Employed: Legal and accounting
- 12. Employed: Public administration
- 13. Employed: Education
- 14. Employed: Health services
- 15. Employed: Other services
- 16. Outside labour market



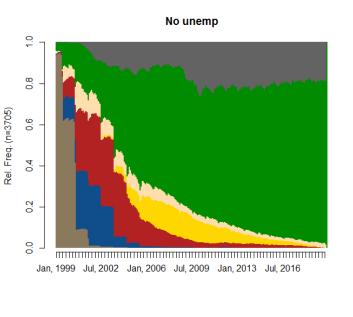
#### Methods, data, statistics

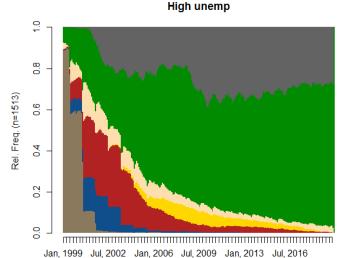
Cluster analysis (using Wards distance) on the sequences identified distinct groups of adolescents with similar labour market trajectories. The number of clusters were determined by ASW and HC partitioning measures following the procedure suggested by Studer (2021). These indices suggested partitioning the sequences into 2-4 clusters depending on the subgroups analysed. Multinomial regression was used to examine the association between paternal unemployment and cluster membership.

In order to evaluate the nature of the state sequences and the degree to which they are more complex or turbulent we employ Elzinga & Liefbroer's (2007) measure of turbulence T in its normalized version (suggested by Ritschard 2021). The level of turbulence was subsequently used as the outcome in a linear regression including paternal unemployment as well as paternal income.

The TraMineR package was used to generate and analyse the sequences (Gabadinho et. al., 2011).

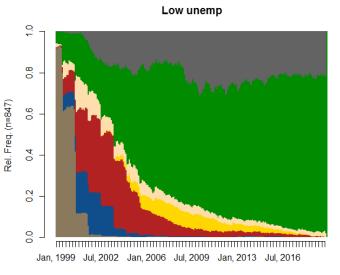


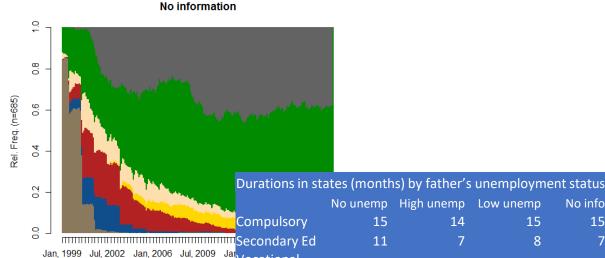




#### Results

State distribution plots by father's unemployment status





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□ Compulsory school □ Higher eduation □ Outside labour market □ Upper secondary □ Education, other □ Vocational training □ Employed/Self-supporting

diations in states (months, by father's affemployment status					
	No unemp	High unemp	Low unemp	No info	
Compulsory	15	14	15	15	
econdary Ed	11	7	8	7	
ocational/					
raining	24	23	26	18	
ligher Ed	13	7	8	7	
ducation, oth	11	13	11	14	
mployed	140	128	137	113	
Outside					
abour market	38	60	47	78	

1,513

685

847

3,705

#### Results

# Mean duration in state spaces (months) by father's occupation and unemployment status

	Male dominated			Female dominated		
	No unemp	Low unemp			Low unemp	o l
Compulsory	15	15	14	15	13	14
Secondary Ed	10	6	5	14	15	10
Vocational Training	25	28	25	22	18	21
Higher Ed	10	6	5	18	17	9
Education, oth	11	10	12	13	19	16
Employed	141	141	129	130	128	128
Outside labour market	41	46	61	40	42	55
N	853	355	403	179	54	78



#### Results

# Turbulence T in labour market trajectories by paternal unemployment status

	All (1)	Male dominated (2)	Female dominated (3)
High paternal unemployment	1.341***	1.409***	1.047
	(0.226)	(0.477)	(0.971)
Low paternal unemployment	0.935***	1.027**	2.947***
	(0.265)	(0.469)	(1.029)
Mean wage	-0.033***	-0.024	0.016
	(0.010)	(0.024)	(0.053)
Constant	16.139***	16.193***	14.643***
	(0.286)	(0.658)	(1.216)
Observations	6,065	1,611	311
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.018	0.007	0.021
Note:		*p<0	0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
No paternal unemployment is reference cates Adjusted for father's job cates			

#### Conclusion

The **labour market trajectories** of sons with unemployed, unskilled fathers **diverges** to some extent from the labour market trajectories of sons of unskilled fathers with no unemployment at all.

They spend more time outside the labour market themselves and to a lesser extent embark on trajectories involving higher education. In addition, the trajectories are more turbulent (i.e. involves more transitions and greater diversity in the length of spells).

Some differences between boys with fathers in male dominated and female dominated occupations were found: more upper secondary and higher education and less turbulent trajectories -> consistent with gender specific effects of paternal unemployment?





Thank you for your attention!

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