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Labour market entry in Tunisia: The gender gap
Michèle Mansuy and Patrick Werquin
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Preface

Youth is a crucial time of life when young people start realizing their aspirations, assuming their economic independence and finding their place in society. The global jobs crisis has exacerbated the vulnerability of young people in terms of: (i) higher unemployment, (ii) lower quality jobs for those who find work, (iii) greater labour market inequalities among different groups of young people, (iv) longer and more insecure school-to-work transitions, and (v) increased detachment from the labour market.

In June 2012, the International Labour Conference of the ILO resolved to take urgent action to tackle the unprecedented youth employment crisis through a multi-pronged approach geared towards pro-employment growth and decent job creation. The resolution "The youth employment crisis: A call for action" contains a set of conclusions that constitute a blueprint for shaping national strategies for youth employment. It calls for increased coherence of policies and action on youth employment across the multilateral system. In parallel, the UN Secretary-General highlighted youth as one of the five generational imperatives to be addressed through the mobilization of all the human, financial and political resources available to the United Nations (UN). As part of this agenda, the UN has developed a System-wide Action Plan on Youth, with youth employment as one of the main priorities, to strengthen youth programmes across the UN system.

The ILO supports governments and social partners in designing and implementing integrated employment policy responses. As part of this work, the ILO seeks to enhance the capacity of national and local-level institutions to undertake evidence-based analysis that feeds social dialogue and the policy-making process. To assist member States in building a knowledge base on youth employment, the ILO has designed the "school-to-work transition survey" (SWTS) and has implemented the survey in 34 countries as part of the Work4Youth (W4Y) partnership between the ILO and The MasterCard Foundation. The current report uses the dataset of the SWTS run in Tunisia in 2013 to explore how gender issues interact with elements such as type of education and years of labour market experience to determine young people's transition outcomes. The paper was selected for presentation at the first W4Y Global Research Symposium on "Labour market transitions of young women and men: Innovative research from 28 school-to-work transition surveys" held in Geneva in March 2015.

It is not an easy time to be a young person in the labour market today. The hope is that, with leadership from the UN system, with the commitment of governments, trade unions and employers' organizations and through the active participation of donors such as The MasterCard Foundation, the international community can provide the effective assistance needed to help young women and men make a good start in the world of work. If we can get this right, it will positively affect young people's professional and personal success in all future stages of life.

Azita Berar Awad Director Employment Policy Department

¹ The full text of the 2012 resolution "The youth employment crisis: A call for action" can be found on the ILO website at: www.ilo.org/ilc/ILCSessions/101stSession/texts-adopted/WCMS 185950/lang--en/index.htm.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

In European countries, as well as in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, young men and women entering the labour market are a population at risk of social exclusion (Ryan, 2001; Piopiunik and Ryan, 2012; Quintini, Martin and Martin, 2007; Mansuy and Marchand, 2004). However, the situation is even worse in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) countries, where the labour market participation rate of young women remains dramatically low and youth unemployment rates in general are very high. In 2013, the youth unemployment rate in the MENA region reached 27 per cent, twice the average world rate (ILO, 2014); in 2012, 37 per cent of young females in Jordan were inactive non-students (38 per cent in Egypt, ILO, 2013); in 2013, in Morocco (Marrakesh region), 54 per cent of young women aged 15–34 who had left education were out of the labour force² (see Werquin, 2015).

On the one hand, the demographic transition is not yet completed in those countries, and the cohorts entering the labour market are four to five times larger than the cohorts reaching retirement age (Amin et al., 2012, p. 58). On the other hand, the level of education of young people has undergone a sharp rise in the past 20 years (Barro and Lee, 2010). The quality of education is therefore examined in this report, as well as its ability to meet the needs of the private economic sector (Amin et al., 2012; Dhillon and Yousef, 2009; Kocoglu, 2011). In the Tunisian case, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2012 survey³ showed poor results for 16-year-old students (UNESCO, 2014). In addition, Tunisia performed at a lower level in mathematics than other middle-income countries outside the MENA region, according to the Trends in International Mathematics and Science (TIMSS) 2001 survey (Mullis et al., 2012).

In Tunisia, in particular, young university graduates are highly vulnerable to the risk of joblessness and long-term unemployment (Ben Halima, Kocoglu and Ben Halima, 2012). Vocational training is often informal in nature and undertaken on-the-job, despite the fact that Tunisia is developing a system for validating learning outcomes from experience (see the work being carried out by Charraud and Werquin (2014) for the Tunisian Government⁴). Due to the lack of appropriate data, however, only limited information about the school-to-work transition process has been available for Tunisia to date. Access to SWTS microdata therefore offers a unique opportunity to fill a knowledge gap.

First, the SWTS in Tunisia offers the possibility of developing non-standard transition indicators. Some of the determinants of the labour market outcomes of young Tunisians are already well documented: gender, area of residence (rural versus urban) and level of educational attainment are variables known to have a strong influence on transition pathways (ONEQ, 2014). In this report, it is suggested that the following additional factors should also be studied:

² The labour force is here defined in the relaxed sense (see box 1). In addition, statistics concerning rates of young female non-participation are difficult to interpret, unless young women still in education are excluded, as is the case here.

³ The percentage of low performers was 49 per cent on the reading scale, 67 per cent on the mathematics scale and 55 per cent on the science scale (OECD, 2014).

⁴ See also Werquin (2010) for policies and strategies regarding validation of learning outcomes for experience.

- Experience: As young people are outsiders to the labour market (Lindbeck and Snower, 1988, 2002; see box 1), it is proposed that the labour force status of new entrants into the labour market be studied, rather than age groups, in order to determine whether joblessness is due to the lack of opportunity to gain a foothold in the labour market or if unemployment occurs later on. This approach will also test whether or not the quality of job obtained improves with experience. Indicators which incorporate experience (Johnson, 1978; see box 1) i.e. new labour market entrants versus less recent entrants should show an entirely different picture to those which consider only age groups, since higher education leavers enter the labour market much later than low achievers.
- Geography: The job opportunities available to young people differ markedly according to the region of residence within the country, as stressed by Reiffers and Galal (2014). Two or three large sub-regions will be identified, according to the pattern of local labour markets.
- Type of education: Even though vocational education and training cannot be considered to be widespread in Tunisia (Yaagoubi, 2013), contrasting the labour market outcomes of those who left vocational education and training (VET) with those who left the general educational track is a promising avenue.

Second, the SWTS data allow a closer examination of two specific labour market positions which play a major role in school-to-work transitions in MENA countries: contributing family workers and own-account workers or employers. However, despite the fact that a large fraction (41 per cent) of young respondents who have left education and training lives in rural areas, contributing family workers constitute a small group. It is a much less frequent status in Tunisia than in other MENA countries (for example, where in 2013 60 per cent of rural young people aged 15-29 worked without being paid, mainly as contributing family workers (HCP, 2009). A dynamic approach is not possible due to the limited size of the sample. For own-account workers or employers, the same problem of inadequate subsample size arises, allowing a simple characterization by gender, level of educational attainment and experience, but ruling out an analysis of transitions from previous statuses to own-account employment.

In section 2 of this report, we will discuss an approach to the analysis of labour market outcomes that is more appropriate to the available data than the dynamic one described above. This approach analyses the occupational status of young people who have left education in Tunisia. Following Ryan (2001), we will take into account broader indicators, rather than those which consider only unemployment: discouraged workers⁶ are frequently found when available jobs are scarce. As they constitute an element of unutilized labour, they cannot be assimilated into the category of people who do not participate in the labour force.

⁵ International Classification by Status in Employment (ILO, 1993). The authors would have been interested in applying a dynamic analysis to these two categories to determine the labour market destination of former contributing family workers leaving this status, whether entering paid employment, unemployment or inactivity, with special attention to gender differences. Unfortunately, the size of the corresponding subsamples in the Tunisian SWTS is not sufficiently large to allow the definition of such typical trajectories.

⁶ Discouraged workers are those who are not working, express a desire to work but are not actively seeking work.

Box 1. Insiders, outsiders and new/recent entrants

According to Lindbeck and Snower's theory, insiders (largely adult male) are employees whose positions are protected by labour turnover costs. The outsider-workers group, who do not enjoy such protection, "consists of new entrants to the labour market, young, married women, and perhaps also, elderly workers". "They are subject to more frequent and longer spells of unemployment." "This prediction is certainly consonant with empirical data" (Lindbeck and Snower, 2002, p. 35).

The authors argue that the theory can be applied globally and not only in Europe, as "turnover labour costs are a ubiquitous feature of all labour markets" (Lindbeck and Snower, 2002, p. 40). They also point out that their theory is strengthened by evidence of prevalent social norms.

In his paper concerning job mobility in a context of imperfect information, Johnson provides estimates for the annual probability of job mobility by experience (1978, p. 275), computed as number of years since leaving school. Following the practice of a number of authors after him, we use the same definition.

For instance, to study the integration of young people into EU labour markets, Müller and Gangl (2003) use the "new entrants" category (that is, people who have left the education and training system within the last three to five years) rather than age groups. The empirical tests are conducted using the European Union Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) data. They show that the extent of unemployment risk in the early stages of a career differs widely between countries

However, it is also inappropriate to group young unemployed and young inactive non-students together, as is often the case in analyses undertaken in western countries. Given the low labour force participation rate of young female non-students in Tunisia, the category encompassing unemployed and inactive non-students (NEETs – those neither in employment nor in education or training) is heterogeneous and must be split into two different sections: jobless people actively seeking work and discouraged workers on the one hand, and other young people and non-students who are out of the labour force on the other. Making this distinction reveals that the social norms in Tunisia dictate that married women are not expected to work outside the family circle. We will also consider another important dimension which allows the quality of the jobs to be identified: the difference between informal and formal employment.

In section 3, we will present empirical evidence from the SWTS data. First, we will present several indicators of the occupational status of young people, categorized by gender, contrasting new entrants into the labour market with more experienced young people. This analysis shows a dramatic decrease in unemployment share as the young people acquire more labour market experience. The results of an econometric model (multinomial probit) of the labour market outcomes of young people according to their individual characteristics – experience, gender, education and marital status, as well as social and geographical contexts (rural/urban, parental education) – are also reported in section 4.2.1, shedding light on the differences in transition patterns between young women and young men.

1.2 Policy implications

There is a considerable difference between the situations of the young women and the young men in the survey. The former are both less active (in terms of overall participation in the labour force) and less frequently employed than the latter. One possibility would be to develop career guidance approaches which attempt to steer a greater number of young women towards both vocational education/training and scientific/technical studies, as well as simply promoting the idea of their participating in the labour market.

There is a glaring lack of jobs as own-account workers for long curriculum higher education graduates, for both young women and young men, compared to secondary school leavers. A possible solution might be to provide support for young people who aspire to create their own enterprise, e.g. by providing counseling services and specific training on small business management.

Labour market experience provides strong protection against unemployment. New labour market entrants in general are exposed to a higher risk of unemployment, but this risk is particularly severe for young women entering the labour market. It might prove beneficial to expose students to the labour market at an earlier stage by organizing, for example, long internships and alternative training schemes, for both young men and young women.

For both genders, gaining a qualification and having engaged in education are strong determinants for accessing a job. It would therefore seem imperative to combat early school leaving. It appears that initial access to the education and training system is not the defining problem in Tunisia – in comparison to Morocco, for instance, where both low take-up of educational opportunities and early school leaving are causes of concern – indicating that the poor retention rate and the high drop-out level pose the main problems. The solution may therefore be to promote initiatives encouraging young people not to leave the initial education and training system before the first significant officially recognized qualification level. Schools which offer a second chance of attaining a qualification specifically to those who drop out, especially if they provide alternative training schemes, may be a good solution. Recognition of non-formal and informal learning outcomes could also be a useful tool, if it takes place in the context of the establishment of a national qualifications framework, providing a guarantee of transparency and equity.

There are significant differences in the labour market performance of individuals according to the geographical indicators (the region in which they live and whether they live in a rural or an urban area). The gender gap is reinforced by these two variables: the differences between young women and young men are small in dynamic urban areas, but wider in the less dynamic regions and in the rural areas. Young women living in the northern or central interior areas are more vulnerable to unemployment; those living in southern areas are more often classified as being out of the labour market. In all cases, the gender gap widens as labour market experience increases. Any recommendation that would promote local development is relevant here, but it goes beyond the scope of this report.

2. How best to specify the occupational status of young people in Tunisia

This section addresses the best way to specify labour market situations of young people in developed economies and, in contrast, in Tunisia and in the whole MENA region. The added value is essentially to take labour market experience into account in the computations of statistical indicators. This approach is therefore an attempt to shed light on the difference between young women and young men once they have entered the labour market. To that end, this report deals solely with labour market entry and therefore young people still in the initial education and training system are not included in the sample.

2.1 The situation in developed economies: From unemployment to non-employment

In a comparative literature survey of young people's school-to-work transitions in developed countries, Ryan (2001) stresses that the unemployment rate is the most readily available indicator of the difficulties that young people have to face in finding a job, but it does not allow a full description of those issues. Indeed, for young people, the boundary between unemployment and economic inactivity (being out of the labour force) is blurred, and is often crossed. In addition, there are considerable differences between countries in terms of the institutional context and the way in which the rules governing qualification for

unemployment benefits impact on whether young people are considered to belong to one category or another. For instance, in France, the existence of youth schemes since the mid-1970s has helped young people who experience difficulties in finding a job, including early school leavers, to keep in touch with the labour market (Werquin, 1997).

On the basis of these observations, in order to compare the situation of young people in different countries, Ryan (2001) chooses the concept of "non-employment" rather than unemployment. This concept is not new; Rees (1986) introduced it in his work on Afro-American drop-out rates in the United States. In France, too, the margins of unemployment are also researched. For instance, Cézard (1986) identifies what he calls the "halo" of unemployment: jobless individuals who are not actively seeking a job or who are hesitant about engaging in job-search (discouraged unemployment) and jobseekers who are not available for work within two weeks (including students or interns). This borderline group of the population – which falls between the unemployed and other economically inactive people with regard to access to work – is far from being marginal in terms of numbers, which have actually increased over time. In 2007, in France, the halo comprised 770,000 individuals, aged between 15 and 64, who were out of the labour force, among 2.2 million unemployed people, as defined by the International Labour Office (Coudin and Thélot, 2009).

In order to investigate the school-to-work transition process, it is highly recommended that young people still in education are distinguished from young people no longer in the education and training system who are also out of the labour force. It is the added value of the NEET concept often employed in comparing the situation of young people across countries. Quintini, Martin and Martin (2007) opt for this measure of the non-employment of young people as an indicator of their vulnerability when engaged in the school-to-work transition process. It is also used to define the objectives of the Youth Employment strategy, part of the Europe 2020 strategy.

However, the NEET concept is under scrutiny in many countries, including developed economies. For instance, Furlong (2006) criticizes the use of the NEET category as a target for youth employment policy. According to him, the NEET population is heterogeneous and public policy targeting the various sections of long-term unemployed, young carers or young disabled differ widely. At the same time, young people holding precarious jobs are not included in the target population. Coles et al. (2010) also stress the heterogeneity of the NEET category.

The NEET category is also a sensitive question in making international comparisons. Not only there is no internationally accepted definition of it (sources and ages groups may vary, the measure may be cross-sectional or dynamic) but also its characteristics vary a great deal from one country to another (Mascherini et al., 2012).

According to these authors, four archetypical country groups may be identified when considering the European Union:

- G1: countries within this category have a low NEET rate, , where the NEETs are often inactive, and have lower levels of education than the employed youth (e.g. Germany and the UK);
- G2: countries with a high proportion of qualified people, where individuals commonly have a limited work history (e.g. Italy);
- G3: countries hit hard by the recent economic crisis, with a high NEET rate which is comprised predominantly of males with occupational competences or unemployed individuals, most of them having previous work experience (e.g. Spain and Ireland);

- G4: countries with a NEET rate below the EU average, more often comprising unemployed persons with previous work experience, medium qualification levels and a small number of discouraged unemployed people (e.g. France and Slovenia).

Among developed economies, including the EU, and assuming that common trends⁷ affect all education and employment systems, school-to-work transition modes remain highly differentiated between countries, as the linkages between education and training systems and labour markets are dissimilar. However, three patterns can be distinguished among the 15 original members of the EU (Raffe, 2008, 2011; Müller and Gangl, 2003):

- Countries with thriving occupational labour market where the transition from school to work is the smoothest (e.g. Germany and Denmark);
- Southern European countries where the transition is the most difficult, and
- Other countries lying in between (e.g. France and the United Kingdom).

Analysing school-to-work transitions in the EU27, Mascherini et al., 2014) identify seven sets of countries with different patterns: Nordic countries, Apprenticeship countries (where apprenticeship is the main route to an ISCED 3 vocational qualification), English-speaking countries, Western Continental countries, Baltic countries, Eastern European countries and Mediterranean countries. In European Mediterranean countries, young people are particularly disadvantaged compared to adults in terms of access to a job, and family solidarity plays the role of social shock absorber for young people at risk (Iannelli and Soro-Bonmati, 2003). In addition, young women are doubly penalized on the labour market, both as young people and as female jobseekers (Iannelli and Smyth, 2008).

2.2 The situation in the MENA economies: Moving from childhood to adulthood is a longer and more complex process

Despite the massive investment in education, in Tunisia as well as in neighbouring Morocco and Algeria (in 2008, education public expenditure reached 25 per cent of total public expenditure for Morocco, 10 points above the global ratio, with the corresponding ratio reaching 23 per cent in Tunisia and 20 per cent in Algeria in the same year; see Kocoglu, 2015), social and occupational integration of young people remains a long and challenging process in this region. Indeed, the second phase of the demographic transition is now reaching an end and the cohorts of young people currently entering the labour market are the largest ever (Kateb, 2010). The challenges facing young people in finding a job, clearly massive on the northern rim of the Mediterranean, are even greater for young people in the southern and eastern regions (Reiffers and Galal, 2011).

The status of young people in the labour markets of developing economies – even in middle-income areas such as Tunisia – is very specific (ILO, 2013). Because of the weak organization of the labour markets and due to the scarcity of unemployment benefit systems and poor coverage by the Public Employment Service, the International Labour Office suggests that the relaxed definition of unemployment and of young people's participation in the labour market be used for these countries; allowing the requirement for active jobseeking within the previous month to be less stringently applied than is the case in stricter definitions (see box 2). Using this relaxed definition, the youth unemployment rate in developing and emerging economies seems comparable to that in developed economies, at 15.2 per cent and 12.1 per cent respectively (ILO, 2013).

⁷ For example, the massive increase of the intake into tertiary education.

As stated above, students in the initial education and training system are removed from the sample. Moreover, a series of indicators of job quality is proposed (low quality jobs corresponding to low-paid jobs, overqualified workers, irregular employment, informal employment and unsatisfactory jobs, with a specific focus on the criterion "regular employment" – denoting a labour contract of at least 12 months).

Box 2. The standard definitions: Unemployment, employment and the labour force

Employed: All persons who worked at least one hour in the reference week, or were temporarily absent from work.

Unemployed (standard definition): All persons without work and looking for work, available for work and actively seeking work or future starters with a job offer in place.

Unemployed (relaxed definition): All persons without work, looking for work and available for work (i.e. the condition "actively seeking work" is relaxed).

Labour force (standard definition): The total of all employed and unemployed persons.

Labour force (relaxed definition): The total of all employed and unemployed persons (according to the relaxed definition).

Discouraged unemployed people/discouraged workers: All persons without work and looking for work, available for work but not actively seeking work.

Out of the labour force (standard definition): All persons neither employed nor unemployed (according to the standard definition of labour force).

Out of the labour force (relaxed definition): All persons neither employed nor unemployed (according to the relaxed definition of labour force).

Economically inactive non-students: All persons who are out of the labour force (according to the relaxed definition of labour force) and who are non-students.

2.3 The proposed approach for Tunisia: Labour force status of new entrants into the labour market

On the one hand, female labour market participation is very low in the MENA countries, including Tunisia, even when applying the broad definition of labour force (with the relaxed definition of unemployment, i.e. where it is not necessary to be actively seeking work to be categorized as unemployed; see box 1). In Tunisia it is almost exclusively women that carry out the household activities and take care of the family. The point of contention is that these activities, while essential for the smooth functioning of society, are paradoxically classified under "inactivity" (i.e. economic inactivity or the classification "out of the labour force"), despite the fact that household activities frequently exceed average employment duration.

Studies from France, among other Western countries (see Fouquet, 2004; Guillemot, 1996), provide evidence that it is reasonable to assume that this situation is comparable across the MENA region as a whole. With regard to the provision of family care, the boundary between household work and wage earning is not always clear (Gojard, Gramain and Weber, 2003). Young women are not always free to choose whether or not to be economically active (in the labour force) in the MENA region. Often, their choices are constrained because they do not have access, or have only limited access, to the childcare services that would allow them to have a professional occupation in addition to fulfilling their family work/duties. Furthermore, family and peer pressure may discourage them from

⁸ According to the Tunisian time use survey (2006), women spent, on average, 5.5 hours per day on domestic duties – more than the average man's time spent in work (4 hours 17 minutes; Gribaa and Depaoli, 2014).

engaging in occupational activities, as shown by a recent statistical survey in Morocco (22 per cent of the female respondents, non-students aged between 15 and 34, reported that searching for a job had been vetoed by their father or their husband). In contrast, male economic inactivity, in the strict sense (i.e. once discouraged unemployed have been discounted) is not very frequently encountered (Mansuy, Icard and Munoz, 2014). This highlights the fact that the situations of young men and young women in terms of participation in the labour force, and regarding the determinants of this participation, are clearly different.

On the other hand, the informal sector of the economy is relatively large in developing economies, even in middle-income countries, and therefore also in the MENA region and in Tunisia, too. Even though the measurement of informal employment is difficult (Hussmans, 2004), in 2012 the size of the informal sector⁹ was estimated at 51 per cent of non-agriculture employment in Egypt (ILO, 2012) and 37 per cent in Morocco in 2007 (HCP, 2009). This non-protected form of employment applies primarily to young people (ILO, 2014), as outsiders in the labour market. In addition, it is important to characterize, if possible in dynamic terms, two forms of non-employee types of economic activities: contributing family workers and self-employed workers or employers (see Werquin, 2015, for the case of Morocco), as they are potential targets of public policy.

In the following section the focus will be on young women and young men that have finished their initial studies. On the basis of all the findings reported above, it is proposed to use the following classification when considering young people's activities:

- Employee, ¹⁰ formal;
- employee, informal;
- own-account worker or employer;
- contributing family worker;
- unemployed, relaxed definition (i.e. jobless, wanting a job and available for work);
- other (i.e. inactive non-students, other than those included in the definition of relaxed unemployed jobless and not wanting a job, or jobless, wanting a job but not available for work and not in education).

Finally, school-to-work transition is a dynamic process that should be described as such. The most important factor in the process is the young person's age in relation to leaving education and gaining employment, rather than their biological age. This is the reason why we also propose to compute indicators based on the duration of time elapsed since leaving the initial education and training formal system, as is the practice in Europe (Müller and Gangl, 2003; Couppié and Mansuy, 2004), to check whether (and how) gaining early experience of the labour market improves the employment prospects of young people in Tunisia, for young people with similar educational capital.

⁹ There is also informal employment in the formal sector, so the size of the informal sector underestimates the total rate of informal employment.

¹⁰ The term "employee" is used throughout this report in the usual sense of a worker who is earning a wage.

3. Evidence from the ILO SWTS: Labour market participation of young people in Tunisia

3.1 Formal employees versus informal employees in Tunisia: Measurement difficulties

The formal/informal distinction between employees is a key point in the approach proposed in this report. However, in the Tunisian case, job informality has proved difficult to estimate empirically. We tried, first, the international definition of informality and then a proxy, and compared the results to those obtained in the Moroccan case (Werquin, 2015). The following section contains the two estimations and our own conclusions.

If the employees earning a wage in the informal sector are almost always in informal employment, the contrary is not true. Indeed, despite the fact they are working in enterprises operating within the formal sector (formal enterprises), some employees may not be registered with the social security system. According to the international agreements among labour statisticians, employees working informally in formal enterprises may be identified by the fact that they are not covered by social security provisions.

The probability of having social security cover increases with the level of educational attainment (see table 3.1): 58.5 per cent of the employees with tertiary level education have an employment which benefits from social security provisions, as opposed to 8.2 per cent of those who have no schooling at all or 17.3 per cent of those with only primary level schooling (whether completed or not). This evolution towards better social security coverage as the level of educational attainment increases is consistent with expectations.

Table 3.1 Share of employees covered by social security, by level of educational attainment (%)

No schooling	Primary	Secondary academic	Secondary vocational	Tertiary	Total
8.2*	17.3	35.4	31.3	58.5	30.8

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

In contrast, four results come as a surprise. First, it appears that young employees in registered enterprises are in the majority in informal employment (53.5 per cent). 11 Second, the share of employees that do not benefit from social security cover in both the industry and the services sector appears high. Breaking down the industry sector further shows that the share of employees without social security cover in the "protected" sectors – traditionally populated by civil servants and employees with regular jobs, such as health, education or public administration – appears surprisingly high. According to the Tunisian SWTS data, 44.5 per cent of young employees in public administration, 59.3 per cent in the education sector and 55.4 per cent in the health sector do not appear to benefit from social security cover. This piece of evidence seems highly dubious. It may be that a number of young people, due to their limited experience of the labour market, may be confused by the distinction between qualifying for certain rights and actually using them. Third, the rate of informal employment is much higher among employees than among own-account workers or employers (68.9 per cent compared to 53.2 per cent). Fourth, the percentage of informal employees among employees with a written contract appears high: 35 per cent of young employees with a written contract are in informal employment, in comparison to 96 per cent of young people without written contracts.

^{*} Only 8.2 per cent of employees with no schooling make social security contributions and are covered by social security provisions.

¹¹ The corresponding figure for the Marrakesh region was 48 per cent in 2013.

Table 3.2 Share of employees with social security cover, by sector (%)

Agriculture	Construction and public work, and industry	Services	Total
11.3	30.8	35.1	30.8

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

Given these difficulties, another proxy measure is tried as a variant: whether or not the employee has a written contract. A total of 54.2 per cent of the young employees report having only a verbal contract, compared to 45.8 per cent who report having a written contract (see table 3.3). This definition encompasses the right to social security, which is more restrictive since 97 per cent of young people who report not having a written contract also report having no rights to social security. Only 36 per cent of young people reporting to have a written contract also report having no rights to social security. The share of young people with a written contract increases with educational attainment, as it is the case with social security cover (almost all young people who report benefiting from social security cover also report having a written employment contract).

Table 3.3 Share of employees with a written contract, by level of educational attainment¹² (%)

No schooling	Primary	Secondary academic	Secondary vocational	Tertiary	Total
0	27.5	50.4	52.8	82.8	45.8

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

Important differences become apparent when breaking down results by sector (see table 3.4). Employees from the industry sector, and particularly from the service sector, are more likely to have a written contract. In accordance with expectations, the share of employees with a written contract is very high in the protected sectors: nearly 95 per cent in public administration, 88 per cent in education and 82 per cent in health.

Table 3.4 Share of employees with a written contract, by sector (%)

Agriculture	Construction and public work, and industry	Services	Total
12.4	41.5	57.6	45.8

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

Our conclusion is that including the social security criterion in the definition of formal employment my overestimate informal employment among young employees, while the written contract criterion may underestimate it.¹³ To select one of those two definitions, we use available administrative statistics (CNSS, 2014). A total of 365,000 salaried young people aged 29 under qualified for social security in 2011, regardless of the specific scheme. According to the SWTS, the number of young salaried people totalled 740,000 during the preceding 12 months, indicating a rate of 49.3 per cent with social security cover.¹⁴ Therefore, in the following analysis, we have chosen to define formal employment by the existence of a written contract, which gives results that are more consistent with existing administrative statistics.

¹² The corresponding figures for the Marrakesh region were 19 per cent and 96 per cent in 2013.

¹³ We can also see that the difference between the two definitions of formal employment among wage earners becomes narrower as experience grows. It may be an indication that young people with greater experience of the labour market are more aware of their social rights.

¹⁴ This result is obtained by dividing an estimation of the flow of 15-29 covered by CNSS in 2011 (latest available CNSS administrative data), by an estimation of the corresponding flow of 15-29 employed during the last 12 months (from the ILO STWS). There is a time lag of 15 months between the two numbers, but the evolution over this time period is supposed to be small.

3.2 Descriptive statistics about the occupational status of young women and young men

Based on the research provided above, six labour market statuses have been identified to describe young people in Tunisia who have completed their initial studies:

- Self-employed (own-account worker or employer);
- employee, informal (without written contract);
- employee, formal (with written contract);
- contributing family worker;
- unemployed (relaxed definition); and
- Inactive non-students (using the relaxed definition of the labour force) (see box 2).

3.2.1 Contributing family workers and employers: Atypical statuses

Unlike some other MENA countries, where a large fraction of the society resides in rural areas (e.g. Morocco), urbanization has been rapid in Tunisia. The group of young people aged 15–29 who had already completed their initial studies (1,857 individuals in the sample, weighted and normalized)¹⁵ is more rural than the overall population; young people in urban areas remain in the initial education and training system for longer. As a consequence, young people living in rural areas account for 33.5 per cent of the overall age group (ONEQ, 2014), but represent 41.3 per cent of those who have completed their initial studies. Despite this relatively high rural presence, contributing family workers account for only slightly over 7 per cent of the total number of workers.

In total, those young people who are or were formerly contributing family workers number 229 out of the 3,000 young people in the sample (weighted and standardized data), with 136 still within that status. Therefore, 93 transitions from contributing family worker to another labour market status may be observed in the survey (see table 3.5).

Table 3.5 Transitions from contributing family workers to any other labour market status¹⁶

Current labour market status	%
Own-account workers, employers	5
Employee, informal (defined as not having a written contract)	32
Employee, formal (defined as having a written contract)	8
Unemployed (relaxed definition)	24
In education	13
Inactive non-students (using the relaxed definition of the labour force)	18
Total	100

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations (all the figures are based on the use of normalized weights).

¹⁵ Normalized weights are obtained by dividing raw weights by the average weight, so that the sum of weights equals the size of the sample. When using normalized weights, the means and proportion estimates do not change, but standard deviation estimations and tests take into account the real size of the sample, and not the parent population size, as is the case with the raw weights.

¹⁶ Unlike the other tables, table 3.5 includes young people still in education.

The former contributing family workers are mainly informally employed, unemployed or out of the labour force (not including within education). Some of them are students. Given the size of the sample, a thorough investigation into the transition from contributing family worker to another labour market status is not possible, as had previously been hoped.

Becoming an own-account worker or employer before the age of 30 in Tunisia is not very common, and almost unheard of among young women (World Bank, 2014). Only 4 per cent of young people who had completed their initial studies reported this status, i.e. 73 young people out of 3,000 individuals in the sample (weighted and normalized data). This is also too small a sample to allow for a dynamic approach. However, it is worth noting that being an own-account worker or employer is more common after leaving vocational education and training (7 per cent of all cases), while the status is rarely reported by tertiary education leavers (2.5 per cent of all cases).

3.2.2 Labour market status and experience

The focus here is on the labour market status of young people who had already left the initial education and training system (1,857 individuals out of 3,000 interviewees, using weighted data). In addition to the level of educational attainment, the duration of experience in the labour market is expected to impact on the labour market status. Indeed, the durability of the match (Jovanovic, 1979) between young applicants and jobs should increase with the duration of young people's experience in the labour market thanks to the learning process by which young people and employers improve job match through increasing understanding of comparative advantages. Another possibility explaining this expectation is to assume that employment opportunities are limited and that duration of experience is one of the indicators that employers use in selecting job applicants.

In order to test this hypothesis empirically, the duration of labour market experience since leaving studies is employed, as it was in analysing the Labour Force Surveys data in Europe (Couppié and Mansuy, 2003). In the case of Europe, unemployment and temporary jobs rates decrease everywhere as duration of experience increases, though to a varying extent according to country. Therefore, it is pertinent to elaborate labour market status indicators according to this duration of experience in the labour market, before moving on to test the net effect of this variable together with the effect of other likely determinants of the labour market status of young people. The indicators selected separate the population into four groups of young people among those who are no longer in the initial education and training system: namely, those with less than three years of experience, those with three to five years, six to nine years and ten years and more (see table 3.6).

Table 3.6 Labour market status and duration of experience (%)

Lahaun mankat atatua	Experience (in years)				
Labour market status	0–2	3–5	6–9	10+	Total
Self-employed (own-account worker or employer)	2.2	3.1	4.6	5.4	3.8
Employee, informal (defined as not having a written contract)	13.5	17.1	25.5	24.4	19.9
Employee, formal (defined as having a written contract)	17.5	23.4	14.7	10.4	16.7
Contributing family worker	6.0	7.9	7.2	8.8	7.4
Unemployed (relaxed definition)	48.5	26.7	23.9	18.6	29.8
Inactive non-students	12.4	21.9	24.1	32.5	22.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% column	25.8	25.9	23.8	23.0	100.0

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

As the time elapsed since the end of initial studies increases, some clear trends appear: unemployment proportion decreases dramatically, with a marked threshold at around three years of experience. The frequency of formal employment contract results have an inverted bell shape (showing an increase, then decreasing at around 6 years of experience). The probability of being self-employed, out of the labour force or being an informal employee increases with experience, even if this effect is weakening towards the end of the observation window for the latter. Those first pieces of evidence must be consolidated, since the figures relate to both young women and men, and all levels of education. Indeed, given the scope of the survey (up to the age of 29), tertiary graduates are missing in all groups that have six or more years of experience, and the vocational education and training leavers are almost absent from the last group (ten years or more). The SWTS contains dynamic components that allow verification of the expectation that mobility between labour market statuses will decrease as experience increases. The average number of labour market status changes¹⁷ per year decreases significantly with increasing experience: 0.26 changes per year on average for new labour market entrants, and only 0.09 changes for those with 10 years or more of experience (see table 3.7). The fact that recent labour market entrants are more mobile is therefore not questionable.

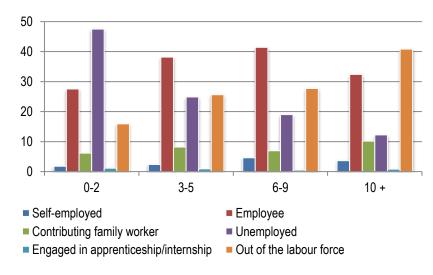
Table 3.7 Average number of annual labour market changes and experience

Duration of experience in the labour market (in years)	Average number of changes in labour market statuses (per year)					
0–2	0.26					
3–5	0.18					
6–9	0.15					
10+	0.09					

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

An analysis of the SWTS findings, summarized in figure 3.1, shows that the labour market status of respondents changes as experience increases. Recent labour market entrants have spent 47.5 per cent of their time in unemployment, but this figure reduces to 25 per cent for those who have from three to five years of experience in the labour market.

Figure 3.1 Duration in the various labour market statuses and years of experience (as percentage of total duration), %



Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

¹⁷ The average is biased because there is always at least one status, regardless of experience.

3.2.3 Unemployment and experience

From a close look at the negative association between unemployment and duration of experience, it becomes apparent that this finding is true for all young people and for some sub-groups as well: female and male young people taken separately (see figure 3.2), school leavers at different levels of educational attainment (see figure 3.3), and rural and urban young people taken separately (see figure 3.4).

Even if female unemployment immediately after the end of the initial studies period is slightly higher than male unemployment at the same point in time (51 per cent among women compared to 46 per cent among men) its variation with the duration of experience is quite similar (see figure 3.2). In contrast, there is a significant difference between the shares of inactive in the two gender groups (41 per cent among female young people as opposed to 6 per cent among male young people).

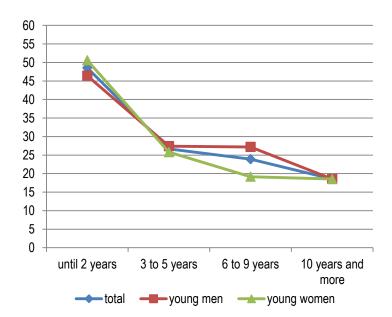


Figure 3.2 Unemployment and experience, by gender (%)

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations; using relaxed definition of unemployment.

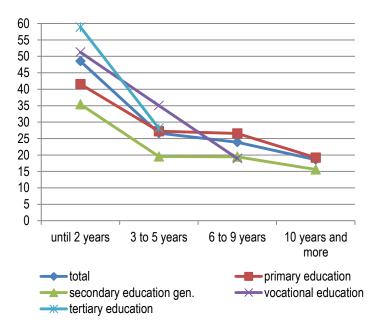
The results of the analysis of unemployment by level of educational attainment show greater differences (see figure 3.3). Those young people who left the initial education and training system after upper secondary education are least impacted by unemployment, whereas tertiary leavers and vocational education and training leavers have higher levels of unemployment. Vocational education and training leavers were kept in a separate category, but it should be noted that this is a heterogeneous category. It consists of three main qualifications¹⁸ which are at different levels: the CAP (Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle), usually taken two years after the end after the junior cycle of secondary education; the Technician Qualification (Brevet de technicien professionnel, BTP), usually taken two years after graduating at the end of upper secondary education (Baccalaureate or Technician Qualification).

In summary, for all groups, there is a clear trend towards a reduction in the number of unemployed young people as end date of their studies recedes into the past.

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According to the survey results, young people studying for these three main qualifications represent 73 per cent of the total of those enrolled on vocational education and training courses.

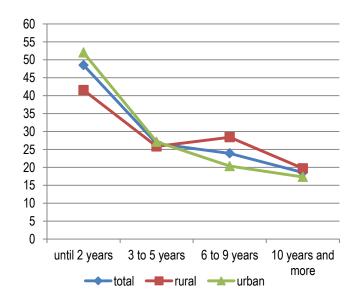
Figure 3.3 Unemployment and experience, by level of educational attainment (%)



Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations; using relaxed definition of unemployment.

When analysing the data on young people according to whether they are resident in a rural or urban environment, the former often appear more severely affected by unemployment in the three years immediately following the end of their initial studies (see figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 Unemployment and experience, by place of residence (%)



Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations; using relaxed definition of unemployment

The two curves describing the shares of unemployed people meet at three to five years of experience; after this point young people living in urban areas are less frequently unemployed than young people living in rural areas. The trend is clearly downwards for the two groups, as it is for the overall population.

3.2.4 Education, experience and the gender difference

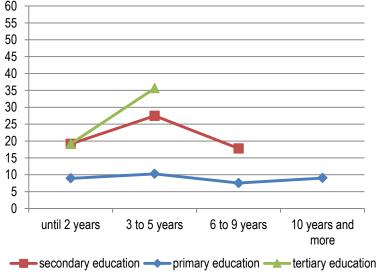
As the average duration of experience differs according to the level of educational attainment, it is key to consider the differences between men and women taking into account both variables – experience and gender. Since this is a descriptive approach, it is possible only at a highly aggregated level. We will consider first the share of formal employees among young employees by gender, level of education and experience, then share of young women being inactive by level of education and experience. For the group which attained only primary level education, the share of young people who are formal employees does not increase significantly as experience is gained, and this holds true for young men as well as young women (figures 3.5 and 3.6, 9 per cent of young employees with primary education only are formal employees).

60 55 50 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 0 until 2 years 3 to 5 years 6 to 9 years 10 years and more primary education secondary education tertiary education

Figure 3.5 Share of formal employees and experience by level of educational attainment (young men, %)

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.





Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

It is mainly after leaving the tertiary educational system that the gap between young women and young men widens: there is a large difference in favour of young men, for both definitions of formal employees (15). Yet, jobs as informal employees – which apply to 31 per cent of the total of young men – apply to only 8 per cent of young women: the difference between the genders can be seen to be due to the high share of women out of the labour force among those with only primary or only secondary education, and a high share of unemployed women among female tertiary education leavers. Indeed, female tertiary education leavers do not give up hope of finding a job, even if they are no longer actively seeking a job or have never done so (see figure 3.7).

60 55 50 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 0 3 to 5 years until 2 years 6 to 9 years 10 years and more primary education ——secondary education ——tertiary education

Figure 3.7 Share of young women out of the labour force and experience by level of educational attainment (%)

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

4. The determinants of the labour market status of young women and young men are different

4.1 The estimated gender gap

4.1.1 The expected determinants of the labour market status of young women and young men

Several variables have been tested: marital status of young people, human capital and experience, place and area of residence (region within Tunisia, and rural/urban location), social and family background and the nature of the preferred life plan as expressed during the survey. The focus is on the difference between young men and young women, and therefore mixed effects have been tested, such as gender and area of residence and gender and family background. The rationale for the specification of the models regarding the labour market statuses is provided in section 2.

Labour market status depends on the individual general human capital, which may be proxied by type and level of schooling, participation in tertiary education (short (two years)¹⁹ or long curriculum), in secondary level education (general or vocational track), by labour market seniority (time elapsed since leaving initial education and training), and by the family context (level of qualification of the mother and father). Labour markets statutes differ markedly according to gender (there is an initial component related to the social norms that is already taken into account by the choices regarding field of study and activity domain (Lindbeck and Snower, 2002), and a second component linked to the discriminating actions of employers: those two factors cannot be separated here due to the lack of variables describing the enterprises).

The assumption made here is that the social norms apply in a different way according to whether the young woman is single or married. Young married men may also have different preferences and exhibit different behaviour in comparison to young single men. The geographical background plays a role in two ways: first, through the nature of the local labour market, and second, through the rigidity of social norms. In order to account for geographical background, two sets of interaction terms are included in the regression. The first one measures the combined effect of sex and of living in an urban or rural area. The second set of interaction terms captures sex and region of residence (northern coastal and northern inland or southern regions). As our focus is the gender gap, we chose to run a single model for both genders. In view of the differences in choices and labour market outcomes between young women and young men, the effect of several variables (e.g. matrimonial status and spatial location) is expected to be very different for men and women.

Box 3. Econometric modelling

The estimated model is a multinomial probit (Greene, 2012, p. 810). It is a multiple choice unordered model, corresponding to six different labour market statuses.

The error term of the structural equations is assumed to follow a multivariate normal distribution, but not necessarily with a diagonal variance covariance matrix. Compared to a multinomial logit, the assumption of independence of irrelevant alternatives is not necessary.

The table of estimated parameters is provided in the annex because they are not directly interpretable since they relate to the probability of the reference labour market status (i.e. "employee, informal"). The results displayed in the text (see table 8) are the marginal effects and the predictions of the model for some typical cases/profiles.

4.1.2 Marital status

In the MENA region, the participation rate of women in the labour market is lower than in the other regions of the world (in Tunisia, 39 per cent of young women aged 15–29 are not participants in the labour market and not enrolled in education: source SWTS 2013). The choice not to participate in the labour market is partly the result of cultural mores that are imposed on women (in comparison, in the Moroccan region of Marrakesh-Tensift-El-Haouz, 22 per cent of the young women who have left education report not searching for a job because their father or husband has refused permission: Werquin, 2015; Mansuy, Icard and Munoz, 2014) and partly the consequence of their own decisions. In the latter case, it may be a deliberate choice to prioritize their role as caretaker for their children or their elders, since there is no other socially organized alternative open to them (almost no provision of day care centre facilities, or professional help for dependent

¹⁹ This short curriculum comprises the first cycle (2 years) of Universities leading to *Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires du Premier Cycle* (DEUPC), and a technical track leading to *Diplôme de Technicien Supérieur* (DTS, 2 years).

elderly people is available). However, it may also be a choice by default, if the employments available to young women do not match their expectations (Dhillon and Yousef, 2009). The variables of gender and marital status therefore are natural candidates in helping to explain the labour market status.

4.1.3 Human capital and experience

In Tunisia, as in the rest of the Maghreb region, the education and training system is a meritocratic system, dominated by the concept of acquiring academic knowledge. Nevertheless, a vocational education and training system has slowly emerged (Verdier, 2011), giving rise to a more mixed model, described by the author as a form of "integrated vocationalism" (according to the SWTS 2013, 9.8 per cent of young people still in education or training system are enrolled on a vocational track in Tunisia). However, vocational education and training (VET) in Tunisia remains largely organized within the school system rather than in apprenticeship/alternative schemes (76 per cent of young people enrolled on a VET track in 2002 were attending school-based training) and therefore integrated into the educational system; i.e. organized by levels of education, with bridges to the academic track. The VET system awards qualifications at three levels: CAP, Technician Qualification and Advanced Technician Qualification (see section 3.2.3 above).

Even if there is heterogeneity within the different levels of education,²⁰ the most relevant variable for statistical modelling seems to be the level and type of education (Kocoglu, 2015) in order to test the recognition within the labour market of the education and training received by young people. The variable allows the testing of whether attending vocational education and training has a specific effect.²¹ Tertiary education leavers are split into two groups: short and long curriculum leavers. Given the descriptive results obtained in section 3.1 the time elapsed since the end of initial studies is expected to have an impact on the labour market status of young people. This variable, called "years of experience" in the sections that follow, is used in the statistical modelling as a continuous variable and not separated into the four classes as in the descriptive section.

4.1.4 Area of residence (rural versus urban)

There are major subnational geographical disparities in the MENA region (Reiffers, Galal, 2014). The rural and urban labour markets have very different ways of operating. In addition, in several countries of the MENA region, the coastal regions are often the fastest growing areas in economic terms.

Regional disparities are strong when it comes to employment opportunities, with the inland regions and the south being at a disadvantage (World Bank, 2014), and these disparities played a role in the social unrest of 2011 (Ayeb, 2011). In order to test the impact of this inequality of opportunities, three geographical variables have been created.

²⁰ See section 3.1 for the vocational track. For the general/academic track, the three levels are heterogeneous as well. A tertiary education level leaver may be enrolled in his/her first year of tertiary education, but equally might have already gained his or her doctoral qualification.

²¹ Given the current discussion about the lack of correlation between the competences embedded in the qualifications awarded in the MENA region and the expectations of employers – see the section on "credentialist equilibrium" in Amin et al. (2012) – it would have been interesting to differentiate tertiary education and vocational education and training by field of study or subject matter. Even a highly aggregated categorization (e.g. industry/service for vocational education and training and humanities/social sciences on one side and "hard sciences" on the other for tertiary education) would have added an interesting element to the analysis; but such variables are absent from the Tunisian data set for those who have finished their studies.

The first relates to the coastal zones of the north and the central regions: Tunis District (i.e. the governorates of Ariana, Ben Arous, Manouba and Tunis); the north-east governorates of Bizerte, Nabeul and Zaghouan; as well as the central eastern governorates of Mahdin, Monastir, Sfax and Sousse. The second variable relates to the other provinces of the northern and central regions: the north-west governorates of Beja, Jendouba, the Kef and Siliana; the central western governorates of Kairouan, Kasserine and Sidi Bouzid. The third variable relates to the south: the south-east governorates of Gabès, Mednine and Tataouine; and the south-west governorates of Gafsa, Kebili and Tozeur.

4.1.5 Social and family background

The expectation is that the social and family background of young people impacts on their labour market status. Indeed, parents from the upper social class may provide assistance to their children by giving access to their networks, which are particularly effective as they consist of extended "weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973). The surveys, and therefore the database, do not contain any variable describing the social group. There are some elements which consider the occupation of both parents, but they describe the content of this occupation without mentioning the status (it is not known, for example, whether an employed father is a wage earner or is self-employed and therefore it is not possible to test the impact of having a father who is self-employed on the probability of being a contributing family worker).

Data on family income are only available through a subjective self-reported five-class variable, but the value of this data is highly questionable because it is a qualitative variable (the categories indicate only a subjective appreciation of the familial income: very good, slightly better than average, average, below average, very low) giving no direct estimation of the familial income value. It is therefore important to correct this data for the income of the young people, which is part of the familial income, and may even be the greatest part of it if the young person is head of the household and/or the sole breadwinner. (Using this income qualitative variable to explain young people's labour market status would give rise to a form of circular reasoning: if the familial income plays a role in explaining the labour market preferences of the young person, it is before they take a job; that is, without taking their personal activity income into account.)

4.2 Main findings

4.2.1 Gender and marital status

All else being equal, being a woman considerably increases the probability of being out of the labour force (economic inactivity), and this is even more marked among married women (see table 8). Correlatively, their probability of having a job, especially as employee (with a wage), is significantly lower (the effect is stronger for married women, for both formal and informal jobs). These results agree with those obtained by the Ministry of Labour and World Bank (2009) when analysing the labour market entry of more highly educated graduates: young women are less frequently employed as informal or private sector employees. Two explanations present themselves. First, women may have internalized the prevalent social norms with the result that they refrain from engaging in long-term education and training and/or in job-search activities in the private sector. Second, there may be an element of discrimination against female applicants on the part of employers and recruiters.

For young men, being married increases the probability of wage employment and self-employment, with a corresponding reduction in the probability of being a contributing family worker or unemployed.

Table 4.1 Average marginal effects, multinomial probit model

	Self- employed (own-account worker or employer)		Employee, without written contract		Employee, with written contract		Contributing family worker		Unemployed (relaxed definition)		Inactive non- student	
Woman	-5.2	***	-22.3	***	-1.1		-3.7	**	1.2		31.2	***
Married, woman	0.0		-8.0	***	-14.6	***	-2.1		-8.5	*	33.1	***
Married, man	6.3		15.3		8.8		-9.8	***	-20.0	**	-0.6	
Secondary education, general	2.5	*	-5.2		11.3	***	-0.1		-3.6	*	-5.0	
Secondary education, vocational	4.2	*	-5.9		12.1	***	-2.1		7.6		-16.0	***
Tertiary education, short curriculum	2.6		-13.7	***	23.9	***	-4.6		10.6	**	-18.8	***
Tertiary education, long curriculum	1.2		-17.6	***	18.9	***	-1.0		16.7		-18.1	***
New entrant, woman	-1.0		-0.8		-7.8	*	-0.3		20.7	***	-10.8	*
New entrant, man	-6.9	**	-7.3		-6.0		0.0		16.6	***	3.6	
3–5 years of experience, woman	-0.5		-2.3		1.3		-1.0		2.4		0.1	
3–5 years of experience, man	-5.5	**	-7.4		4.7		3.3		1.6		3.2	
Living in a urban area, woman	1.9	**	3.4		4.6		-11.2	***	1.4		0.0	
Living in a urban area, man	1.9		-7.2	*	11.5	***	-5.6	**	0.1		-0.6	
Northern/central coastal, woman	0.1		6.6	*	17.2	***	-1.0		5.2		-28.2	***
Northern/central coastal, man	0.9		-9.4	*	9.3	**	-1.8		-0.3		1.3	
Northern/central interior, woman	8.0		-1.6		3.2		1.1		17.8	***	-21.2	***
Northern/central interior, man	-2.4		-16.8	***	0.5		15.8	***	4.1		-1.3	
Mother without education Mother with	-1.0		-2.6		3.5		0.8		-3.3		2.5	
secondary/tertiary education	-0.7		-7.5	*	1.7		-1.9		5.3		3.1	
Father without education Father with	0.7		1.7		-2.0		-2.7		1.1		1.2	
secondary/tertiary education	2.4		1.3		2.4		0.8		-7.1	*	0.1	

Note: N = 1,749. * p<0.05; *** p<0.01; *** p<0.001. As average marginal effects cannot be computed separately for interaction terms, we computed average marginal effects on the female population, then on the male population.

Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

4.2.2 Education of the parents

Having a mother with a level of educational attainment at the secondary level or above decreases the probability of being an informal employee. In contrast, having a father whose level of educational attainment is secondary or above means a lower probability of being unemployed.

4.2.3 Education and labour market seniority

Having left the educational system at secondary level (with a bonus for vocational education) and, considering men only, labour market seniority increases the probability of being self-employed. The level of educational attainment plays a role in the likelihood of being a formal employee, but having left tertiary education decreases the probability of being an informal employee.

Taking women only into account, being a new labour market entrant decreases the probability of being a formal employee. For both genders, being a new entrant produces a sharp increase in the probability of unemployment (+21 points for women and +17 for men). Having left tertiary education increases the unemployment risk (+17 points for the long curriculum, and +11 points for the short curriculum). Secondary vocational or tertiary education leavers have a reduced probability of being inactive.

4.2.4 Geographical variables

Living in an urban area sharply decreases the probability of being a contributing family worker – more so for young women than for young men – and increases the probability of having a job as a formal or informal employee for men, and of being self-employed for women.

Living in the northern or central coastal area increases the probability of being a formal employee with a written contract and, for women, decreases the probability of being out of the labour force. It offers men a greater chance of having a job as a formal employee, but decreases the opportunities for women. Living in the inland zones of the north and centre of the country increases the probability of being a contributing family worker at the expense of being an informal employee, but only for men. For women, it increases the probability of being unemployed while reducing the chances of being out of the labour force.

4.2.5 Labour market outcomes for young women and men

Self-employment is rare among young people in Tunisia and almost non-existent among young women (for instance, 4 per cent of those who have completed their studies are own-account workers: 6 per cent among young men and 2 per cent among young women). Having a secondary level education (especially after a vocational track for young men, only after the short curriculum for young women) and, for men only, a long duration of labour market experience (six years or more) seem to make it easier for young people to open up their own business. It is noticeable that leavers who have completed the long curriculum at tertiary level have a lower probability of becoming self-employed than secondary leavers. As expected from an analysis of the descriptive statistics, women are less likely than men to become self-employed, but the gap is slightly reduced in urban areas.

Being an employee without a written contract is negatively related to the fact of having left tertiary education, and having a mother with secondary or tertiary education also decreases this probability. For young men, living in an inland area of the northern or central regions decreases the probability of becoming an informal employee.

Being a formal employee is positively correlated to the level of educational attainment, especially at the tertiary level. Living in an urban area, for men, or in the northern and central coastal areas, for both genders, makes it easier to become a formal employee.

Being a contributing family worker is less likely for young married men and urban young men, and even less likely for urban young women. Living in an inland region of the country increases the probability of being a contributing family worker, though only for young men.

As found in other countries, as work experience increases, the risk of being unemployed (relaxed definition) significantly decreases: new entrants (those with less than three years of experience) face a higher risk of being unemployed. Human capital has a limited impact on the risk of unemployment; only the fact of having attended tertiary education plays a role, in the sense that it increases the risk of unemployment. Having a father with secondary or tertiary education decreases the risk of being unemployed, perhaps thanks to the corresponding social network.

As expected, *being out of the labour force* is much less probable for young men than for young women, especially for those women that are married. However, for young women, living in the northern or central regions, especially in the coastal areas, significantly reduces the gap between men and women, whereas living in an urban area does not have an impact. Leaving secondary education after the vocational track or tertiary education has a specific effect, corresponding to a decrease in the relative probability of being out of the labour force.

4.3 The gender gap varies with education, experience and area of residence

Married young women participate significantly less in the labour market than single young women, as seen above. As indicated in figure 4.1 (Panels A and B), the gap between the two groups is similar whether women are living in an urban or a rural area. Moreover, the gap between the labour market statuses of single young women and single young men is impacted by the level of educational attainment, the duration of labour market experience and, even more significantly, by the region of residence (see Panels C to H).

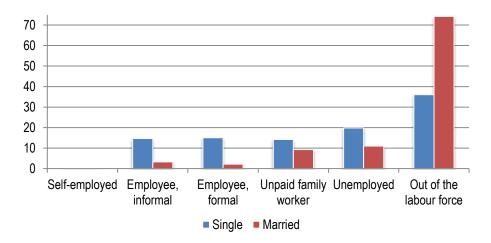
It is for urban areas of the north and centre of the country, and for new labour market entrants (with less than three years of experience) leaving tertiary education that the gap is the smallest (Panel C).

The gaps are somewhat more noticeable when the duration of labour market experience is over five years (Panel D). The gaps are also small for recent labour market entrants leaving vocational secondary education; but they are more marked for those who have more than six years of experience in the labour market (Panels E and F).

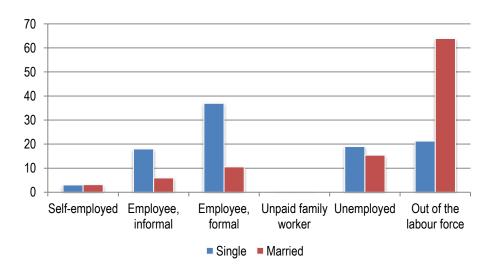
In contrast, the gender gap is very clear in rural areas. In the rural areas of the southern region (Panel G), new labour market entrants leaving secondary education have very different profiles: informal employment, which accounts for almost 40 per cent of jobs for young men, is closed to young women, and almost half of all young women are already out of the labour force. After five years of experience in the labour market, the gap between young men and young women is even wider (Panel H).

Figure 4.1 Labour market activity of young people: The effect of marriage and the gender gap (%)

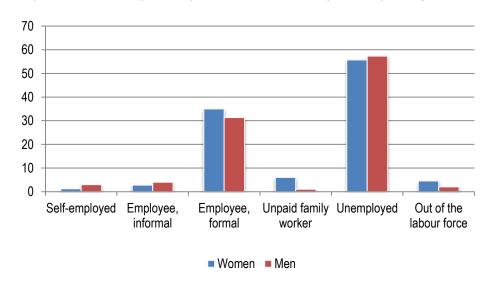
Panel A Rural young women (leaving secondary general education; northern/central coastal areas; mother with less than primary education, father with primary education)



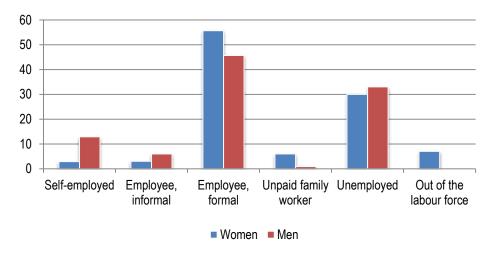
Panel B Urban young women (leaving secondary general education; northern/central coastal areas; both parents with primary education)



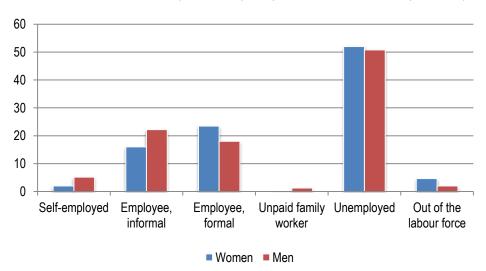
Panel C Gender gap for highly qualified urban without experience (leaving tertiary education; urban, northern/central coastal; both parents with secondary or tertiary education; less than three years of experience)



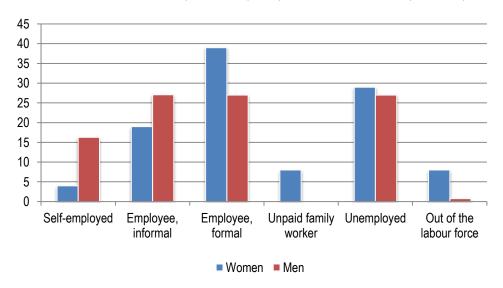
Panel D Gender gap for highly qualified urban with experience (leaving tertiary education; urban, northern/centre coastal, both parents with secondary or tertiary education; more than six years of experience)



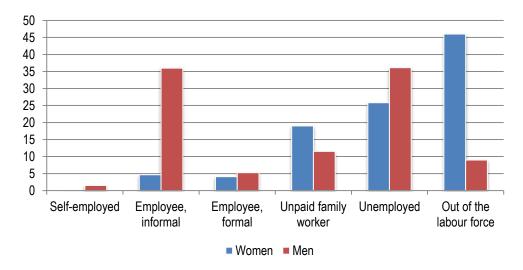
Panel E Gender gap for secondary vocational leavers, urban without experience (leaving secondary vocational education; urban, northern/central coastal; both parents with primary education; less than three years of experience)



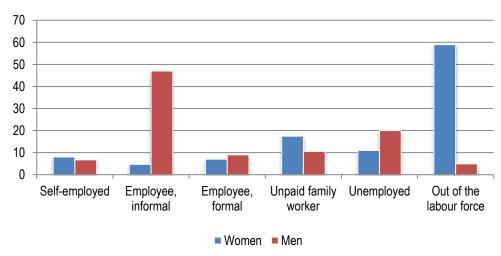
Panel F Gender gap for secondary vocational leavers, urban with experience (leaving secondary vocational education; urban, northern/central coastal; both parents with primary education; more than six years of experience)



Panel G Gender gap for secondary education leavers; rural; without experience (leaving secondary general education; rural, southern; less than three years of experience)



Panel H Gender gap for secondary education leavers; rural; with experience (leaving secondary general education; rural, southern; more than six years of experience)



Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.

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Annex I. Additional tables

Table A.1 Multinomial probit model (weighted and standardized data)

Labour market status Covariates	Self-employed (own-account worker or employed)		Employee, written contract		Contributing family worker		Unemployed (relaxed definition)		Inactive non- student	
Married, young										
man	0.19		0.00		-2.07	***	-1.09	**	-0.44	
Married, young woman	0.29		1.15	**	2.49	***	1.64	***	4.84	***
Unmarried, young woman	0.29		1.38	***	1.88	***	1.14	***	3.29	***
Unmarried, young man	ref		ref		ref		ref		ref	
Primary education or less	ref		ref		ref		ref		ref	
Secondary education, general	0.62	***	0.75	***	0.12		0.04		-0.05	
Secondary education, vocational	0.83	***	0.79	***	-0.10		0.33		-0.68	***
Tertiary education, short curriculum	1.03	***	1.54	***	-0.10		0.78	***	-0.50	
Tertiary education, long curriculum	1.11	***	1.70	***	0.72		1.24	***	-0.09	
Less than 3 years of experience	-0.55	*	-0.12		0.26		0.63	**	0.56	**
Less than 3 years of experience, woman	0.19		-0.18		-0.21		-0.06		-0.79	**
3–5 years of experience	-0.29		0.35		0.49	**	0.26		0.53	**
3–5 years of experience, woman	0.30		-0.13		-0.46		-0.02		-0.37	
6 years of experience or more	ref		ref		ref		ref		ref	
Living in an urban area	0.40	*	0.72	***	-0.33		0.18		0.11	
Living in an urban area, woman	0.48		-0.73	***	-1.88	***	-0.38		-0.38	
Northern/central coastal area	0.33		0.66	***	-0.05		0.22		0.33	
Northern/central coastal area, woman	-0.61		-0.11		-0.65		-0.47		-1.50	***
Northern/central interior area	0.11		0.45		1.43	***	0.58	***	0.29	
Northern/central interior area, woman	0.38		0.07		-1.17	**	0.12		-0.60	
Mother without education	-0.05		0.27		0.19		0.03		0.24	
Mother with primary education	ref		ref		ref		ref		ref	
Mother with secondary/tertiary education	0.22		0.43		0.11		0.49	**	0.52	*

Labour market status	Self-employed (own-account worker or	Employee, written contract	Contributing	Unemployed (relaxed	Inactive non- student
Covariates	employed)	Contract	family worker	definition)	Student
Father without education	0.22	-0.16	-0.36	-0.04	-0.01
Father with primary education	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Father with secondary/tertiary education	0.22	0.04	-0.01	-0.28	-0.08
Constant	-1.91 ***	-2.17 ***	-1.39 ***	-0.71 ***	-1.71 ***

^{*, **,} and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10-, 5-, and 1-per cent level. Robust standard errors estimations. *N* = 1,749; Wald Chi² (95) = 772.9. ref= reference Source: ILO-SWTS, Tunisia, 2013; authors' calculations.



This report explores how gender issues interact with elements such as type of education and years of labour market experience, to determine young people's transition outcomes in Tunisia. Based on the School-to-work transitions Survey (SWTS) run in 2013, the analysis concludes that labour market experience provides a strong protection against unemployment. New labour market entrants are exposed to a relatively higher risk of unemployment compared to young people with longer experience. This risk is particularly severe for young women entering the labour market. For both sexes, education is a strong determinant for accessing a job, while geographical indicators, such as the region of residence and whether they live in rural or urban areas, reinforce the gender gap.

The SWTS are made available through the ILO "Work4Youth" (W4Y) Project. This Project is a five-year partnership between the ILO and The MasterCard Foundation that aims to promote decent work opportunities for young men and women through knowledge and action. The SWTS is a unique survey instrument that generates relevant labour market information on young people aged 15 to 29 years. The survey captures longitudinal information on transitions within the labour market, thus providing evidence of the increasingly tentative and indirect paths to decent and productive employment that today's young men and women face.

The W4Y Publication Series covers national reports, with main survey findings and details on current national policy interventions in the area of youth employment, regional synthesis reports that highlight regional patterns in youth labour market transitions and thematic explorations of the datasets.

Work4Youth



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