

Article

Exploring Women’s Uptake of Active Labour Market Programmes: The Role of Household Composition Across Migrant Origin Groups

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Abstract

Active labour market policies, like training, aim to increase the employability of unemployed population subgroups. Research indicates that the most vulnerable groups—such as women of migrant origin—are less likely to participate in the most effective programmes. Prior studies have established that household composition affects the labour market outcomes of women without and with a migration background. In contrast, research has not addressed the potential relevance of household composition in relation to women’s training uptake. Using hazard models and longitudinal microdata from the employment office and social security registers, we analyse the extent to which women’s household composition such as the presence and the origin of their partner or the presence of children is associated with the uptake of occupation-specific training in Flanders (Belgium). Our results suggest that, even when we control for previously identified determinants of training uptake such as the human capital of unemployed women, training uptake in most groups varies by household composition. More specifically, the results suggest that women with a partner of non-migrant origin show higher cumulative uptake than women with a migrant origin partner or single women, and that the presence of children in the household reduces women’s training participation. Furthermore, household composition is found to be a stronger differentiating factor in uptake for migrant origin women than for non-migrant origin women.

Keywords

active labour market policies; Belgium; household composition; migrant origin; mothers; training

Issue

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1. Introduction

Labour markets throughout Western Europe are characterised by persistent differentials in employment opportunities and outcomes. Despite increases in female labour force participation since the second half of the twentieth century, the transition towards gender equality in employment is incomplete. Available research indicates that women’s labour market positions are strongly affected by household composition and particularly the presence of young children (Biegel et al., 2021; Brekke, 2013; Gutierrez-Domenech, 2005). Additionally, in the context of increasing diversity (e.g., country

of origin and migrant generation), but also large and persistent migrant-native gaps in labour market outcomes, previous research provides evidence of differential interrelations between household composition and women’s employment by migration background (Khoudja & Fleischmann, 2015, 2017; Kil et al., 2018; Rubin et al., 2008; Wood & Neels, 2017). To correct disequilibria in the labour market, governments have introduced active labour market policies (ALMPs) such as training programmes. However, our understanding of the uptake of these programmes exhibits a striking limitation. Whilst available literature on female employment and the labour force integration of female migrants

routinely addresses the nexus between employment and household composition, available research regarding the enrolment into ALMPs hitherto pays little attention to household composition.

This article puts forward household composition as an insufficiently acknowledged yet potentially important dimension of social differentiation in training uptake amongst unemployed women with varying migration origins. In addition to the theoretical relevance of studying how trajectories in different spheres of life—such as employment and family—are interrelated amongst different population subgroups (Elder et al., 2003), the assessment of social differentiation in the usage and benefits reaped from training programmes bears particular societal and policy relevance. We focus on the uptake of training programmes with applied upskilling components which have been identified as the most effective in Flanders (Wood & Neels, 2020), a finding in line with the general consensus that ALMPs most closely approximating regular employment most effectively stimulate employment (Butschek & Walter, 2014; Card et al., 2017). Unfortunately, more vulnerable groups such as women of migrant origin are less likely to participate in those programmes (Auer & Fossati, 2020; Butschek & Walter, 2014; Wood & Neels, 2020). This results in the so-called Matthew effects in which (non-)participation in public policy leads to an exacerbation of (dis)advantages (Bonoli & Liechti, 2018; Cantillon, 2011). This article explores household composition as a potential new dimension of inequality that should be taken into account by scholars and policy-makers alike.

This study contributes to the available literature in three ways. First, although a handful of previous studies have controlled for marital status and/or children's presence in the household as confounding factors for training uptake (Heckman & Smith, 2004; Vaculíková et al., 2020), this is the first study that explores household composition as a relevant dimension to understand heterogeneity in women's training uptake. Second, since variation in household composition by migration background is often associated with distinct migration histories, we explore the association between household composition and training uptake for each migrant origin group independently, differentiating between first- and second-generation migrants, and between non-migrant origin, Southern European and Turkish or Moroccan origin groups. Third, we study Flanders (Belgium), a particularly relevant setting to assess training uptake in different migrant groups as it exhibits one of the largest gaps in labour market outcomes between subgroups with and without a migration origin (Noppe et al., 2018; Piton & Rycx, 2020), while at the same time being a top-ranked OECD economy in terms of ALMP spending (OECD, 2021). Flanders is also an old immigration region, which has experienced several large influxes of migration (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016), allowing us to distinguish migrants from natives, but also migrant generations and origin groups.

2. The Belgian Context

2.1. Migration and Household Composition

Three post-WWII migration waves can be distinguished in Belgium (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). The first wave (1950–1970) consisted of guest workers arriving from Southern European and non-European countries (mainly Turkey and Morocco). During a second wave (1973–1980), in the wake of the economic crisis and restrictive migration policies, family formation and reunification became the main entrance route for non-European migrants to Belgium. Finally, the third wave (from the 1990s onwards), consists of a more diverse profile of migrants including intra-European migration, refugees and asylum seekers, and family migration. As a result of these migration waves, 30% of the Belgian population had a migration background (first or second-generation) in 2017 (Noppe et al., 2018). Within this group, 9.93% had Southern European origins, 10.12% had Turkish origins, and 15.49% had Maghrebi origins (Noppe et al., 2018).

Migration policies (in)directly affect household composition, causing differences by migration background. Southern European migration since the 1980s was shaped by the free movement of European citizens, with a strong emphasis on labour migration and a rising likelihood of forming exogamous unions within Europe (Koelet & De Valk, 2014; MYRIA, 2016). On the contrary, restrictive migration policies towards non-European migrants put forward family reunification and formation as major migration channels for these origin groups (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). While marrying a partner from the parents' origin country seems indicative of traditional behaviour, amongst second-generation migrant women this has been identified as a means for emancipation avoiding the practice of residing with the husbands' parents and assuring a strong socio-economic position in comparison to their husband (Lievens, 1999). In contrast, first-generation migrant women are often more dependent on their husbands due to limited host country human capital, which enhances traditional gender roles (Timmerman, 2006).

2.2. Flemish Labour Market and Active Labour Market Policies

From an international perspective, the Flemish labour market is characterised by high employment protection, relatively high minimum wages, and high unemployment benefit generosity (Andersen, 2012; Eurostat, 2022a). Consequently, the Flemish labour market also exhibits stark differentials in labour market opportunities and outcomes between insiders and outsiders (Doerflinger et al., 2020), mostly affecting outsiders such as groups—and particularly women—with a non-European migration origin (Maes et al., 2019; Noppe et al., 2018; Piton & Rycx, 2020; Rubin et al., 2008).

During the period considered in this article (2005–2016), European countries were hit by the Great Recession (2008–2009) and the euro debt crisis (2012–2013). Although Belgium performed better than other European states and inequality did not increase, the unemployment rates of migrant origin groups, and mainly of non-European origin, were systematically higher than for the non-migrants (Bodart et al., 2018; Corluy et al., 2015; Eurostat, 2022b; see Figure 1).

A wide range of Flemish ALMPs aim to facilitate entry into employment for jobseekers, such as training programmes, which are generally open to all jobseekers. This study focuses on upskilling training programmes geared towards specific occupations, be it through the acquisition of the required skills and knowledge in a classroom setting, a workplace setting, or combination of classroom and workplace settings. Participation in this type of training is voluntary. The employment office uses a voucher system, in principle allowing jobseekers to select a specific training programme. However, since jobseekers are usually not familiar with the institutional set-up, research for Flanders shows that caseworkers hold most decision-making power in assigning unemployed jobseekers to programmes (Wood & Neels, 2020).

3. Household Composition and Active Labour Market Policies

The life course perspective focuses on the complex interplay between individuals’ biographies in different life domains and institutional arrangements (Elder et al., 2003), and different theoretical mechanisms suggest that women’s training uptake may well be associated with their household composition (e.g., presence of a partner and/or children). Rational choice theory, preference theory, and social network theory offer complementary explanations in this respect.

3.1. Rational Choice Theory

Within rational choice theory, new home economics offers a partial insight on how the presence and characteristics of a partner may be related to female labour force participation (Becker, 1965). Households constitute consumption units that aim to achieve a common

preference. Because households face time and budget constraints, partners pool their resources to maximise their joint utility through specialisation, meaning that one partner takes up the larger share of domestic work, while the other partner specialises in paid work (Becker, 1965, 1991). Becker (1991) acknowledges that specialisation is the result of path-dependent investments, implying that small gender differences (e.g., induced by pregnancy) may give rise to differential investment and thus exacerbate gender inequality through the process of specialisation. In contrast to the new home economics, Oppenheimer (1994) argues that specialisation is not always the most rational strategy, as it entails income risks when the main earner is struck by unemployment or in case of divorce. Hence, to the extent that couples adhere to a specialisation strategy (Becker, 1991), we expect that having a co-resident partner may reduce women’s training uptake, provided that the partner can secure sufficient income for the household. Contrarily, if couples pursue a cooperative model (Oppenheimer, 1994), no such effect of a partner is expected in principle, since investments in human capital will increase utility for the two partners, albeit that women may forsake training in favour of lower qualified employment.

Considering the migration history of the origin groups considered, we expect the specialisation model to be more prevalent in the households of Turkish or Moroccan women, mainly for the first-generation, because this migration is often selective in terms of traditional gender roles (Timmerman, 2006). In contrast, we expect the specialisation strategy to be less prevalent among second-generation Turkish or Moroccan women since these women often marry more gender-egalitarian partners from their parents’ origin country (Timmerman, 2006). Given their free mobility within Europe and the higher prevalence of the dual-earner model in European countries, we expect the majority of the households of first- and second-generation women of Southern European origin to pursue a cooperative strategy, similar to native women. This could favour training uptake to the extent that upskilling is considered an investment that is preferred over entry into lower qualified employment.

Rational choice theory also provides partial insights on how female labour force participation may be conditioned by the presence of children in the household.

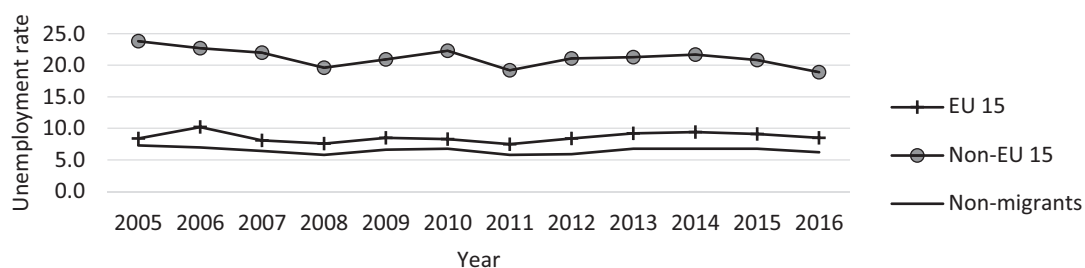


Figure 1. Unemployment rate by origin group, Belgium, 2005–2017. Note: EU 15 includes Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Source: Eurostat (2022b).

The decision to enrol in training is likely to depend on the number and age of children, the availability and cost of (in)formal childcare, the potential opportunity costs associated with enrolment in training and childcare, as well as the available household income to cover for childcare costs (Becker, 1991; Friedman et al., 1994; Liefbroer, 2005). Depending on the balance of costs and (expected) benefits, the presence of children may reduce the enrolment in training if women prefer work over training given the direct financial costs associated with childrearing. However, women may also decide to enrol into training to improve job and wage opportunities after upskilling, provided that sufficient household income and options to outsource care are available. Since employment opportunities vary by migrant origin (Baert & De Pauw, 2014), we can expect that the presence of children in the household is likely to differentially affect the enrolment in training of women from diverse migrant origins. Considering the history of these migrant groups in Belgium and previous research, indicating that migrant origin women face restrictions to childcare arrangements (Kil et al., 2018; Maes et al., 2021; Vidal-Coso, 2019), we expect that the presence of children in the household will have larger repercussions for women with Turkish or Moroccan origins than for women with Southern European origins and particularly non-migrant origin women.

3.2. Preference Theory

Preference theory suggests that women's preferences regarding work-life balance are heterogeneous, and distinguishes between home-centred, work-centred, and adaptive women (Hakim, 2002). While home-centred women prioritise the family and the household, work-centred women prioritise their roles in the public sphere, and adaptive women will combine family and work to varying extents depending on context (Hakim, 2002). While home-centred women may prefer to assume household responsibilities rather than participate in training, work-centred women are likely to pursue labour force participation and engage in training, which may even entail postponement of family formation to secure these goals (Wood & Neels, 2017). Adaptive women's training uptake on the other hand may depend more strongly on public policies related to the labour market and the family, such as incentives given by caseworkers from the employment office to participate in training, as well as the accessibility and cost of childcare. Whereas activation and labour market trajectories are shaped by the interaction between preferences and (perceived) opportunity structures, the latter may also shape preferences, as family may offer a positive self-identity to women who face low prospects in the labour market and who are unable to positively identify with their potential career paths (Friedman et al., 1994; McRae, 2003).

Considering the variation in migration motives across origin groups, we expect first-generation Turkish or

Moroccan women to be more home-centred as family formation and reunification is often an important migration motive for this group. Education and employment figure more prominently in the migration motives of Southern European women (MYRIA, 2016), suggesting that the share of adaptive or work-centred women will be higher in these groups. Empirical research shows that women's preferences regarding family and/or work explain part of the migrant-native gap in women's labour market outcomes (Khoudja & Fleischmann, 2015). Similarly, research shows that mother-centred care is largely preferred in migrant origin groups compared to non-migrant origin groups (Seibel & Hedegaard, 2017), and that Turkish or Moroccan women in Belgium are less likely to use formal care arrangements than non-migrant groups (Biegel et al., 2021). It is unclear, however, whether the variation in preferences associated with migration motives is reinforced—or even shaped—by the differential employment opportunities by migrant origin that women face in the Belgian labour market. Employment opportunities are considerably lower for non-European migrants than European migrants, which are in turn less favourable than the employment opportunities open to non-migrants (Baert & De Pauw, 2014).

3.3. Social Network Theory

Social network theory refers to the access that other household members may provide to specific networks. Social networks are considered as capital since the people in the network may help to attain goals (Bourdieu, 1986) and have proven relevant in the context of job search behaviour (Caliendo et al., 2011; Heckman & Smith, 2004; Lancee, 2010). Scholars distinguish between “bonding” and “bridging” social networks (Lancee, 2010; Putnam, 2000), referring to connections within and between groups respectively. To the extent that partners draw from each other's social networks that bridge to new social capital, being in a relationship can positively affect knowledge of ALMPs and job openings. Social capital can result in lower training uptake if women primarily use networks to find work, or increase training uptake if they are used for upskilling. Empirical research finds that bridging social capital is positively associated with income and employment (Lancee, 2010; Verhaeghe et al., 2015), but the association may vary depending on migrant origin and context. Brekke (2013), studying Norway, finds that partners transfer social capital, increasing the labour market opportunities of women regardless of migrant origin. In contrast, Seibel (2020) finds that in Germany endogamous co-resident partners of first-generation Turkish migrant women might reinforce bonding instead of bridging social networks. Considering the higher prevalence of endogamous marriages among Turkish and Moroccan women in Belgium (Flanders) compared to European migrants (Corijn & Lodewijckx, 2009), we expect the amount of bridging capital to vary accordingly by migrant origin.

The presence of children in the household may equally affect women's social networks and training uptake. Children can be a source of social integration by enlarging parents' social networks and increasing the information and help that parents can potentially access (Ambert, 2014; Gallagher & Gerstel, 2001; Ishii-Kuntz & Seccombe, 1989). Nevertheless, children may constrain parents' networks through the lack of time available for social contacts (Gallagher & Gerstel, 2001; Munch et al., 1997). Empirical research indicates that local ties are particularly relevant as sources of information on childcare arrangements, but that some parents with a migrant origin have less informed networks (Vincent et al., 2010). Differential enrolment in early childhood education by migrant origin may thus constrain the bridging social capital available to European and particularly non-European women, in turn hindering their training uptake.

3.4. Hypotheses

As a result of the wide range of aforementioned mechanisms rooted in rational choice, preference, and social network theory, two exploratory hypotheses are put forward. First, owing to numerous linkages between household composition on the one hand, and women's labour force participation and uptake of training programmes on the other, we expect differentiation in women's enrolment in training by household composition (hypothesis 1). Second, considering differences in migration history that shape the socio-economic, ideational, and social context in which women live, we expect the association between women's enrolment in training and household composition to vary by migration background (hypothesis 2).

4. Data and Methods

4.1. Data

We used data from the Migration, Integration and Activation Panel (MIA Panel), which links longitudinal administrative microdata from the employment offices to the Belgian social security registers for the period 2005–2016. This rich register-based data-infrastructure allowed us to observe training participation while providing detailed time-varying information on the household composition of women.

The initial sample consisted of 42,362 individuals aged 18 to 65 years who legally resided in Belgium on 1 January 2005. The sample is disproportionately stratified by age and migration origin. As the initial sample ages over time, top-up samples of 18-year-olds were added annually ($N = 20,556$). Each individual was tracked from sampling until the age of 65, death, emigration, or reaching the end of the observation period (31 December 2016). In addition to the sampled individuals, their household members on 1 January of each year were also included in the panel. Household charac-

teristics were measured annually. The analysis of training uptake used data on 6,813 women who experienced at least one unemployment spell between 2007 and 2016 which caused them to come into contact with the Flemish employment office. The overwhelming majority (94.4%) of the unemployment spells resulted in contact with the employment office.

Using information available in the social security registers on the first nationality of the sampled individuals and their parents, we distinguished five groups of women representing the larger migrant communities in Belgium (other than neighbouring countries): (a) non-migrant origin, (b) first-generation Southern European origin (G1 S-EU), (c) second-generation Southern European origin (G2 S-EU), (d) first-generation Turkish or Moroccan origin (G1 Turkish/Moroccan), and (e) second-generation Turkish or Moroccan origin (G2 Turkish/Moroccan). Individuals were considered to be first-generation if they had a first nationality that was not Belgian, and second-generation if at least one of their parents had a non-Belgian first nationality. If both parents had different first foreign nationalities, the parent origin reflected the first nationality of the father.

Subsequently, using data on household composition in the social security registers, we determined whether women were single, had a co-resident partner (married or legal cohabitation), and/or co-resident children, based on Van Imhoff and Keilman's (1991) household typology. Partners were further differentiated by origin group and migrant generation using the same categories as for the sampled women. This resulted in 12 potential household types (Table 1 in the Supplementary File). To allow robust estimates of women's training uptake by household type, uncommon household types (frequency <50) were excluded from the analysis or merged with similar household types to obtain sufficiently large groups.

4.2. Methods

Training uptake is a dynamic process (people can enrol in training at any given moment in their unemployment spell) that is affected by both time-constant and time-varying characteristics, such as the presence of a partner or children in the household. Using longitudinal microdata from the MIA Panel, we first constructed life tables of training uptake by duration of unemployment and household composition for each of the five groups of women considered (Singer & Willett, 2003).

The employment office provided longitudinal data on a monthly basis, allowing us to follow unemployed women until they took up training. Exposure started when women entered unemployment and lasted until the event occurrence (training uptake), or censoring (reaching the end of the observation period, retirement, emigration/death, or non-eligibility after signing an employment contract). Training uptake was measured using a time-varying dummy variable that attains a value of 1 in the month where women

entered a training programme. For the descriptive results, we plotted the cumulative incidence of entry into training—the complement of the survivor function of remaining unemployed—to document differential training uptake by household composition and migration origin (Figure 2). The cumulative incidence starts at 0 in the first month of unemployment when no one has started training yet, and gradually increases over time.

Second, we estimated discrete-time hazard models for each of the five origin groups separately to assess whether the timing of training uptake varied significantly by household-type, controlling for women’s human capital characteristics and temporal variation in training uptake (Figure 3). The hazard models used a complementary log-log link function as the transition from unemployment to enrolment in training unfolded in continuous time, whereas the measurement of uptake in the MIA Panel was discrete (Singer & Willett, 2003). The exponentiated parameter estimates represent hazard ratios of training uptake.

Four models mapped the association between household composition and training uptake for each migrant origin group separately. Model 0 only includes unemployment duration in months as the baseline hazard function. Since different origin groups exhibited varying uptake patterns over time, we used different specifications of the baseline by origin: for non-migrant women, G1 and G2 S-EU women, and G2 Turkish/Moroccan women we used a step function (a categorical specification for the first month with a linear specification for the rest of the observation period), whereas a quadratic specification was used for G1 Turkish/Moroccan women.

Model 1 additionally introduces the household-type as the main variable of interest, along with the interaction between the baseline and household-type, allowing different time-paths of entering training by household-type.

Models 2a and 2b additionally control for temporal variation in uptake and human capital characteristics respectively, which have been identified as factors affecting training uptake (Desjardins et al., 2006; Heckman & Smith, 2004; Öztürk & Kaufmann, 2009). Model 2a includes age (quadratic), and the year of observation (categorical variable). Model 2b controls for Dutch language proficiency, education, previous work experience, and previous wage. Dutch language proficiency (categorical, time constant) represents self-rated proficiency registered by the employment office and distinguishes between (a) little (reference), (b) good, (c) very good, and (d) unknown knowledge. Highest level of education (categorical, time constant) was registered by both the employment office and the social security registers and distinguishes (a) lower secondary education (reference), (b) higher secondary education, (c) tertiary education, and (d) unknown level of education. Previous work experience reflects women’s working hours (continuous, time-varying on a quarterly basis) in their last employment spell in the preceding two years (0 for peo-

ple without employment in the previous two years), as the percentage of the standard number of work hours of a full-time position in the economic sector considered. Finally, wage level (continuous) in the last employment spell in the preceding two years represents women’s salary for a contract equivalent to 5% of a full-time job (0 for women without an employment contract in the previous two years). Information on work experience was drawn from the National Employment Office and the National Social Security Office.

Model 3 is the full model, including all aforementioned control variables. Following the approach developed by Maes et al. (2019), the parameter estimates of the hazard models were used to calculate the cumulative incidence of enrolment in training by household-type, controlling for temporal variation in training uptake and human capital of the women considered.

5. Results

5.1. Descriptive Results

Figures 2a through 2e plot the cumulative incidence of enrolment in training during the first year of unemployment by household-type for each migrant origin group. Figure 2a shows that training uptake is generally high for non-migrant origin women and that training uptake among non-migrant women is similar across all household-types. In contrast, Figures 2b through 2e reveal that the overall uptake is lower for the migrant origin groups, but also that their training uptake is strongly differentiated by household-type. Figure 2b shows that differentials in training uptake emerge at the beginning of the unemployment spell for G1 S-EU women and subsequently increase over time. Similarly, Figure 2c for G2 S-EU women shows strong variation in training uptake by household-type. Uptake is highest among women with a non-migrant origin partner, regardless of whether children are present in the household. In contrast, single mothers or women with a S-EU partner display the lowest uptake. The difference between these groups amounts to 7 percentage points after the first month of unemployment. Figure 2d shows that training uptake is lower for G1 Turkish/Moroccan women than for S-EU and non-migrant women. Training uptake for G1 Turkish/Moroccan women again varies by household-type. Specifically, the presence of children seems to hinder their uptake. Single G1 Turkish/Moroccan women have the highest and fastest training uptake. Finally, Figure 2e indicates that G2 Turkish/Moroccan women also display a lower uptake than S-EU origin and non-migrant women and that training uptake varies by household-type. G2 Turkish/Moroccan women with a S-EU or non-migrant partner—especially without children—have the fastest and highest training uptake. In contrast, women with a Turkish/Moroccan partner have considerably lower uptake, especially when the household includes co-resident children.

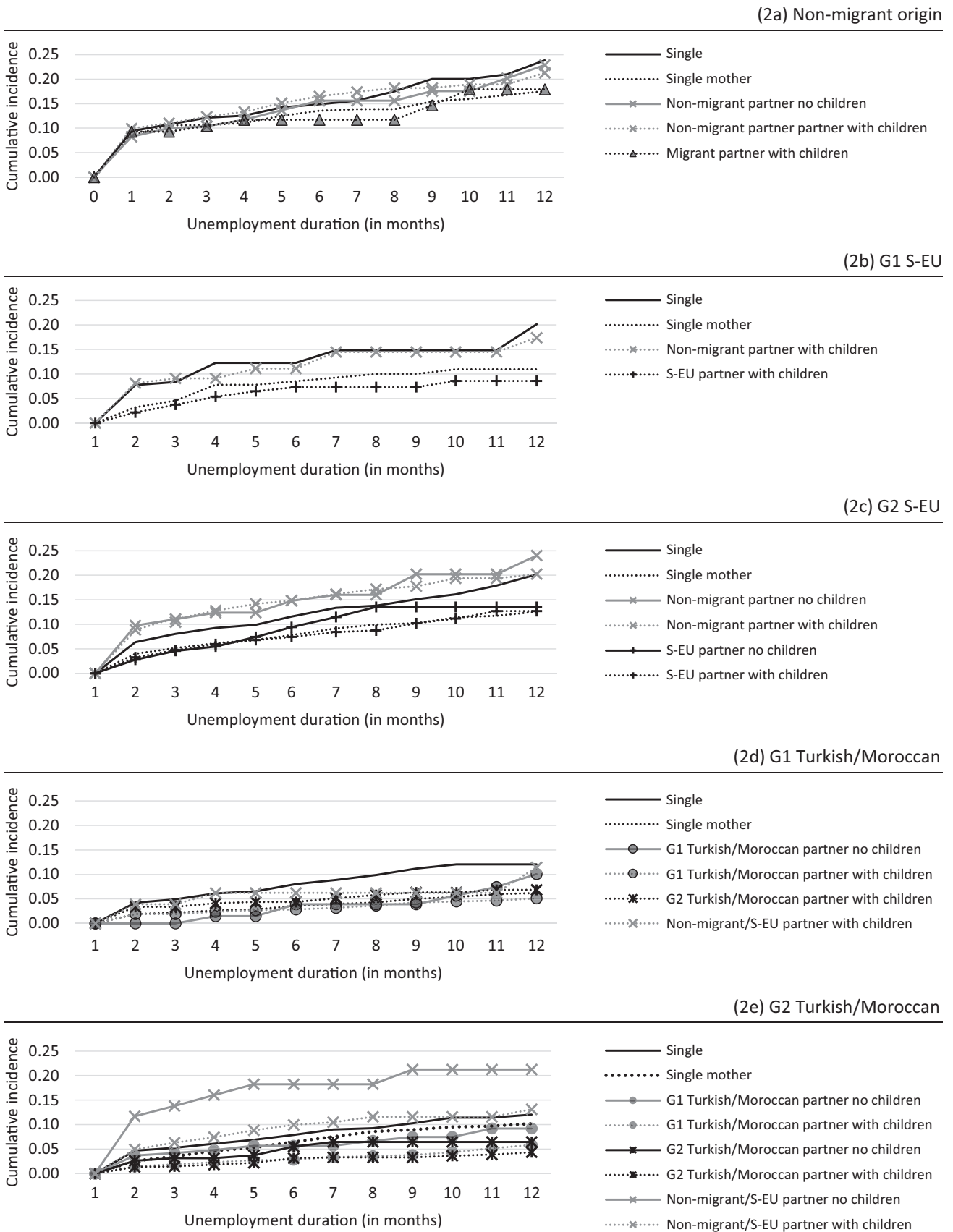


Figure 2. Cumulative incidence of enrolment in training by household composition in different migrant origin groups. Source: Calculations by authors based on the MIA Panel (2005–2016).

5.2. Multivariate Results

As the descriptive findings do not control for confounding factors, hazard models were estimated to assess whether training uptake differs by household-type controlling for age and temporal variation in training uptake, as well as women’s human capital characteristics (language proficiency, educational attainment, and work experience). Figure 3 shows cumulative incidence curves by household-type derived from discrete-time hazard models of training for each migrant origin group (parameter estimates are included in the Supplementary File). Overall, the results in Figure 3 suggest that controlling for the aforementioned characteristics does not substantially modify variation in uptake by household-type that emerged from the descriptive results.

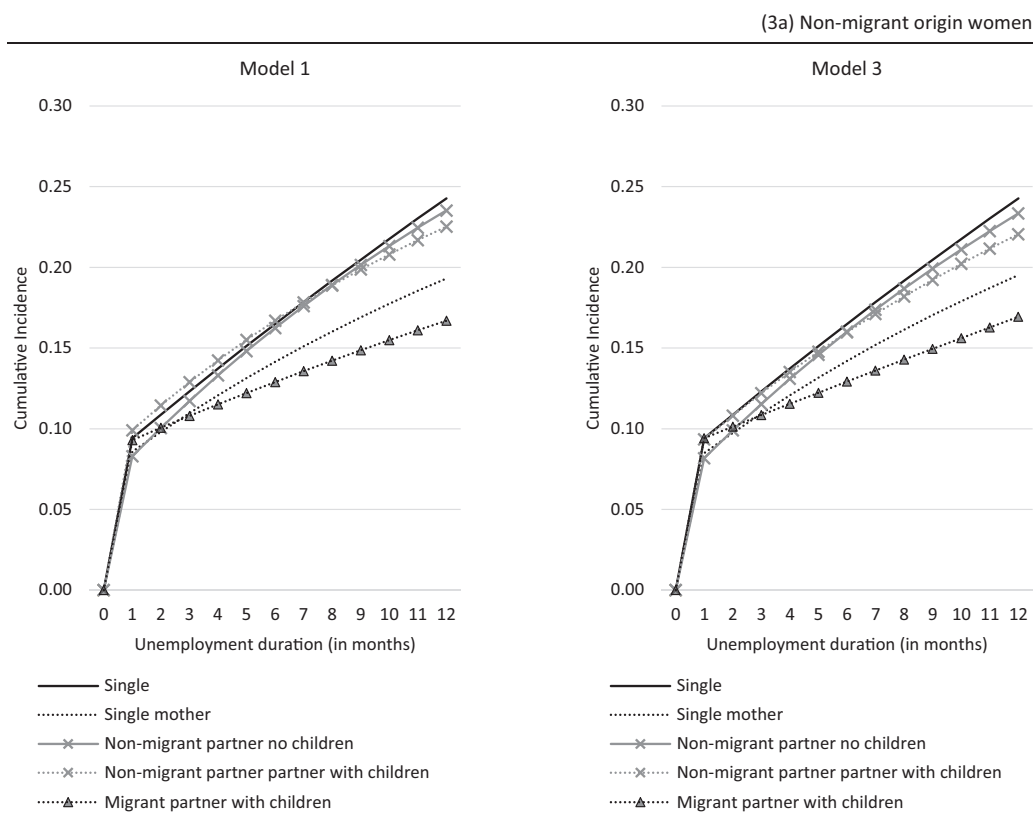
For non-migrant origin women, the likelihood ratio test comparing Models 0 and 1 indicates that the gross differentials in training uptake by household-type are not significant. Although both temporal variation (Model 2a) and human capital characteristics (Model 2b) significantly affect enrolment in training, the variation in uptake by household-type remains limited and non-significant after controlling by confounding factors.

For G1 S-EU women, the likelihood ratio test comparing Model 0 and 1 indicates that including household typology significantly improves the model fit, indicating that training uptake varies significantly by household-type. Training uptake also varies significantly in terms

of age, calendar time and women’s human capital characteristics. Controlling for temporal variation in uptake and human capital characteristics, the variation of training uptake by household-type is no longer significant ($\Delta-2LL = 6.97, \Delta df = 9, p < 0.6398$), indicating that differences in household dynamics between Southern European women are accounted for by women’s differential human capital characteristics. Accordingly, Figure 3b shows that controls reduce the differentials in uptake by household-type.

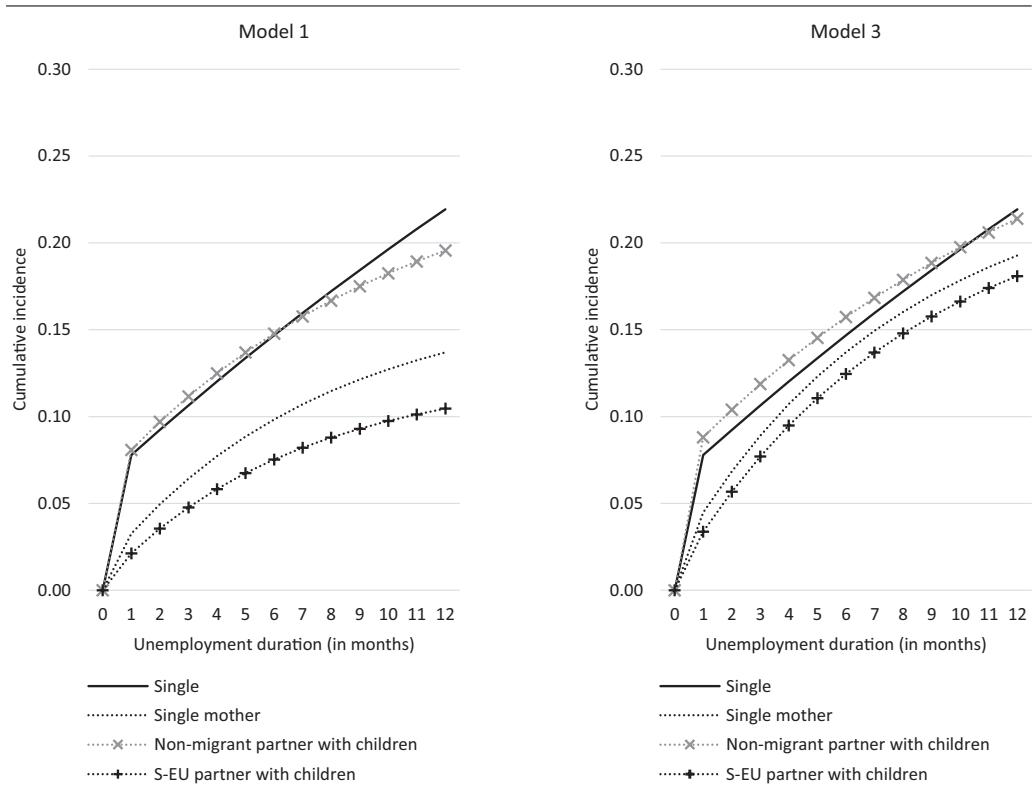
For G2 S S-EU women, gross differentials in training uptake by household-type are also significant. Additionally, period circumstances and human capital characteristics significantly affect training uptake. Moreover, the likelihood ratio test for the net effect of household-type indicates that variation of training uptake by household-type is still significant when controls are included ($\Delta-2LL = 38.08, \Delta df = 15, p < 0.001$). As a result, Figure 3c shows that the differentials in cumulative incidence of training by household-type remain largely unaffected after controlling for temporal variation and human capital characteristics.

For G1 Turkish/Moroccan women, enrolment in training is significantly differentiated by household-type. Similar to other groups, enrolment in training is subject to significant variation in terms of period circumstances and human capital characteristics. Additionally, the likelihood ratio test confirms that household-type continues to affect training uptake when controlling for



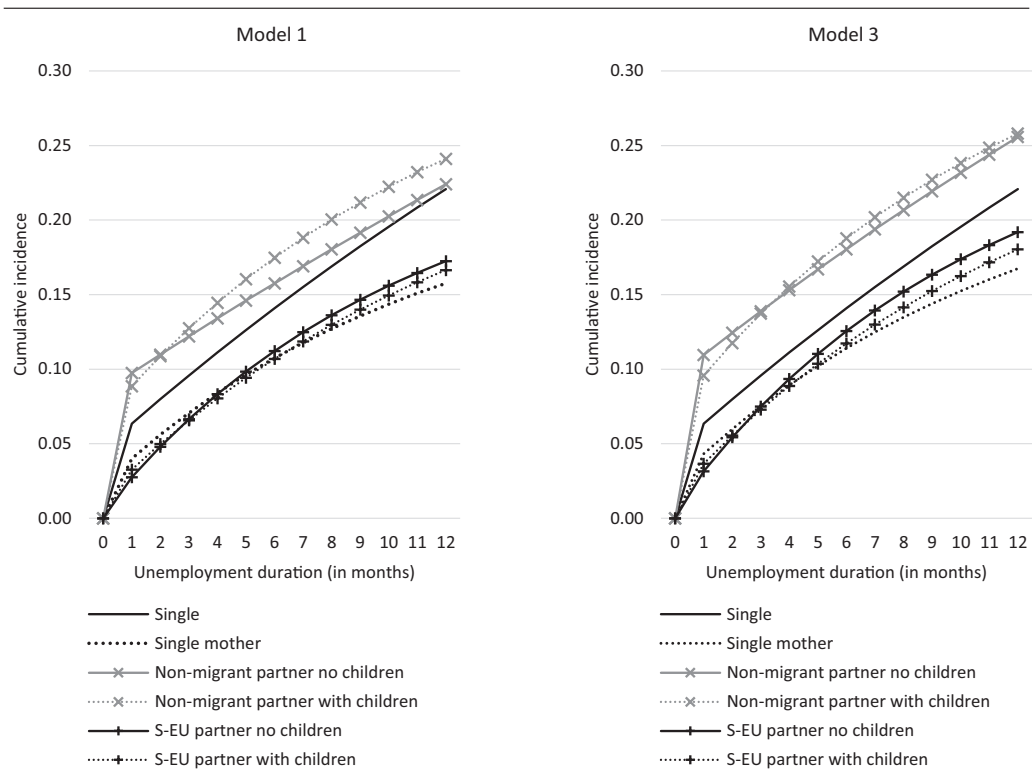
Likelihood ratio test comparing: Models 0 to 1 $\Delta-2LL = 10.39, \Delta df = 12, p < 0.582$, Models 1 to 3: $\Delta-2LL = 101.55, \Delta df = 18, p < 0.000$.

(3b) G1 S-EU women



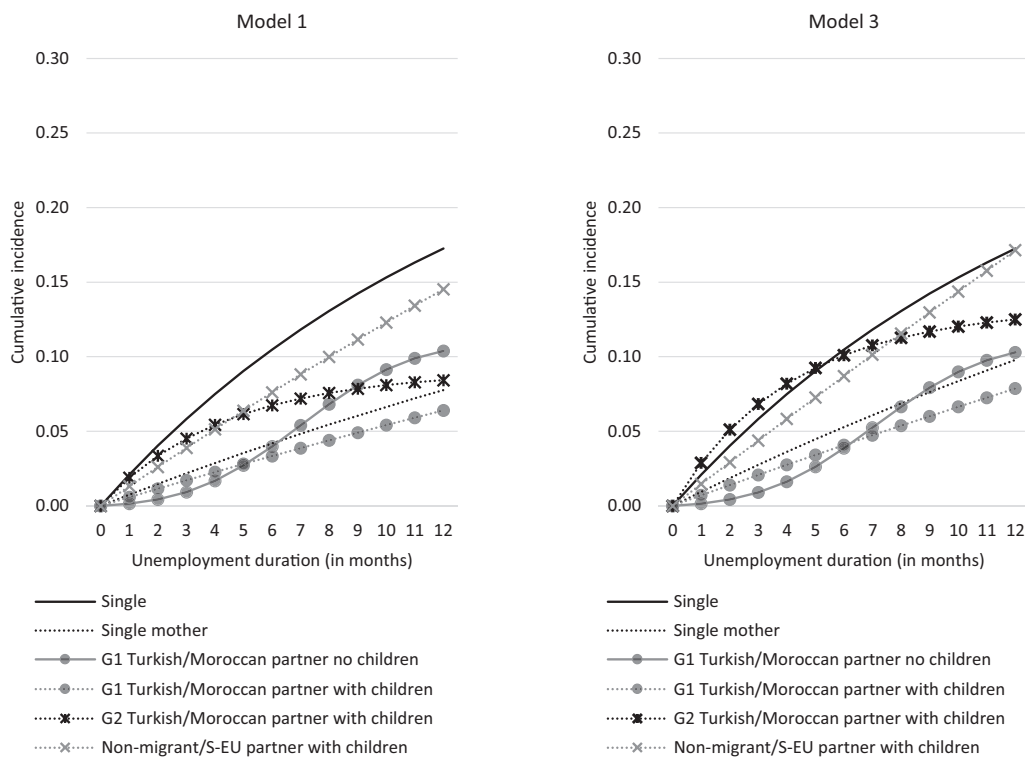
Likelihood ratio test comparing: Models 0 to 1 Δ -2LL = 16.23, Δ df = 9, $p < 0.062$, Models 1 to 3: Δ -2LL = 57.39, Δ df = 21, $p < 0.000$.

(3c) G2 S-EU



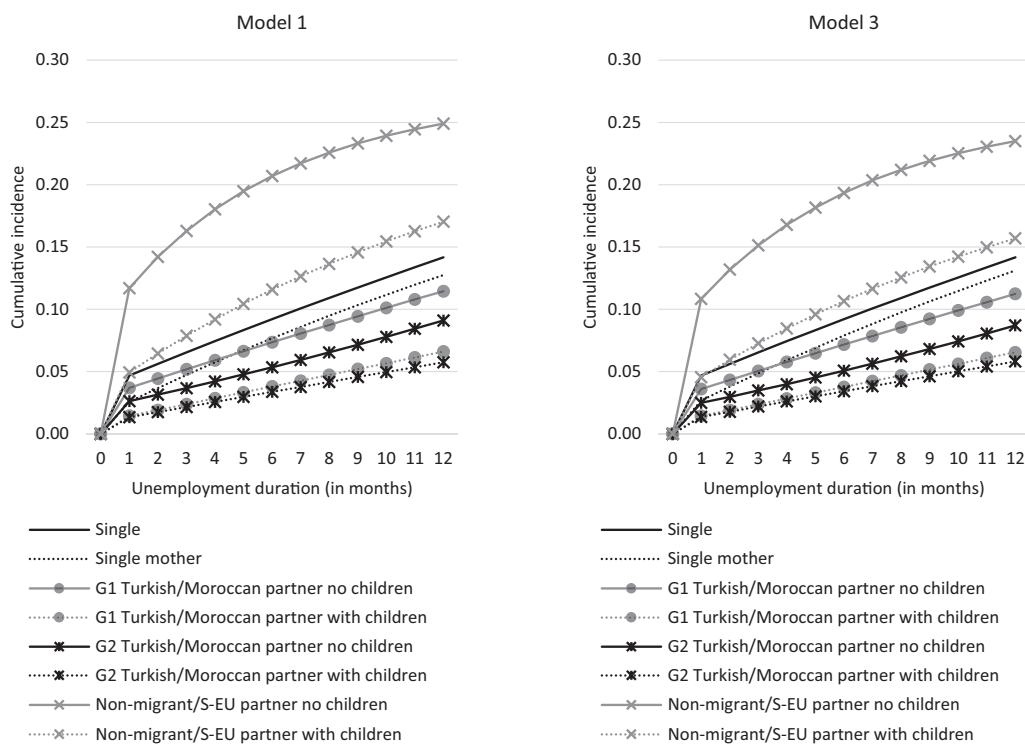
Likelihood ratio test comparing: Models 0 to 1 Δ -2LL = 42.00, Δ df = 15, $p < 0.000$, Models 1 to 3 (Δ -2LL = 149.32, Δ df = 21, $p < 0.000$).

(3d) G1 Turkish/Moroccan women



Likelihood ratio test comparing: Models 0 to 1 Δ -2LL = 76.82, Δ df = 15, $p < 0.000$, Models 1 to 3: Δ -2LL = 138.32, Δ df = 21, $p < 0.000$.

(3e) G2 Turkish/Moroccan women



Likelihood ratio test comparing: Models 0 to 1 Δ -2LL = 129.52, Δ df = 15, $p < 0.5000$, Models 1 to 3: Δ -2LL = 65.38, Δ df = 21, $p < 0.000$.

Figure 3. Cumulative incidence of training uptake by migrant origin group and household composition. Model 1 reflects gross differentials, while Model 3 controls for period variation and human capital characteristics. The sample is restricted to women who had been in unemployment between 2007 and 2016. Source: Calculations by authors based on the MIA Panel (2005–2016).

confounding factors (Δ -2LL = 62.12, Δ df = 15, $p < 0.000$). Consistent with the likelihood ratio test, Figure 3d illustrates that controlling for confounding factors does not substantially modify the cumulative incidence of enrolment in training by household-type.

For G2 Turkish/Moroccan women, the gross differentials in training uptake by household-type are also significant. Similar to other groups, period circumstances and human capital characteristics significantly affect enrolment in training. The likelihood ratio test also confirms that household-type continues to affect training uptake when controlling for confounding factors (Δ -2LL = 62.32, Δ df = 15, $p < 0.000$). Likewise, the results from Figure 3e illustrate that including controls does not substantially change variation in training uptake by household-type.

Finally, a likelihood ratio test for a pooled model combining all origin groups confirms that the association between women's household composition and training uptake varies between migrant origin groups (Δ -2LL = 118.38, Δ df = 48, $p < 0.0000$).

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Literature on ALMPs has increasingly focused on differential participation between socio-demographic groups and raises questions on how such differences can be reduced (Bonoli & Liechti, 2018; Cantillon, 2011). Despite the limited attention paid to household composition in studies of ALMP training uptake, the principles of life course theory suggest that women's training participation cannot be detached from their individual biographies and the path dependencies these create, the resources available to them, or their household and family contexts (Elder et al., 2003). These principles are all the more important for migrant households where migration policies and idiosyncrasies in migration histories have often shaped household dynamics in specific ways, in terms of economic opportunity structures, preferences and attitudes, as well as social networks. Linking the life course framework to specific theories on household dynamics—e.g., rational choice, preferences, and social network theories—suggests that household composition is a relevant factor affecting training uptake amongst women (hypothesis 1), but also that the association between household composition and training uptake is likely to play out quite differently for women of Southern European origin or Turkish or Moroccan origin, than for non-migrant origin women (hypothesis 2).

Using discrete-time hazard models and data from the MIA Panel, our results confirm hypothesis 1. Training uptake varies significantly by household composition, even when we control for previously identified determinants of training uptake. Additionally, the analyses show that the association between training uptake and women's household composition varies by origin group and migrant generation, confirming hypothesis 2.

With respect to the presence and origin of the partner, our findings show higher cumulative uptake among

women with a non-migrant origin partner than single women, and higher uptake for single women than those with a migrant origin partner. These patterns yield different, yet complementary, tentative theoretical interpretations to be considered. Following rational choice theory, the partner's origin may be associated with different household strategies: specialisation (Becker, 1991) which might limit women's training uptake, versus cooperation (Oppenheimer, 1994) which is assumed to foster female participation in the labour market and ALMPs. Considering preference theory, household composition is potentially selective in terms of work-family preferences, thus affecting training uptake (Hakim, 2002). According to social network theory, the presence and origin of a partner are likely to influence knowledge regarding ALMPs, in turn affecting women's enrolment in training (Heckman & Smith, 2004; Lancee, 2010). Furthermore, our results suggest that the association between training uptake and presence and origin of the partner is more articulated for migrant than for non-migrant origin women, and particularly for the Turkish or Moroccan origin women. Whereas the specialisation model may be more prevalent among Turkish or Moroccan origin women, the cooperative model may be more prevalent among Southern European origin groups and non-migrant women, which may translate into differential work-family preferences (Khoudja & Fleischmann, 2015). Southern European and non-migrant origin women may also be less dependent on their partner's social capital regarding information on ALMPs than Turkish or Moroccan origin women.

Regarding the presence of children, we find lower training participation amongst women with co-resident children in all origin groups. Theoretical interpretations at this point also remain tentative. In line with rational choice theory, lower uptake is potentially associated with child-related financial considerations. According to preference theory, work-oriented women may temporarily forgo childbearing. Following social network theory, time restrictions may hamper networking and the gathering of information regarding ALMPs. The presence of children seems to affect training uptake more strongly among Turkish or Moroccan origin women than among Southern European origin or non-migrant women, which may reflect differential access to formal childcare (Biegel et al., 2021; Maes et al., 2021), or differential preferences regarding women's roles in the labour force and childcare (Khoudja & Fleischmann, 2015; Seibel & Hedegaard, 2017). Social capital available through children may increase the information regarding ALMPs to a larger extent for Southern European women than for Turkish or Moroccan women, as the former's socio-economic position is usually similar to the non-migrant origin group, living in the same neighbourhoods, and using the same childcare institutions (Gallagher & Gerstel, 2001).

The exploratory findings discussed in this article contribute to the literature by showing that household composition is an important dimension to consider when

analysing training uptake. Moreover, in line with the life course perspective, this article suggests that the effect of household composition on training uptake of non-migrant origin women cannot be generalised to women of other origin groups. In addition to the theoretical relevance of these findings, our results also bear particular policy relevance in terms of social inclusion, defined as the ability to fully participate in society (Allman, 2013; Chakravarty & D'Ambrosio, 2006). First, neglecting variation in household composition and the differential association between household composition and the enrolment in training programmes by migrant origin women entails the risk of missing an opportunity to weaken the so-called Matthew effects in ALMPs. Second, the finding that household composition matters for the uptake of training programmes, and that this association varies by migrant origin, suggest that the designs of ALMPs and work-family reconciliation policies, but also migration and integration policies should be carefully aligned to minimise incompatibilities, particularly considering challenges faced by women with migrant origins.

Having established that household composition is essential to understanding women's training uptake, particularly amongst migrant women, we present three fruitful avenues for future research. First, adopting more advanced research designs (e.g., panel regressions), are necessary to contextualise patterns of family formation and assess how a wider range of partner's characteristics and trajectories of family formation (e.g., age and number of children in the household) shape training uptake over the life course (Maes et al., 2019, 2021; Marynissen et al., 2020). Such an approach would allow for a more detailed assessment of the degree to which migrant-native differentials in training uptake are explained by variation in household characteristics. Second, our findings spur more detailed longitudinal research on how women's uptake of the more effective ALMPs is conditioned by their past labour market and civic integration trajectories and prior participation in ALMPs, whilst accounting for time-constant unobservables that may be correlated to both training uptake and household composition. Finally, although there is a weaker link between household composition and men's employment trajectories, it is important to empirically assess whether household composition is a differentiating factor regarding ALMP uptake amongst men.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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