

OPEN ACCESS

ISSN 2280-4056

*E-Journal of
International and Comparative*

LABOUR STUDIES

Volume 2, No. 1 January 2013



ADAPT
www.adapt.it
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Young People and Age Discrimination

Malcolm Sargeant *

1. Introduction

Directive 2000/78/EC establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation applies to all those at work or all those seeking work. Unlike the US, the ban on unlawful age discrimination affects all those of working age. The US ADEA¹ of course applies to just those over the age of 40 years so is specifically aimed at older workers, in contrast to the European legislation which applies to all ages, including young workers and young people applying for jobs.

A Eurobarometer survey asked people about their perceptions of how widespread age discrimination was. The figures from Italy and the UK were:

	Widespread	Rare
Italy	49%	45%
UK	52%	45%

It is possible to justify direct and indirect age discrimination in EU and national law if the purpose has a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary. It is unusual to be able to justify direct discrimination but there are clearly times when it is appropriate to treat people differently because of their age, so, for example, there is an EC Directive on the Protection of Young People at Work 94/33/EC (The Young Workers Directive) which provides for

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¹ Age Discrimination in Employment Act 1967.

different rules in regard to working time for young people, e.g. longer rest periods, limited night work etc. There are many other occasions when we might apply rules based on age, e.g. when a person can drive on the roads, sell or buy alcohol etc. These are all exceptions to the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of age, but they are, perhaps, sensible ones.

2. What is the Evidence for Age Discrimination and Young People?

There are many stereotypical assumptions about age at all levels which lead to people being treated differently as a result. Most of the research seems to have concerned with older workers and the perceptions that employers have of age linked abilities. Every stereotypical assumption about older people, however, is also likely to be a stereotypical assumption about younger people. When, for example, an employer states that older people are more reliable, the employer is also saying that younger people are less reliable. Taylor and Walker's survey in the 1990s of 500 companies² illustrate this. Figures such as the 36 per cent who thought that older workers were more cautious, the 40 per cent who thought that they could not adapt to new technology and the 38 per cent who thought that they would dislike taking orders from younger workers suggest that stereotypical attitudes remain strong. Yet what is important for our purposes here is that a statement such as that which suggests that older people are more cautious, also implies that younger people are less cautious³.

A further illustration can be found in research carried out amongst employers in New Zealand⁴. Older workers were assumed to be more reliable, more loyal, more committed and less likely to leave than younger workers. On the other hand, older workers were more likely to resist change and have problems with technology. They may also be less flexible, less willing to train and be less creative than younger colleagues. The same survey asked employers to attribute characteristics to different age groups.

² P. Taylor, A. Walker, *The Ageing Workforce: Employers' Attitudes Towards Older People*, *Work, Employment and Society* 8, No. 4, 1994, 569.

³ See generally M. Sargeant, *Age Discrimination*, Gower Publishing, 2011.

⁴ J. McGregor, *Stereotypes and Older Workers*, *Journal of Social Policy New Zealand* 18, 2002, 163–177.

Table No. 1 – Characteristics associated with age groups: % responses from employers.

Workers	15–29 yrs	30–44 yrs	45–59 yrs	60–75 yrs	All ages
Computer experience	66.9	19.9	1.1	-	12.1
Enthusiasm	35.2	28.5	3.3	0.4	32.6
High levels of motivation	14.9	48.0	6.4	0.3	30.3
Creativity	27.8	40.0	3.5	-	28.7
Innovation	20.0	48.4	5.1	-	26.5
Adaptability	29.8	35.3	10.8	0.3	23.8
Flexibility	24.5	33.1	16.5	1.2	24.7
Leadership	0.6	31.3	39.3	1.2	27.6
Strong work ethic	1.1	25.4	45.0	3.3	25.5
Loyalty to employer	0.3	10.7	50.3	10.6	28.1

It can be seen from this survey, if at all typical, that employers had generally a stereotypical view that younger people suffered from some significant disadvantages such a scoring low in the qualities of leadership, having a strong work ethic or loyalty to the employer. They also score lowly, compared to the next age group up, in levels of motivation, creativity and innovation. All these are “soft skills” which have been shown to be the important factors in the recruitment of young people into work.

One piece of evidence about discrimination that might be suffered by young workers is that which has been gathered about older workers.

There are some similarities in experiences. According to a survey carried out by the Employers Forum on Age and Austin Knight⁵, the most common ages for women to encounter ageism at work are 21 years and 40 years; for men the ages are 18 years and 50 years. The report states that just over half of respondents who felt that they had experienced ageism said that it was because they were seen as too young. The report “reveals that one in four UK employees had been discriminated against at work because of their age – and it is clear that ageism does not discriminate. Young and old, male and female alike are affected”⁶.

3. Young People and the Labour Market

The recent economic recession has hit young⁷ workers very hard, but youth unemployment has been an issue for governments long before the recession started to have an impact on employment statistics. Young people have traditionally had high levels of unemployment, although these levels have generally become much higher since 2007.

Here we briefly consider the employment rates and unemployment rates for young people and then look at the types of employment contracts that young workers often work under. The conclusion is that the young may be treated as a contingent and flexible workforce and that many young workers meet the definition of “vulnerable workers” in precarious work. We then return to the subject of discrimination to assess how this makes the position of young people a difficult one.

High levels of unemployment may be seen as a manifestation of the vulnerability of young workers, but there are distinct groups that appear to be at a greater disadvantage than others. These include⁸:

- those who have experienced a lengthy period of unemployment;
- young people with low levels of qualifications and educational achievement;
- those facing health problems and disabilities;
- those from particular minority ethnic groups.

⁵ www.cfa.org.uk (last accessed 10 July 2011).

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Young here refers to those under the age of 25 years.

⁸ See Eurofound, *Helping Young Workers During the Crisis: Contributions by Social Partners and Public Authorities*, 2011 (last accessed 20 June 2011).

It may be therefore that, in order to understand the disadvantage suffered, we need to develop a model which shows that there are a number of layers of vulnerability each of which adds to the disadvantage suffered⁹. Apart from the four on this list, one could also imagine other layers such as gender or socio economic background.

4. Unemployment

According to the ILO¹⁰, of the estimated 211 million unemployed people worldwide (2009) almost 40 per cent are between 15 and 24 years of age. This amounts to some 83 million young people without work¹¹. Of course this is partly explained by the numbers in education and so on. The actual unemployment rate for young people was around 13 per cent in 2009, having risen from 11.9 per cent in 2007¹². In the EU, prior to the financial crisis in 2007, the unemployment rate for young people had reached 15.4 per cent. During the next 2/3 years, unemployment has increased dramatically to a figure of some 20.7 per cent in 2010¹³. This had decreased slightly to 20.3 per cent in April 2011. This figure, however, compares badly with the unemployment rate for the 25-74 year age group where there was an unemployment rate of 8.1 per cent. Thus the unemployment rate for those under the age of 25 is two and half times higher than for those aged 25 plus. The figures vary enormously within the EU. In Germany the difference was only two percentage points (5.9 per cent for the 25+ group compared to 7.9 per cent for the under 25s). In contrast, the gap in Spain was 25.9 percentage points (18.5 compared to 44.4 per cent)¹⁴.

⁹ For further consideration of the concept of layers of vulnerability, see M. Sargeant, E. Tucker, *Health and Safety of Vulnerable Workers: Case Studies from Canada and the UK, Policy and Practice in Health and Safety* 7, No. 2, 2009, 51-73, which concerned the layers of vulnerability suffered by migrant workers in Canada and the United Kingdom.

¹⁰ International Labour Organisation.

¹¹ ILO, *Employment for Social Justice and a Fair Globalization: Overview of ILO Programmes*, Geneva, (last accessed 20 June 2011).

¹² ILO, *Facts on Youth Employment*, Geneva, 2010 (last accessed 20 June 2011).

¹³ Eurofound, *Helping Young Workers during the Crisis: Contributions by Social Partners and Public Authorities*, European Foundation, 2011.

¹⁴ European Commission, *Labour Market Factsheet*, Brussels, 2011.

In the UK the unemployment rate for those aged 18-24 years is 17 per cent (mid 2011)¹⁵. This is a small decrease from a year earlier when it stood at 17.5 per cent. This figure hides a significant disparity between males and females. The unemployment rate for males in this category is 19.9 per cent. For females it is much lower at 14.4 per cent. These figures compare to the overall unemployment rate of 7.7 per cent for all those aged 16 and over. Thus young female unemployment is almost twice the overall unemployment rate and for males it is almost three times the overall unemployment rate. Long term unemployment rates (over 12 months) for the 18-24 age group is at a lower rate than that for the labour market as a whole – 26.6 per cent compared to the overall rate of 34.1 per cent; but again there is a big difference between the sexes. The long term unemployment rate for young males is 30.2 per cent compared to 20.9 per cent for young females. This disturbing picture is made even worse when one considers the job make up for the age group.

5. Precarious working

The term precarious working is usually associated with employment that is ‘non-standard’ i.e. that is not governed by a contract of employment that is full time and open ended. One UK study identified twelve different forms. These were self-employment, part-time work, temporary work, fixed-term contract work, zero hours contract employment, seasonal work, (annual hours, shift work, flexitime, overtime or compressed working weeks), home working, teleworking, term time only working, Sunday working and job sharing¹⁶. There have been other categorisations¹⁷, but essentially they are flexible employment relationships which can make workers vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

The EU report *Employment in Europe 2010*¹⁸ highlights the growing segmentation of the labour market in the EU between those that have permanent jobs “who can look forward to a life of continuous

¹⁵ The UK statistics here come from the *Labour Market Statistics Bulletin*, June 2011 (last accessed 21 June 2011).

¹⁶ S. Dex, A. McCulloch, *Flexible employment in Britain: A Statistical Analysis*, Equal Opportunities Commission Research Discussion Series, Manchester, 1995

¹⁷ See, for example, M. Quinlan, C. Mayhew, and P. Bohle *The Global Expansion of Precarious Employment, Work Disorganization, and Consequences for Occupational Health: A Review of Recent Research* *International Journal of Health Services*, 31 No. 2, 2001 335-414.

¹⁸ European Commission, *Employment in Europe 2010*, Brussels, 2010.

employment and careers offering promotion and rising incomes”; and those that are in temporary employment “living in a precarious situation and at risk of frequent spells of unemployment with poor prospects of career advancement”. The report then states:

Labour market segmentation affects predominately young and low-skilled workers, particularly during economic downturns. The high incidence of temporary work for these two groups can put them in a relatively precarious situation, not only in terms of employment security, but also in terms of income security, because of the limited access of temporary workers to social security benefits in general, and unemployment insurance in particular.

The report further states that the use of temporary contracts disproportionately affects young people because such contracts are often used as an entry into permanent employment. A precarious start to the world of work ‘is likely to have a long lasting negative impact on future employment and earning prospects’. Useful data is difficult to come by because of the overlap between work and education in this age group. It is now worth considering some of the characteristics of the work done by young people.

5.1. Low Level Employment

At EU level, the proportion of young workers aged 15-24 employed in elementary or in low skilled manual occupations is around 1.5 times higher than in the older age categories:

Table No. 2 – Distribution of employment by age (EU) (%)¹⁹.

	Elementary	Low skilled manual	Skilled manual	Skilled non-manual
15-24	12.5	38.7	28.8	20
25-29	8.1	27.6	25.6	38.7
30-54	9.3	22.8	27.3	40.6

¹⁹ These figures are for 2007 and come from Eurostat, *Youth in Europe: A Statistical Portrait*, 2009.

In all countries, except the Czech Republic, they made up at least 30% of the 15-24 year old population of workers. Some 49 per cent of the 15-24 age group were in the skilled manual and skilled non manual groups, but this compared to 64 per cent of the 25-29 rear age group and 68 per cent of the 30-54 group.

5.2. Part Time Work

More than half of those aged 15-24 worked part time in order to continue their studies. This was especially true of those with low levels of educational attainment. Older age groups more often cited other reasons such as illness, personal or family reasons. Nevertheless there were still over 20 per cent of young workers who worked part time because they could not get a full time job.

Table No. 3 –Reasons for Having a Part Time Job (%) (EU)²⁰

	Education or training	Could not find FT job	Other reasons
15-24	62.0	23.6	14.5
25-29	21.2	33.6	45.2

5.3. Temporary Employment

People take up temporary employment either on a voluntary basis for a number of reasons or on an involuntary basis because they cannot find work of a permanent nature. According to Eurostat²¹, a majority of young Europeans were not willingly in temporary employment. The proportion of people choosing temporary work was, however, higher in the youngest age group than the 25-29 group.

²⁰ See note 11.

²¹ See note 11.

Table No. 4 – Reasons for Having Temporary Work by Age (%) (EU).

	Contract Covering a Period of Training	Could not find a Permanent Job	Did not Want a Permanent Job	Probationary Contract
15-24	40.3	37.1	14.4	8.2
25-29	15.2	65.1	10.0	9.7

There were large differences between countries, e. g. in the youngest age group some 64.2 per cent of those working temporarily in Belgium did so because they could not find work compared to 22.5 per cent in Denmark.

5.4. Self-employment

The proportion of young people running their own business is very low in Europe, at about 4 per cent of the 15-24 group being self-employed²².

Table No. 5 – Professional Status of Young Unemployed People by Age (%).

	Employee	Family Worker	Self-employed
15-24	93.3	2.7	4.0
25-29	89.8	1.6	8.7

6. Further Vulnerability

Apart from the difficulty in finding work and the possibility of ending up in precarious work situations, there are added vulnerabilities that young people, as well as others, can suffer from.

²² It is worth saying that all these figures are pre-recession ones (for 2007), but for whatever reason young people are more likely to work part time and/or on a temporary basis; sometimes voluntarily and sometimes not.

6.1. Ethnicity

In the current recession in the UK, young black, Black British and mixed race people have suffered from the biggest increases in unemployment²³. Black or Black British people between the ages of 16 and 24 have the highest rates of unemployment at over 48 per cent. This was an increase of 12.8 per cent since the start of the recession. Mixed race groups have seen the biggest increases in unemployment, from 21 per cent in March 2008 to over 35 per cent in November 2009. For white people in the same age group unemployment rose from 12.4 per cent to 20.4 per cent. The lowest increase was amongst Asian and Asian British, but the unemployment figure of 31.2 per cent is still much higher than for white people.

6.2. Education

Unemployment is highest for those with no qualifications at 43.2 per cent²⁴. This was an 11.04 per cent increase between March 2008 and November 2009. Even the most educated have suffered though. In November 2009 over 17 per cent of graduates were unemployed.

6.3. Gender

Overall young men have done less well than young women. The unemployment rate for male graduates, for example, was 22.16 per cent in November 2009, compared to 13.47 per cent amongst female graduates. The worst affected group was, however, young females with no qualifications. Unemployment amongst this group was 46 per cent. This was a rise of almost 18 per cent during the period²⁵.

²³ Figures come from an analysis done by the institute for Public Policy Research *Youth Unemployment and the Recession*, 2010 (last accessed 24 June 2011).

²⁴ Institute for Public Policy Research, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Institute for public Policy Research, *op. cit.* see note 14.

7. Age: The Unrecognised Vulnerability

Here we consider the extent to which employer perceptions of young people are based on stereotypical images attributing various characteristics to age.

7.1. *What Employers Want*

One government research report²⁶ stated that young people do generally experience the same generic barriers to work and training as do older people. Often, however, there is an age dimension, e.g. the report cites Hasluck²⁷ who “found that 18 to 24 year olds are disadvantaged by relative lack of work experience and work-related skills compared to older people; however, rising qualifications levels more generally mean that young people without qualifications now face even greater barriers to employment”.

It seems apparent that employers often look for personal skills and traits in young people when considering them for recruitment. It is clear that many young applicants will not possess the skills necessary to carry out jobs that require training and experience; hence the likelihood for employers to consider other factors in the selection process. It is suggested here that the necessity for this may lead to employers being influenced by stereotypical assumptions about young people. One study based in Cumbria, in the north of England, suggested that employers were looking for included adaptability, customer service skills and communication skills; in other characteristics mentioned included enthusiasm, inter personal skills, basic work disciplines and a positive attitude²⁸. One potential source of stereotypical attitudes stems from a lack of contact with the subject about whom views are formulated and this survey brings this out with regard to young people. When employers were asked about their assessment of the skills of young men living in the

²⁶ B. Newton, J. Hurstfield, L. Miller, R. Page, and K. Akroyd, *Training Participation by Age amongst Unemployed and Inactive People*, Report of research carried out by the Institute for Employment Studies on behalf of the Department for Work and Pensions; Department for Work and Pensions Research Report No. 291.

²⁷ C. Hasluck, *Employers, Young People and the Unemployed: A Review of the Research*, Employment Service Research Report No 12, Sheffield: Employment Service, 1998.

²⁸ A. Canny, *What Employers Want and What Employers Do: Cumbrian Employers' Recruitment, Assessment and Provision of Education/Learning Opportunities for their Young Workers*, *Journal of Education and Work*, 17 No. 4, 2004, 495-513.

district of their company, there was a marked difference between those who employed young people and those that did not, e.g. when asked about basic work discipline, some 76 per cent of those who employed young people thought it was good or reasonable as against some 35 per cent of those who did not employ young people. Some 61 per cent of those who employed young people thought that it was good or reasonable in contrast to just over 30 per cent of those who did not.

Further evidence is provided by a UK government report on the unemployed and inactive²⁹. They cite a number of pieces of research including an Australian study which found, particularly in relation to young people, that employers placed high importance on maturity, adaptability, trainability, a willingness to take the initiative, cleanliness, good manners, interest in the job and a respect for authority³⁰. In relation to young people, the report states³¹ that:

There is some evidence of differing employer requirements, depending on the age of candidates applying for roles, and these have often evolved from stereotypes. As Snape (1998) reports, employers perceived positive contributions that young people make to the workforce as: helping to maintain a balanced workforce age profile; receptiveness to learning and training; flexibility; and their costs (they can often be paid less than older people).

Less favourable views of the young include the perception that young people have less life-experience; that they may not be able to handle certain types of jobs and that they may be more expensive in terms of training and the level of staff supervision they require (Snape, 1998).

The indications from research suggest that the soft skills are an important factor in the recruitment of young people. It may be that the judgments of these soft skills are more likely to be subject to stereotypical assumptions than more objective criteria such as qualifications or technical skills.

²⁹ B. Newton, J. Hurstfield, L. Miller, R. Page, and K. Akroyd *What Employers Look for when Recruiting the Unemployed and Inactive: Skills, Characteristics and Qualifications*; Report on research carried out by the Institute for Employment Studies on behalf of the Department for Work and Pensions, 2005.

³⁰ A. Taylor, *What Employers Look For: The Skills Debate and the Fit With Youth Perception*, *Journal of Education and Work* 18, No. 2, 2005, citing M. Wooden, *Impediments to the Employment of Young People* Leabrook, SA, National Centre for Vocational Education Research, 1999.

³¹ At par. 2.8.2; relying upon D. Snape, *New Deal for Young People: Unemployed People: A Good Deal for Employers?*, Employment Service, 1998.

8. Institutional Discrimination

Here is a quotation from a report prepared by Age Concern:

Our lives are defined by ageing: the ages at which we can learn to drive, vote, have sex, buy a house, or retire, get a pension travel by bus for free. More subtle are the implicit boundaries that curtail our lives: the safe age to have children, the experience needed to fill the boss's role, the physical strength needed for some jobs. Society is continually making judgments about when you are too old for something – and when you are too old³².

This paper does not argue that all age barriers are wrong, but argues that there needs to be adequate justification for them. This must be especially true for institutional barriers which apply to all in a particular age range.

One of the ways in which governments, especially, attempt to deal with the issue of unemployment for young people is to discriminate against them by removing employment protection or introducing rules that give them less favourable treatment than older workers.

Governments also somehow seem to think that young people become more attractive to employers if they reduce the young person's employment rights. Some examples are:

8.1. Austria

*Hütter v Technische Universität Graz*³³ was a case heard at the European Court of Justice. It concerned national legislation which excluded periods of employment completed before the age of 18 years from being taken into account when determining the remuneration of contractual public servants. The Austrian Law ('the VBG') did not permit any period of service before the age of 18 years to count towards any entitlements related to length of service. Mrs Hütter completed an apprenticeship at the same time as another colleague who was slightly older. When they were employed for 3 months after the apprenticeship she was therefore on a higher increment because of the amount of service that she had completed after the age of 18 years. A number of possible legitimate aims were put forward to justify this policy. One of the aims put forward to

³² D. Abrams, *How ageist is Britain?* Age Concern; Age Concern has now merged with Help the Aged to form Age UK, 2005.

³³ Case C-229/08.

justify this policy was that the measure promoted the integration of young people into the workforce because they were less expensive³⁴.

8.2. France

In February 2006, the French Government tried to introduce a new employment contract for people aged under 26 years called the *Contrat Première Embauche* (CPE). This contract allowed for a two year period at its beginning when the contract could be terminated without justification by the employer and without any specific procedures to be followed by the employer. There was, of course, much protest against the proposals by the trade unions and by students, leading to the closure of many universities. Eventually the CPE was withdrawn by the Government. The purpose of the new contract was to assist the employment prospects of young people and would likely to have been a legitimate aim. Yet it was openly discriminatory against those under the age of 26 years³⁵.

8.3. Germany

*Seda Küçükdeveci v Swedex GmbH & Co. KG*³⁶ was another case before the European Court of Justice. In this case the complainant had been dismissed after more than 10 years employment since the age of 18 years. Paragraph 622 of the German Civil Code provided, amongst other matters, that “in calculating the length of employment, periods prior to the completion of the employee’s 25th year of age are not taken into account”. Her period of notice was therefore based upon the three years’ service achieved after this age. The justification for this measure, according to the referring Court was the legislature’s assessment that young workers generally react more easily and more rapidly to the loss of their jobs and greater flexibility can be demanded of them. A shorter notice period for younger workers also facilitates their recruitment by increasing the flexibility of personnel management.

³⁴ See M. Sargeant, *The European Court of Justice and Age Discrimination*, *Journal of Business Law*, Issue 2, 2011, 144-159.

³⁵ See M. Sargeant (ed.), *The Law on Age Discrimination in the EU* Kluwer Law Publishing 2008; Chapter 4 about France is written by S. Laloume.

³⁶ Case C-555/07.

8.4. *The United Kingdom*

The full rate of the national minimum wage in the UK is not paid until a worker reaches the age of 21 years (until recently this minimum age had been set at 22 years)³⁷. The hourly rate for those aged 21 plus is £5.93; for those aged 18-20 it is £4.92 and for 16-17 year olds it is £3.64. These rates are due to increase in October 2011³⁸. One of the reasons put forward in justification for this is to make young people more attractive to employers. The government has said that, for example “younger workers are typically less skilled and productive than older workers”³⁹. Part of the solution to this is to have a lower minimum wage, although research for the Low Pay Commission is less than conclusive about the relationship between employers’ decisions to recruit and the reduced level of the national minimum wage.

Thus in all these cases there is an apparent justification that by reducing the rights of young workers, one can help them become more attractive to employers.

What is the evidence that taking away employment protection actually aids recruitment?

9. Individual Discrimination

There is further evidence (apart from that already presented) that young people have been discriminated against, or at least perceive that this discrimination has taken place, on the basis of their age. One survey commissioned by Royal and Sun Alliance⁴⁰ found that one in seven young workers (14 per cent) under the age of 25 years felt discriminated against in the workplace due to their age. This, according to the RSA summary, compared to one in ten (12 per cent) workers over 45 years of age. The research also found that more males felt discriminated against than females. Other research by the UK Employers Forum on Age⁴¹ showed that age discrimination was the top concern for young people; much

³⁷ See M. Sargeant, *The UK National Minimum Wage and Age Discrimination Policy Studies*, 31, No. 3, 2010, 351-364.

³⁸ There is also an apprentice rate which is not considered here.

³⁹ DTI, *Government Evidence to the Low Pay Commission on the economic effects of the National Minimum Wage*, November 2006.

⁴⁰ www.rsagroup.com (last accessed 12 July 2011).

⁴¹ www.eortrial.co.uk (last accessed 12 July 2011).

higher than discrimination on other grounds such as gender or race. The research found that almost one in five people aged under 20 “have been made to feel self-conscious about their age while at work or going about their daily life”.

A government sponsored survey⁴² found:

One-fifth of respondents reported that age discrimination is “not at all or not very serious” whilst 36 per cent reported that age discrimination is “very serious”. Younger age groups reported that age discrimination is more serious than did older age groups. For example, almost half (47 per cent) of those aged under 25 class it as “very serious” compared with 24 per cent of those aged 65-79 years.

Respondents aged under 25 are at least twice as likely to have experienced age discrimination than all other age groups.

10. Conclusion

This paper has reviewed some of the evidence and it is difficult not to conclude that young people suffer detriment based on stereotypes related to their age. The fact that employers tend to look at “soft skills” in the recruitment of young workers suggests that there is plenty of scope for stereotypical assumptions to play a role in the recruitment and selection process. There is still a need for further research, particularly with regard to employer views about younger workers, before there can be final conclusions about the extent of age discrimination against young people.

⁴² D. Sweiry and M. Willitts, *Attitudes to Age in Britain 2010/11* 13, In-House Research No 7, Department for Work and Pensions, 2012.

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