

Labor Market Uncertainties for Youth and Young Adults: An International Perspective

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A crisis for youth labor market conditions has been building globally for more than two decades, reflected in the persistently high rates of youth unemployment around the world, which is about three times as high as that for adults. About one in five young people are not in education, employment, or training, and a large share of young adults are working in the informal economy or in precarious conditions. This volume includes a collection of thirteen articles that examine the causes, patterns, and consequences of labor market uncertainties for youth and young adults in Europe, Latin/South America, the United States, and Asia, as well as a concluding article. They reveal vast inequalities among young people, with those having the least education and lowest skills, females, those with low family socioeconomic status (SES), ethnic minorities, and migrants being the most vulnerable. In this introduction, we describe the global trends and regional variation in labor market conditions for young people, explicate the importance of integrating young people into labor markets, and summarize the findings and policy implications of these articles.

Keywords: youth unemployment; transition to adulthood; school-to-work transition; NEET; precarious work; international comparison

Around one fifth of the world's young people are not in employment, education or training. Despite economic recovery, unemployment remains high, and youth are more likely to be unemployed than adults around the world. Low productivity levels, informality and working poverty remain major challenges, and as populations age, today's young workforce will have to increasingly support elderly persons. These global conditions require concerted efforts to ensure that young women and men have access to decent jobs. (International Labour Organization 2017, 11)

A crisis for youth labor market conditions has been building globally for more than two decades as reflected in the persistently high rates of youth unemployment. The International Labour Organization (ILO) reported that the world youth (ages 15–24) unemployment rate

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rose from 11.7 percent in 1991 to 13.5 percent in 2005 and remained high at 13.1 percent in 2018; and that youth unemployment was the highest among all age groups, on average nearly three times as high as adult unemployment (International Labour Organization 2013, 2017, 2018). Young people around the world are especially vulnerable to economic downturns and shifts in the labor market because they often lack required skills and work experience (Blossfeld et al. 2005; Bell and Blanchflower 2011).

Between 1997 and 2017, during which two major financial crises occurred—the Asian financial crisis and the Great Recession—there was a sharp decline in youth labor force participation rates, which fell by 9.3 percentage points (from 55.0 percent to 45.7 percent) while adult labor force participation rates dropped only 2.0 percentage points (International Labour Organization 2017). Estimates show that the labor force participation of youth in countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has declined significantly after the Great Recession; employment loss was five times higher for them than it was for other adults (ILO 2013; Carcillo et al. 2015; OECD 2016). The duration of unemployment also tended to be longer, and many young people became discouraged and withdrew from the labor force. Across OECD countries, almost 20 percent of unemployed youth were without work for a year or longer in 2015 (ILO 2015).

Economic globalization and the restructuring of education and labor have resulted in increased uncertainty in the labor market. Besides the high unemployment rate, the way in which young workers engage in the labor market is changing, with a clear move toward less secure forms of work. The labor markets are characterized by increasing flexibility of work with more short-term or no work contracts and a rise in precarious forms of employment that offer poor pay with little benefits and in poor working conditions (Kalleberg 2018). Facing intensified global competition, many corporate employers have adopted a series of strategies to undermine labor power, including hiring part-time, contingent workers, and opting for temporary staffing agencies for personnel (Kalleberg 2011; Green 2017). Most young women and men aged 16–29 are now in wage

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employment and the proportion has been increasing, particularly in low- and middle-income countries, where this trend has led to more casual and precarious wage employment with high instability, low pay, and poor working conditions. In upper-middle-income countries, there has been growth in temporary, casual, and gig work, which lack job security or occupational or health protection.

Another concern for this volume is the share of the youth population that is idle, or what is termed “not in employment, education, or training” (NEET). These individuals are particularly vulnerable to continued adverse labor market outcomes in the wake of an economic downturn, and their prolonged detachment from the labor market may be costly to their future employment prospects and to their societies as a whole. In addition to the social costs of unemployment or underemployment—including social unrest, lost income, lower tax revenues, increased government payments, and decreased economic output—NEETs also tend to experience future wages and lifetime earnings that are lower and they have more frequent future spells of unemployment (Belfield et al. 2012).

The Significance of the Youth Transition into the Labor Market

“Youth” are young people who are experiencing the transition from adolescence to psychologically and financially independent adulthood in the life course. Entry into the labor market is a critical marker of an individual’s transition into adulthood and can have long-term socioeconomic ramifications for one’s life trajectory. Without a smooth transition into the job market, it is difficult for youth and young adults to transition into other significant adulthood events, such as marriage, parenthood, or home ownership (Xenos et al. 2007). Research shows that early employment is a critical gateway to productive human capital and social network accumulation, which are strongly linked to future labor market attainment (e.g., Yeung and Rauscher 2014). A successful transition into the labor market is imperative for young adults to gain a sense of self and social identity and economic autonomy (Furstenberg 2010; Yeung, Alipio, and Furstenberg 2013). An arduous early unemployment experience has a long-lasting scarring effect on a person’s career trajectory (Kawaguchi and Murao 2014) and is associated with poor mental health, a high tendency to commit suicide, and violence-related mortality (Gunnell et al. 1999; Roelfs et al. 2011).

Labor market behavior also affects economic development, social integration, political stability, and the demographic landscape in a society. The increasing globalizing economy and global aging trend have resulted in a shrinking of the working-age population, and hence the disappearance of the first demographic dividend, making human capital of the working-age population more important than ever for a society and its individuals. Whether the demographic dividend is availed depends on how the young people transition into adulthood and under what circumstances. When youth and young adults are not effectively engaged in the labor market, society experiences a serious loss of human capital. To identify

the most vulnerable and develop effective policy interventions for this population, researchers and policy-makers need to better understand the factors that create—and the consequences of—an unstable labor market for young people.

In the next sections, we discuss the barriers to the labor market for youth and young adults and describe the regional variation in employment for this group around the world. We then outline the structure of the volume and contents of the articles in this special issue.

Barriers to the Labor Market for Young People

There are many macro- and micro-level reasons that young people have the hardest time in the labor market. Many of them have little or no work experience; some have low education or no relevant skills needed by the markets. At the structural level, how well organized the labor market and education systems are to integrate young workers, and how the school curriculum provides relevant skills that match the market demand affect how successfully young people can transition from school to the labor market. At the family level, family resources, networks, and cultural capital play important roles in how smoothly young people can transition from school to work and what kind of jobs they are able to secure. Individual characteristics such as age, gender, race, education, soft skills, motivations, and effort are also factors that powerfully shape young people's transition into the labor market.

Studies have noted that the challenges that young people face are related to the structural changes in recent decades, both on the demand and the supply sides (Sum et al. 2013). On the demand side, labor demand has shifted away from routine work and toward jobs that require technical skills or postsecondary training (Autor, Levy, and Murnane 2003; Acemoglu and Autor 2011). Some researchers have suggested that education and workforce institutions have not kept pace with these shifts and fail to provide today's youth with the relevant skills to obtain employment—particularly for those who do not complete college (Annie E. Casey Foundation 2012; Symonds, Schwartz, and Ferguson 2011). On the supply side, there is evidence that the labor market has become increasingly polarized over time, with a hollowing out of middle-skill jobs (Autor, Katz, and Kearney 2008). At the top end of the high-skilled job market, remuneration rises continually for the best qualified among graduates from elite universities and with degrees in the most sought after subjects. Jobs requiring intermediate skills, particularly those in the manufacturing sectors, are declining, thus hollowing out the occupational structure in developed countries. At the low-skills end of the labor market, the more routine jobs are being automated, and many of those that cannot be automated have been outsourced to countries with cheaper labor costs (Green 2017). As many of the low-wage workers suffer declining protection from state regulation and trade unions, wages and conditions in low-skilled sectors continue to deteriorate, particularly in countries with so-called flexible labor markets. As studies have shown, the opportunities for the best and least qualified continue to diverge (Green 2017).

These conditions create inequalities among youth in which the most vulnerable groups are those with the least education and lowest skills, females, those with low family socioeconomic status, ethnic minorities, migrants, and the disabled (Elder and Kring 2016; Heyne 2017; O'Reilly et al. 2019). Moreover, these inequalities tend to magnify during economic downturns and have a long-lasting impact on one's future job trajectories and well-being. These disadvantages early in life render future progress in reducing inequalities even more difficult. Intergenerational transmission of opportunities with family resources and networks affect youth in ways that subsequently influence educational attainment, future income, and occupational status. In some cases, social ties, not education, become the key resources that help not only in finding a job quickly but also in accessing privileged ones (Kogan, Matković, and Gebel 2013).

Regional Variation

These trends have affected all young people around the world, but there are considerable variations across and within countries, reflecting differences in industrial structure, education, and employment systems, as well as differences in preferences and cultural norms (Cho and Newhouse 2013; Schoon and Lyons-Amos 2016). Among all regions, the Arab states had the highest youth unemployment rates, hovering at 30 percent in 2017. North Africa is the second highest at 28.8 percent. Latin America (e.g., Brazil and Mexico), the Caribbean, Europe (e.g., Greece and Spain), and Central Asia are all above the world average of 13.1 percent (ILO 2017). While Asian and Pacific countries generally have rates lower than average, at about 10 percent (ILO 2017), the 1997 financial crisis hit the Asian youth labor market hard, with most of the countries experiencing a significant increase in the youth unemployment rate, especially in Indonesia, the Philippines, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Japan. The 2008 Great Recession hit Hong Kong, Singapore, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan the hardest in Asia.

While the number of unemployed youth has declined from the crisis peak of 76.7 million in 2009, the youth unemployment rate has been increasing again since 2014. ILO estimates that the number of unemployed youth worldwide rose by another 134,000, to reach 71.1 million in 2018 (ILO 2017). The deteriorating situation is driven by the increase in emerging economies, such as those in Latin America (e.g., Brazil and Mexico), the Caribbean, Central and Western Asia (e.g., Tajikistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan), and the Asia-Pacific region (e.g., China, Hong Kong, South Korea, Indonesia), where youth unemployment rates were projected to grow to around 13.9 percent in 2018, the highest level since 2003 (ILO 2017).

Concerns about employment quality also vary across regions. Those who work but remain in poverty are disproportionately young workers. An estimated 16.7 percent (70 million) of employed youth in emerging and developing countries in 2017 were living on an income below the extreme poverty threshold (defined as US\$1.90 per day), with the highest youth working poverty rates in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia at 69 percent and 54.2 percent, respectively, in 2017 (ILO 2017). Globally, more than three-quarters (76.7 percent) of working youth

are in informal jobs, such as home-based workers (dependent subcontract workers, independent account producers, and unpaid workers in family businesses) and street vendors. This proportion is extremely large in developing countries, where informality affects 96.8 percent of employed youth (ILO 2017). Across emerging countries, youth in informal employment account for 83 percent of the total working youth. This partly reflects the large share of young workers engaged in domestic services and contributing to family work, especially in developing countries.

The proportion of the youth population who are in NEET is estimated to be highest in the emerging economies. However, defining NEET is problematic, as this category includes heterogeneous groups, such as women who stay at home with caregiving responsibilities; youth who are unemployed, unavailable to work due to illness or disability; those discouraged from looking for employment; and those voluntarily in NEET. It is a broad indicator of underutilization of youth who could potentially contribute to national development. Despite the difficulty in obtaining statistics with consistent definitions across countries, ILO estimates that globally 21.8 percent of youth were in NEET and about three in four of them were women in 2016 (ILO 2017). Southern Asia has the highest rates with 28.6 percent overall and 5.8 and 53.3 percent for males and females, respectively; Northern Africa is the second highest with 26.1 percent overall and 16.7 and 36 percent for males and females, respectively; followed by Central and West Asia with an overall rate of 23.4 percent, and 14.8 percent for males and 32.1 percent for females, respectively (ILO 2017). These trends have declined only slightly in the last decade and are expected to continue barring effective intervention.

Organization of this Special Issue: A Guide to the Articles

This special issue of *The ANNALS*, consisting of 13 empirical studies and a concluding article, examines the prevalence and antecedents of unemployment, underemployment, and young people in NEET; and their implications for the youth transition from school to work, their career trajectory, and the demographic behavior in countries across North America, Latin and South America, Europe, as well as East, Central, and West Asia where young people have experienced great challenges in the labor markets. The articles depict the macro labor market situations in countries on different continents and explain how young people negotiate the process of transitioning into the labor markets and the barriers they face. All articles use data from recent national surveys and censuses. One article also supplements the quantitative analyses with in-depth interviews. Most articles focus on those under the age of 30; three articles extend the life course to the early thirties. Half of these articles were presented at a conference organized by the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore and held in Singapore in November 2017, "Labour Market Uncertainties for Youth and Young Adults." The other half were identified at major conferences and invited to participate in this collection. Articles in this collection cover five themes.

The first few articles describe the labor market uncertainties that youth and young adults face in the Global North and Global South—in two emerging economies (Hong Kong and Brazil) and two developed countries (the United States and the United Kingdom). They discuss the complexity, the changes, and some persistent inequalities in the youth labor market in the specific social and historical contexts in each society. The second theme is the barriers that graduates from tertiary education face in two emerging economies—China and South Korea. The third is the intergenerational transmission of resources and networks in the school-to-work transition, with evidence from three countries in Central Asia and the Caucasus, as well as a country in the Balitic region of Europe—Lithuania. The fourth theme focuses on those in NEET, with evidence from China, Brazil, and Mexico. The final theme is the impact of labor market uncertainty on young adults' fertility intentions and future job trajectories, with data from Europe.

Labor market uncertainties in the Global North and South

Shibuya, Fong, and Guo make an important contribution by linking the post-colonial theories and the historical migration contexts of Hong Kong to explain the labor market performance of the local-born and migrant population in Hong Kong, where the youth unemployment rate was 5.3 percent in 2016 when the overall unemployment rate was 2.9 percent. They drew data from the 1996, 2006, and 2016 Hong Kong censuses. Their findings reveal the vulnerability of migrants in the labor market and they suggest that when examining youth unemployment in postcolonial societies, “the birth cohorts and migration cohorts need to be considered simultaneously” due to the different labor market dynamics in colonial and postcolonial societies. The authors find that the younger birth cohort that arrived in Hong Kong after 1997 was less likely to be unemployed compared to the older cohorts, reflecting the benefit of the postcolonial context that encourages more social and economic inclusion between Hong Kong and its surrounding areas.

Schoon and colleagues review evidence of how young people in the UK make the transition from school to work in a changing socioeconomic climate. Since the 1970s, following increasing globalization, women's labor force participation, and the introduction of new technologies, employment opportunities in Europe have been increasingly uncertain and precarious, and inequalities in educational and occupational attainment have persisted. These trends are reflected in the increase in youth unemployment, temporary contracts, and people in the NEET status in the UK. The authors stress that research should account for the roles of both structure and agency in shaping youth's transition from school to work, and they call for more policy attention to the “forgotten half”—those who do not attend or complete university.

Arnaldo Mont'Alvao and his colleagues focus on the implication of the economic recession between 2014 and 2017 for young people's employment status in Brazil. They show that youth and young adults' labor market status deteriorated significantly during the recession, especially in terms of underemployment.

This situation was the most dire among those 18–24, with an underemployment rate that rose from 36 percent to 43 percent and an unemployment rate from 15 percent to 31 percent. Moreover, the study found that for females, nonwhites, and the less educated, the hazards of unemployment were higher and the gaps widened during the recession. They find, however, that underemployment is more prevalent among men than among women. The authors call for the government to work on protecting and providing coping strategies for youth in an unstable economy, especially for women, those less well-educated, and nonwhites in Brazil.

While unemployment rates have declined in the United States in recent years, inequalities among racial and socioeconomic groups have persisted. Sun uses panel data that span almost 20 years (1979 to 1997) to examine the determinants of entering care-work jobs for the late Baby Boomer and early Millennial cohorts of young men in the United States. With the expansion of the paid care-work sector, more males have joined the care economy, which has long been considered only for women. Sun finds persistent racial inequality among male care workers. For the 1979 cohort, blacks were more likely to enter low-paying care-work jobs when the increase in available jobs was concentrated in middle- and high-paid jobs. Although job growth was mainly driven by the increase of low-wage jobs during the 2000s, for the Millennial cohorts, being a black man increases the likelihood of being unable to enter middle-to-high-paying jobs. Policy interventions are needed to address persistent racial inequality and to help African Americans access better-paid jobs.

Challenges for the highly educated

Having a higher education does not necessarily guarantee a smooth transition into the labor market. Many countries rapidly expanded their higher education in the last few decades, which has created some challenges for the labor market transition of young people. The second theme in this issue is the labor market situation for young adults in higher education. Two articles examine college degree holders' job status, both focusing on young adults' transitions from college to the job market in two countries that experienced a very rapid expansion of higher education—China and South Korea. Both articles highlight the mismatch between the rapid increase in the supply of these highly educated young adults and the demand in the labor market. Hao and Zhang investigate the extent to which China's college expansion since the 1990s had an impact on graduates' timing for finding the first skilled job after graduation. They found that the college expansion caused a delay in entering the labor market for those who attended technical colleges but not for those who had attended four-year colleges. In addition, family origin and social status remain significant factors in shaping the college-to-work transition after higher education expansion.

Korea similarly went through a college expansion in the last few decades and now has one of the highest gross tertiary enrollment rates in the world. Choi and Bae's study of Korea shows that the proportion of graduates who were searching for a job increased from 2006 to 2015. The reputation of the university and the

college major makes a difference. Those who graduated from a lower-ranked university and those in education and the humanities face particularly significant difficulties in finding a job when compared to those majoring in engineering, medicine, and natural sciences. Moreover, job quality, measured by job stability and firm size, declined over time. Graduates from high-ranking universities were increasingly unable to secure decent jobs. Males are also more likely to land in a stable job and work in a large firm than are females. Both studies underscore the urgent need to better match the needs of the labor market to the skills that students acquire in higher education.

Intergenerational transmission of family resources

The next two articles highlight the role of intergenerational transmission of resources and networks in the school-to-work transition. Gebel focuses on women's employment opportunities. Research shows that young women are more disadvantaged in the paid labor market (International Labour Organization 2015; Yoon 2015), especially among Muslim countries. A substantial proportion of women end up in informal job arrangements that are usually of poor quality. Gebel conducts a comparative study on chances and barriers for young women to join the paid labor force in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Tajikistan in the Caucasus and Central Asia—two Muslim countries and one Christian country. All three countries have experienced a transition from a socialist to an emergent capitalist state. The political and economic shock due to civil wars and revolution have added additional uncertainties to the lives of young people. All three countries show a strong positive association between women's educational attainment and being active in the labor market, including finding a formal job. Moreover, early marriage and childbearing contribute to women's labor market inactivity in all three countries, but once a woman finds a job, the early family formation does not hinder their chances of entering the formal sector. The study also finds that parental economic resources and networks helped young women to find a formal job in Azerbaijan and Georgia but not in Tajikistan. Enhancing women's education, especially in Muslim countries where female labor force participation is relatively low, is important.

Braziene focuses in her article on the role of education for both the youth and their parents in Lithuania, a post-Communist Baltic country in northern Europe. Using data from a nationally representative study in 2013, the study finds that the education of both the youth and their parents plays a determining role in youth's entry into the labor force. The lower the parental education, social capital, and cultural capital are, the more their offspring lack general competence and face difficulty in transitioning into and adapting to their first jobs.

Youth in NEET

The fourth theme focuses on the emerging global phenomenon of young people who are in NEET. Three articles focus on situations in emerging economies—Brazil, Mexico, and China. They provide a glimpse into who is in the NEET group and what factors are associated with the NEET status. Consistent statistics on

NEET are often hard to find due to the different definitions of work and training activities among countries and whether informal or sporadic work, unpaid labor or care, and domestic labor are counted in the calculations. Yang reports, based on survey data in China, that 8 percent of the population aged 15–35 had been in NEET status for more than 6 months from January 2011 to July/August 2012. She found that young adults aged 22–25 had the highest risk of being in NEET. Tertiary education had a protective effect for young people against being in NEET. Moreover, individuals living in cities that had higher than average educational levels were less likely to be in NEET. However, education did not have a significant effect on women's employment status. Young women in China faced greater challenges in joining the paid labor market than their male counterparts, with 14 percent of women as compared to 2.7 percent of men in NEET. Married women and female migrants have a significantly higher risk of being in NEET. This study suggests the need for greater support for females during their transition from school to work, particularly for female migrants and those who are married.

Sánchez-Soto and León use both quantitative analysis and in-depth interviews to provide a picture of who was at high risk of “not studying, not working” (“NINIs”) and how the young people understood their employment status in Mexico City, the capital of a country that has the fifth highest percent of youth not working or attending schools (OECD 2016). Their quantitative analysis found that inactivity is prevalent among both the less-educated females and highly educated males. Their qualitative analysis also revealed that the barriers to the labor market include poor job opportunities; the inability to afford tuition and related fees; the mismatch between school training and the workforce needs; and a lack of vocational guidance, internship opportunities, and mentoring. Some women are in NINI because they are participating in care work at home, and others are in search of less traditional careers. Both economic opportunity and family background are determinants of being in the “NINI” status.

The third article on NEET by Dias and Vasconcelos calls attention to the heterogeneity among young people in the NEET category in Brazil. They report that gender division of labor in the country—with women engaged in unpaid domestic and care work—has contributed to the high proportion (75 percent) of young women in NEET. Yet they also find another group in NEET—high-income, highly educated young people who have enough wealth to cope with adversities. Because NEET can include such different groups of youth, analyses of NEET should distinguish between these groups and policy-makers should propose different policy interventions tailored to each, the authors say.

Impact of labor market uncertainties on family formation and career trajectory

The final two articles look at the consequences of job instability. Karabchuk analyzed data from the European Social Survey, which includes twenty-seven European countries in 2004 and 2010. The study finds that job insecurity and income instability decreases fertility intentions, and that labor markets with liberal labor legislation, which ensures more stable jobs, contribute to young couples' intentions of having a child. Unt and Täht examine a graduating cohort during a recession in Estonia, which was hit hard by the global recession in 2008. They find

that early unemployment during an economic downturn does not have a scarring effect on later earnings, although recurring unemployment is associated with a higher risk of poverty and income loss in these graduates' later careers.

Making sense of it all

In the last article of the volume, Kalleberg sums up the value of these contributions, briefly outlining some of the changes that have led to transformations in the employment relationship between young workers and employers and what these changes mean for youths' labor market opportunities. He also discusses how the articles in this issue advance our understanding of the impacts of labor market uncertainties and insecurities on young people's labor force experiences on a range of important outcomes, from wages to fertility. Finally, he draws some conclusions about the future of labor market policies that the articles in this issue suggest would allow young people to gain a better foothold in the labor force and have satisfying careers.

Conclusion

A substantial proportion of youth and young adults in the world are socially excluded from participating in a productive life, and many more are having difficulty transitioning into adulthood. This represents a major waste of human resources—young people are a key resource for our future, especially given the global trend in aging. Failure to integrate youth and young adults into the labor market creates tension among generations, genders, and social classes that could erupt into social unrest seen in recent years in countries such as Greece, Spain, Egypt, and France, where the youth unemployment rates were at 39.5 percent, 34.3 percent, 32.6 percent, and 17.9 percent in 2018, respectively. To achieve sustainable growth and development, countries need to facilitate effective youth transitions into the labor market and provide young people with well-paying, secure jobs that can sustain their labor market participation and enable them to move into other adulthood stages such as gaining financial independence or marriage and parenthood. The fourth industrial revolution will only continue to shift jobs to the service sector and jobs will be increasingly automated with technological advances. This could compromise job quality and have an uneven impact among social groups across countries and labor market sectors.

This special collection surveys labor market uncertainties for youth and young adults in different regions of the world and examines the patterns, causes, and consequences of these labor market uncertainties. The articles reveal vast inequalities in the labor market by age, gender, and socioeconomic status. While not comprehensive (with notable omissions of countries in Africa, Southern Asia, Southern Europe, and the Arab regions), this collection makes a significant contribution to our understanding of youth labor market uncertainties; it raises new questions, and invites further international comparative work in the future. The

articles also shed light on how socioeconomic and policy contexts, as well as family-level factors, contribute to youths' labor market transitions.

An increasingly globalized economy and interconnected population flows mean that solving the problems of youth employment in isolation within a country's national boundaries will not be effective. The articles in this volume suggest that policies should include both demand and supply-side interventions that emphasize that 1) education and skills need to match the needs of the market; education and training need to incorporate technology; 2) more training, internships, and mentoring need to be provided to young people to facilitate transitioning from school to work, especially for young women; 3) policy-makers need to provide protection for vulnerable groups, such as those from families with low socioeconomic status, young women, ethnic minorities, and migrants, so that they can access the paid labor market and middle- and high-paying occupations; and 4) different interventions need to be designed for different groups based on their needs and the challenges they face in finding jobs that facilitate their successful transition into adulthood.

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