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NEETs' Transitions to Employment and Education in Argentina.

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Abstract

This study addresses the NEET phenomenon in Argentina using the country's Household Survey for the period 2003-2018. The approach identifies NEETs challenges pertaining to decent job opportunities and education completion. The static perspective is extended by the use of a Multinomial Logit model, where three potential transitions are analysed: finding a formal job, an informal job, or re-entering into the education system. By contrasting these outcomes with the baseline alternative of staying as NEET, it is possible to recognise the main drivers to each of the new states. As was expected, gender, age, education level, income, and family educational and employment background were identified as highly relevant explanatory variables, but with different strength and even sign, depending on the outcome.

Palabras Clave: NEETs, Transitions, Employment, Education

Clasificación JEL: J13, J62, J46

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Introduction

During the last decades, youth difficulties to access and retain a job position has been part of international agenda in both developed and developing countries. The category of NEET, stated as the share of young people not in employment nor in education or training (as a percentage of the total youth population), has been in the centre of the discussion.

The classification is being used with more frequency for its advantages in measuring the potential youth labour market entrants, as it is broader than youth unemployment, including the individuals outside the labour force not in education or training. From the opposite position, it is a better measure than the youth inactivity rate, as the latter includes those youth who are not in the labour force because they are currently enrolled in either formal or informal education, and thus cannot be considered currently available for work.

The core importance of the indicator relies in its competence for identifying the young individuals particularly at risk of both labour market and social exclusion, as they are neither improving their future employability through investment in skills via schooling or training nor gaining experience through employment (Contini *et al.*, 2018). In addition to the unemployed and the discourage youth workers, the youth figuring as totally inactive are viewed as occupying an unconstructive and potentially threatening position in the social topography (Robson, 2008). A long-term duration in the state can lead to potential scarring effects on successive generations and concomitant economic and social impacts (Maguire, 2015).

However, there is still an ongoing debate about the usefulness of the indicator for policy implications that do not take into account the complexity of youth marginalization. As a matter of fact, young individuals characterized as NEET could be associated with diverse underlying vulnerabilities, and there are specific circumstances where being a NEET could not even be related with a weak labour-market position at all. This is the case of those in transitional states, as well as those who have made the decision not to work or study, to take care of their relatives or young children (Yates and Payne, 2006). With that in mind, country specific analysis must be performed before daring to outline any general conclusion about the scope and relevance of the category.

The objective of this essay is to determine which characteristics of the youth that conform the NEET indicator influence the diverse labour market transitions. In particular, it aims to identify the main drivers for youth to transition from being NEET to a formal position, an informal job or to education.

The hypothesis that guides this study is, therefore, that youth mobility to decent employment is highly sensitive to its socio-demographic characteristics, but also to relevant macroeconomic factors and general labour market features, making them more vulnerable to exclusion or expose to non-registered jobs than adults. With regards to the methodology, a multinomial logit is performed as to determine the attributes associated with the different labour market destinations.

The outline of the rest of the article follows with the literature review. After, in Section 3, there is a descriptive analysis of the recent macroeconomic and labour market features of Argentina. Section 4 presents youth educational and employment features, with special emphasis in NEETs characteristics. The data and methodologies employed are set out in Section 5. The results from the analyses are presented in Section 6, while the main conclusions are outlined in Section 7.

Review of Literature

The use of the NEETs' indicator as a method to comprehend youth particular vulnerabilities dates back to late 80's, when changes in the UK unemployment benefit regime left aside youth under 18 and limited the entitlements of those under 25. Facing youth unemployment official denial, new ways of estimating the incidence of labour market vulnerability among young people surfaced (Maguire and Thompson, 2007).

Most of the studies acknowledge NEET indicator advantages for bringing into the frame of marginality groups that were previously left only as non-actives, such as young mothers or those with disabilities (Furlong, 2006). Also, the proliferation of non-standard forms of employment, the growing complexity of youth transitions and the wakening of full-time routes through education required a new labelling that could collapse different exposures to career stagnation (Bynner et al, 1997; Roberts, 1995).

Nonetheless, several studies recognize that the fusion of those not in education nor training regardless their status of employment could be non-informative, as long as the decision of participating actively in the labour market would also be related with diverse

attributes and needs. This suggests a grouping of individuals with little control over their situation with those exercising choice, thereby promoting a state of confusion about factors associated with an apparent state of disadvantage. That entailed that most of the studies in the literature ended up disaggregating the discrete categories to understand or to effectively target policies (Contini et al. 2019).

Furlong (2006) found that those young individuals that have never experienced being NEET possessed highly different characteristics from those who were considered NEET at least in one period; the author stated that the first group had a more positive educational experience as well as more advantage family backgrounds (with their parents more likely to have degrees, to work in professional and managerial occupations and less likely to be unemployed). The main difficulties associated with getting a job were related to a perceived lack of suitable opportunities or to qualification deficits. Nonetheless, personal and circumstantial issues (from family and housing problems, to health and lack of transport) were also identified as constraints, especially for young women.

Kelly and McGuinness (2015) did a study for Ireland, comparing the evolution of the NEET indicator before and after the Great Recession, and contrasting it with youth unemployment and adult's unemployment. Using a probit model of the determinants of transitioning to employment, they found that being male, old or with higher education positively influence getting a job. The authors later undertook a decomposition analysis with an Oaxaca-Blinder methodology, for two moments before and after the crisis, and verified that while composition effects were virtually irrelevant to explain the 8% fall on the transition rates, coefficient effect (i.e. return to observable characteristics) explained most of the change.

Several international studies have taken a longitudinal perspective instead of analysing the incident of NEET in cross-sectional framework. The main reason for using this methodology is that the length of the permanence in the NEET state can have diverse consequences in the future of the young individual (Thompson, 2011). While some authors focused only on NEETs with at least six months in the state (Bynner and Parsons; 2002; Stanwick *et al.*, 2017), others paid their attention to the turnover From NEET state (Quintini and Martin, 2006).

In a more recent study, Contini *et al.* (2019) addressed the NEET phenomenon of Italy in using a longitudinal perspective, by drawing a long-term NEET risk profile and examining the labour market histories of the young population. In their study, they found

that NEETs experiences in Italy are largely an issue of unemployment, except for older females with children, which portrayed themselves as mainly as inactive.

When it comes to the applicability of the indicator to non-developed countries, diverse outlooks can be found in the literature. On one side, authors like Quintini and Martin (2014) recognised the utility of the indicator for emerging economies, as it captures both the risk of unemployment and the inactivity resulting from discouragement and marginalization, which may reflect the accumulation of multiple disadvantages such as the lack of qualifications, health issues, poverty and other forms of social exclusion. On the other side, ILO (2015) argued that in low-income countries there are limited options for educational attainment as well as lack of social safety nets. In this context, most young individuals are engaged to some form of income-generating activity. Although employment is sometimes an only option for youth in non-developed countries, the quality of available jobs offers little scope for youth to gain a stable, prosperous livelihood.

Argentina, as a historically upper middle-income country, present both a high level of unemployment and substantial levels of informal jobs, which indicate that both perspectives could apply. The labour market presents not only frictions to those willing to work, but also most of those effectively finding a job have no guarantee of its quality conditions nor a stable growth path. Many researches were done during the last decades pertaining to the Argentinian youth labour market features, such as their transitions to and from employment or the vulnerabilities associated with their performance in comparison with adults. Studies with specific focus on NEETs are not so extensive, although the concept is stated as a separate section in some of the most recent literature.

The topic has been addressed using diverse frameworks. While some researchers have studied NEET's characteristics using a static perspective within a sociological framework (Saraví, 2004; Miranda, 2015; De la Torre and Baquerin de Riccitelli, 2017), others have done qualitative studies performing local surveys, in order to get new approaches of youth employment paths or their experiences during professional trainings (Longo, 2010; Gentile, 2018; Fridman, 2015).

When it comes to longitudinal perspectives, Perez *et al.* (2013) and Perez and Busso, (2015) built transition matrices using Argentinian's National Survey (*Encuesta Permanente de Hogares*) but combining them with qualitative analysis. By characterizing

households for their income and using a social class approach, both studies emphasised the role of social and economic capital of the households to determine youth careers path.

One of the main concerns of recent literature, and from this article, is related with the effect of being NEET on the quality of the future job. Studies referring developed countries are mainly worried that belonging to this category for long term could worsen youth insertion and promote the so-called new forms of employment (ILO, 2016a). In most developing countries, however, jobs with low degree of protection are not so atypical, and youth carers are since several decades exposed to weak conditions. The linkage between youth features and the quality of their future jobs has been conventionally elaborated by reports of the International Labour Organisation (Vezza and Bertranou, 2011; Bertranou and Casanova, 2015; Bertranou *et al*, 2017). These reports have been actualizing key youth employment indicators for Argentina, emphasising the barriers that adolescents and young individuals must deal with during their transit to formal employment. In addition, the studies summarized the diverse policies being adopted in Argentina during the last decades, concerning youth social protection and programs that addressed a better employability of the youth or their income stability.

Finally, there is still a gap in local literature for longitudinal analysis with econometric approaches that focus specifically on NEETs. In that sense, most of the recent econometric studies analysing youth occupational mobility concentrated on young workers already employed and their transitions to other positions, unemployment or inactivity. In that sense, both Maurizio (2011) and Álvarez and Fernández (2012) analysed youth transitions starting from an employment status and examined the socio-economical vulnerabilities associated with precarious rotations. This article will try to close the gap and analyse the transitions to employment from jobless and out-of-education youth.

Youth: attributes and challenges

The economic recovery that started in 2003 is associated with a significant upgrade of labour and social indicators that undoubtedly enhanced youth working conditions. However, the high incidence of unemployment and labour informality, as well as occupational instability, kept being core dimensions that still identify young people as a particularly vulnerable group within the labour market (Bertranou *et al.*, 2017). Along the period, insertion possibilities were not equal for all young individuals, as not everybody

possessed the same assets (school certificates, networks, family support) nor the same priorities (career ambition, financial urgencies), and thus their occupation pathways were shape in diverse ways (Perez et al, 2013).

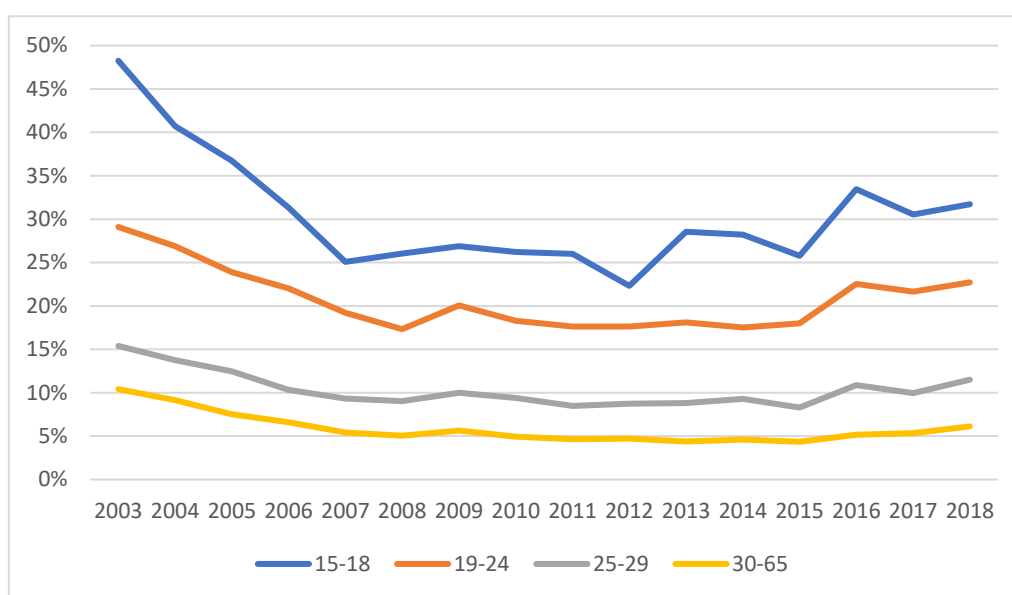
When contrasting youth labour opportunities with those of the adult population, it is possible to verify that disparities have increased during the 15 years under analysis. Graph 1 expresses the unemployment rate for youth² and for adults³.

Even though the unemployment rate performed a declining dynamic along the period for all age groups, levels were constantly higher for young individuals. The sharp decrease in unemployment for the youngest group verified in the initial years had a sudden stop at 2007, when it reached 25% of those active teenagers. For the rest of the groups, the employment recovery last until the following year. The international crisis of 2009 increased unemployment for all ages, particularly for the full young cohort, but did not changed dramatically the already stagnated trend. After 2015, however, it is feasible to grasp a change in the tendency, as unemployment raised for both youth and adults.

² When it comes to youth age definition, ILO's school-to-work transition survey use the expanded definition of young population between 15-29 years old. While in most other contexts, a young person is defined as a person aged 15 to 24 years, for the purpose of this article, the end year is extended to 29 years. For analytical purposes and following the usual fragmentation of age done in the literature (Miranda, 2015), along this article youth will be disaggregated by three age groups; early young people or teenager (ages 15-18), full young people (ages 19-24) and young adults (ages 25-29).

³ The comparison group of adults was constructed following Argentinian's legal retirement age: 65 for men and 60 for women. For simplicity, on the charts the group is stated as 30-65.

Graph 1: Unemployment by age group



Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Following Perez (2010), when unemployment goes down, it becomes visible the difficulties of certain groups to find a job. In this case, youth. Along the period where both economic growth and stagnation were registered, the gap between youth and adult unemployment expanded⁴.

In fact, the Graph A.1 from the Annex shows that the ratio of unemployment between aggregate groups of youth and adults has constantly increased. The beginning of the period presents the lowest ratio for the three age groups, being 4.3 times bigger for teenagers, 2.8 for full young people and 1.48 for those between 25 and 29 years old. Displaying a continuous increase, the ratio reached a maximum in 2016 (6.46; 4.36; 2.10; respectively for each age group). However, the latest crisis affected more the adults, and started a reduction of the ratio.

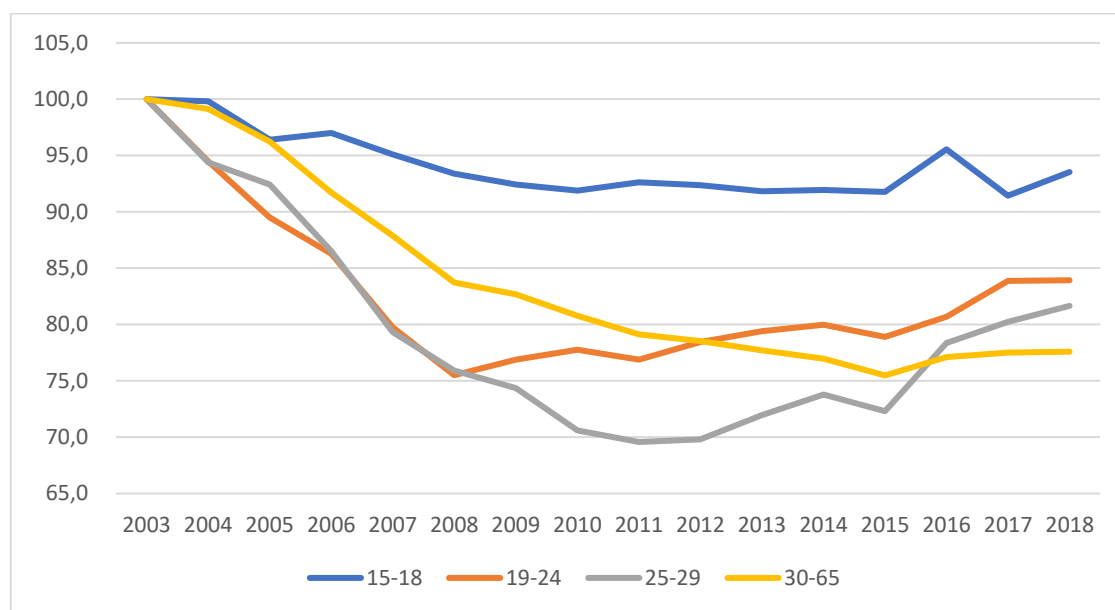
Youth labour market vulnerabilities, nevertheless, are express in more dimensions than only unemployment. As a fact, when young individuals get a job, in most of the cases it is not register under social security. Furthermore, they are more prone to occupational instability than adult workers (Maurizio, 2011; Bertranou *et al.*, 2017).

Persistent inequalities in employment opportunities are revealed, reflecting deep-rooted socio-economic problems among young people who often put them at a disadvantage in

⁴ Although the intensity of the decrease seems to be higher for the youngest at the beginning of the period, there is a visual effect as their baseline unemployment in 2005 is extremely high (near 48%).

a disproportionate manner and are then brought upon their entering adulthood (ILO, 2016b). Graph 2 displays the normalized trends of informal employment⁵ during the period under analysis, by age groups, where this unequal decent employment opportunities can be grasped. This considers the rate of informal employment 2003 as 100 for all age groups. In the Annex is Table A.1 with the complete series of informal employment by age as a percentage of total employment.

Graph 2: Normalized Informal Employment by age group



Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

The interesting feature of Graph 2 is that it allows to contemplate how the saturation of labour market affected age groups with a certain lag over the period. While the youngest group did not show a sharp decrease even in the period of economic growth, full young people and young adults had a strong and similar decreasing rate until 2008. After that, the group between 19-24 years old had a reverse in the tendency and started to increase their share of informal employment. The oldest group that compose youth category was still presenting a drop in their informal rate, and the decrease was so intense that from 2007 until 2012 the rate was below adults' rate. However, after that year, the tendency changed its downward sign and started scaling up. Adults' reverse of tendency happened in 2015, but it was still not as shrill as for the youth.

⁵ Along this work, labour informality is considered following the "legal approach", which is associated with the evasion of labour regulations (ILO, 2013).

Indeed, the slowdown in economic growth and the later contraction of the economy has had an impact on the quality of youth employment, turning around some of the positive trends of the last decade (Bertranou et al, 2017). Even in the recent years of recession there were no significant changes for adults, while youth informal employment share changed its dynamic in tune with economic behaviour. Considering that youth have a higher rate of wage employment relative to adults, the issue becomes more problematic. In that sense, there is a consensus in the international literature that young people tend to be hard hit by economic downturns (Kelly and McGuinness, 2015; Verick, 2011). As they tend to be concentrated with more intensity in temporary jobs and cyclically sensitive industries, they tend to be more exposed to unemployment during recessions.

Maurizio (2011) and Álvarez and Fernández (2012) performed studies of youth employment characteristics and transitions in Argentina for the 90's and the new century, respectively. The authors deepened youth labour instability, its intensity, characteristics and the heterogeneity within the youth subgroups. Both articles found that intermittency is higher for young workers than for adult workers, partly because they are inserted in more precarious jobs, with less qualifications and that exhibit itself less stability. Although this evidenced segregation in the labour market demand, it is distinguished that adolescents, those that drop out secondary school and the youth living in low income households are more prone to precarious transitions, mainly to non-formal positions, unemployment or inactivity (Maurizio, 2011). The similarity in the results from both studies, performed for two diverse decades and macroeconomic circumstances, gives an impression of the structural difficulties young population faces while going through their first job experiences.

Informality, however, is not the only difficulty that youth can face while getting a job. There are many individuals that, even when finding a remunerated activity, are not satisfied with the number of hours they are designated. Graph A.2 from the Annex shows how the underemployed trend for the different age groups behave during the period under analysis. While the young adults have similar characteristics than those of adults, the youngest group present on average 50% more of workers declaring no to be pleased with the hours assigned. Although the rate is declining for all groups, the gap was continuously widening for those under 24 years. This trend exhibits that employment opportunities were getting scarce and this vulnerable group was facing limited quality offers, both in terms of social security coverage and number of working hours.

Summing up, vulnerability of young population is affected by their fewer employment sensitivity to economic growth, in both quantity and quality. Although the last crisis affected adults more in terms of employment positions, it heavily altered the quality of employments available for youth. In that line, Beccaria and Maurizio (2018) stated that sustained economic growth makes occupational dynamics more predictable and thus makes it easier for employers to hire staff through long term work contracts. On the contrary, macroeconomic instability generates uncertainty about the future economic and labour context. This can encourage the evasion of labour standards and thereby increase the hiring of workers in irregular terms. As it is possible to grasp from the descriptive analysis, youth population faced more challenges in both scenarios.

Education attendance and dropouts

Youth transition to employment is transversally crossed by the ongoing process of education (Miranda, 2008). Besides the competences and skills learned during mandatory middle or secondary education, its completion accredits young people to undertake effective labour search. In fact, on the demand side, employees acknowledge the degree of high school as a differentiator sign against those that have abandoned during the learning process (Bertranou *et al.*, 2017). Therefore, a low level of educational attainment has been found to be a key determinant in the likelihood of a young person becoming unemployed (Kelly and McGuinness, 2015).

Argentina is one of the countries of the region that has achieved almost universal school attendance for children between 5 and 12 years old (Paz and Cid, 2012). However, the education attendance rate declines notoriously with age, and thus older teenagers present significant lower participation. By 2018 it was close to 85% for 17 years old and 69% for 18 years old.

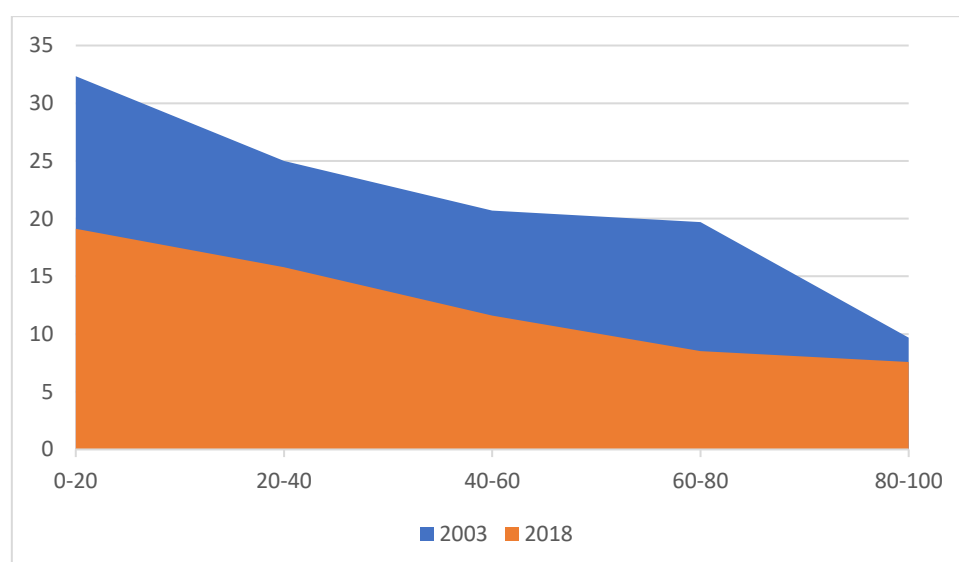
Bertranou *et al.*, (2017) emphasized the issue of elder youth still undergoing secondary education. In 2018, 20% of those 19 years old, 11% of those 20 years old and 7% of those 21 years old continued attending mandatory education. Moreover, dropout rates (i.e. the percentage of individuals that were not currently attending to education and had not complete secondary level) were of 18%, 21% and 23%, respectively. However, it is worthwhile to point that dropouts had decreased more than 10% since the beginning of the period under analysis for those young people with ages among 19 and 21 years old.

Overall, 40.8% of the youth between 15 and 29 years old were attending some type of education, regardless their employment status, in 2003. By 2018, the global share of studying youth was 46.1%. This means a general youth attendance increase of 5%. Diverse studies confirmed that the share of teenage attendance has been increasing for the last 35 years (Paz and Cid, 2012; Benedit and Miranda, 2015). This authors also stated that the trend has slow its intensity, even though in 2006 there was implemented the National Education Act, which made secondary education compulsory.

Following Beccaria *et al.* (2017), the results from ENAPROSS⁶ Survey performed in 2011 showed that the main reasons for non-attendance at educational establishments among young people in the youngest group are maternity or paternity, lack of motivation to continue studies and lack of financial resources. In fact, several authors have studied the relation between education attendance and socio-economical household position, concluding that there is a high correlation between them (Filmus *et al.*, 2001; Miranda, 2015; Jiménez y Jiménez, 2015).

As shown in Graph 3, although during the period under analysis those teenagers not in education had reduced their share over total population of the same age, not attending to secondary education shows a negative correlation with per capita income.

Graph 3: Percentage of young population aged 15-18 not in education, by percentile of income. Years 2003 and 2018



Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

⁶ Protection and Social Protection Survey (*Encuesta de Protección y Seguridad Social*)

It has been widely studied that early school leaving carries a high cost for future labour incorporation. In fact, the insufficient accumulation of competences provided by the education system can make entering a quality job much more difficult for a young person when he or she reaches adulthood (ILO, 2007; OCDE, CEPAL and CAF, 2016).

The results of the last Survey of Activities of Children and Adolescents (EANNA) performed during the years 2016-2017 shown that school attendance among young people of 16-17 years old differed between those performing an economic activity and those who did not. The negative relation among teenage work and educational performance or assistance is clear: while the rate of non-assistance among teenagers not performing any productive activity was of 8.2%, those working had a desertion rate of 22.7%. In that sense, early work can certainly be a barrier to proper learning. This is problematic indeed, considering that 31.9% of teenagers reported doing at least one productive activity.

Although male teenagers had higher desertion rate even for those not working (9.7% vs 6.7%), this gap is exacerbated for those involved in a productive activity (27.8 vs 16.5%). When it comes to performance, it is verified that while 46.6% of those teenagers performing any type of productive activity have repeat at least one year of their education, repetition only affects 29.1% of those not performing productive activities. Marchionni *et al.* (2007) found that working is the main reason for abandoning or not starting secondary school. This could be pointing to a critical family situation in which the young man is encouraged to leave his studies with the aim of obtaining a job and thus complement household income (Maurizio, 2011).

NEETs features

The term NEET has been coined to identify young individuals no engaged in education, employment or training, with the aim of expanding the focus from youth unemployment to include those who have given up looking for work or who are detached from the labour market. The common attribute that places them in the same category is precisely to stay out of some of the key socialization and social integration institutions during that stage of life (Saraví, 2004). This concept implicitly acknowledges both education system and labour market as the two essential spheres of social inclusion. If young individuals are not receiving any sort of training, they could be at risk of being marginalized from labour market in the middle and long run, and thus social exclusion could become permanent (Miranda, 2015; Bertranou *et al.*, 2017).

The importance of this broader array of vulnerabilities among youth has increase during the last years, and a big expression of its late significance is its proposal as the sole youth-specific target for the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)⁷. The vagueness of the borders between unemployment and inactivity, and the fluidity of transits between one state and another constitute a distinctive feature of the youth labour market (Freeman y Wise, 1982). This flexibility could substantiate the inclusion of both indicators under the same category.

However, there is still a non-solved discussion along the literature about the age range of the NEET category. While some studies focus on very young people aged 16-18, i.e. right after the end of compulsory education (Fahmy, 2006), OECD considers individuals between 15 and 24 and ILO between 15 and 29. There are studies considering even a wider group, including those individuals until 34 years (Chung, Bekker and Houwing, 2012). In Argentina, must of the studies pertaining to youth only include individuals until 24 years old as it is the expected year for finalization of a tertiary degree (Maurizio, 2011; Miranda, 2015). As it was noted at the beginning of the section, for this study the broad definition of NEET has been selected. This aims to recognize that some young people remain in education beyond the age of 24, with the hope of capturing more information on their post-graduation employment experience (Matsumoto and Elder, 2010).

Following ILO Definition⁸, the NEET indicator is constructed as:

$$\text{NEET rate (\%)} = 100 \times \frac{(\text{Number of youth} - \text{number of youth in employment} - \text{number of youth not in employment who are in education or training})}{\text{Total number of youth}}$$

When considering the relevance of the category for Argentina, it is mandatory to quantify how many young individuals are cover by the classification. With a total population of near 44.4 million (DESA, UN; 2019), and a share of population between 15 and 29 years old of 24,3%, by 2018 the projected amount of youth not in employment, education nor training was expected to be of near 2.15 million. Gender disparities are clear: 64% of young women against 36% of men. With that into consideration, there is still a significant

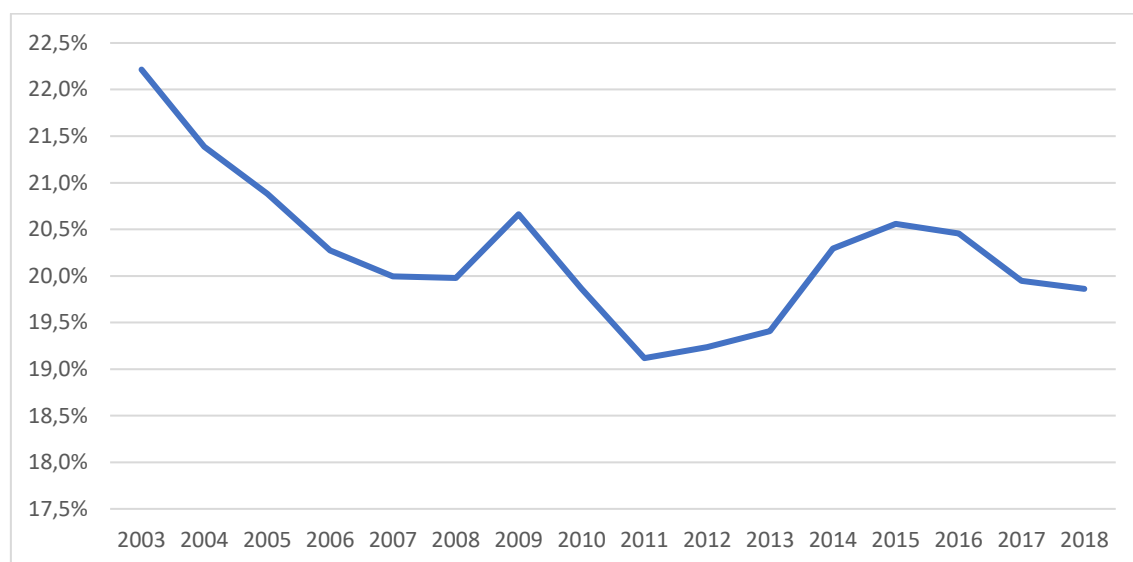
⁷ The second target within Goal 8 is specifically “by 2020 substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training (NEET)” (ILO, 2015).

⁸ See ILO (2013).

proportion of youth that are not involved in any type of learning process, either by being employed or by incorporating new information through formal or informal instruction.

Nonetheless, as can be seen in Graph 4, the rate of young people under this category was not stable along the period. During the first years, tied with the sound economic growth, the dynamic of NEETs presents a decreasing trend. Although it displayed an important bump during the international crisis, the dynamic kept its downward tendency until 2011. During the years of economic stagnation, opportunities for young people became scarcer, and the indicator raised again. After that, the combination of a major education assistance of the young people and a decrease in real wages that pushed the adult young into employment (as it was stated, mainly informal) reduced again the rate of the category.

Graph 4 - Share of youth between 15 and 29 years not in employment, education nor training, by year.



Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

However, in line with most of the existing literature, it is acknowledged that NEET category is usually collapsing diverse vulnerabilities. Among other attributes, either age, gender or family income would delimit the scope of youth preferences and available opportunities. (De la Torre and Baquerin de Riccitelli, 2017). Graphs A.3, A.4 and A.5 from the Annex illustrate the disparities across these mentioned sub-groups of NEETs.

An important mention requires the discrimination of NEETs by income, as most of the youth under this condition seems to be also in households with the higher level of economic vulnerability. Paz and Cid (2012) stated that poor households face a big dilemma. They have difficulties to send youth to education (for the large direct costs

associated) and they have incentives for them to work (high opportunity cost). As was previously mentioned, income has a strong relation with dropping out of mandatory education. Since the probability of coming back to the education system once adolescents have dropped to insert in any labour activity is relatively low, it is expected that this group will maintain a low educational level and therefore face worst conditions to competition in the labour market (Álvarez and Fernández, 2012; Bertranou *et al.*, 2017).

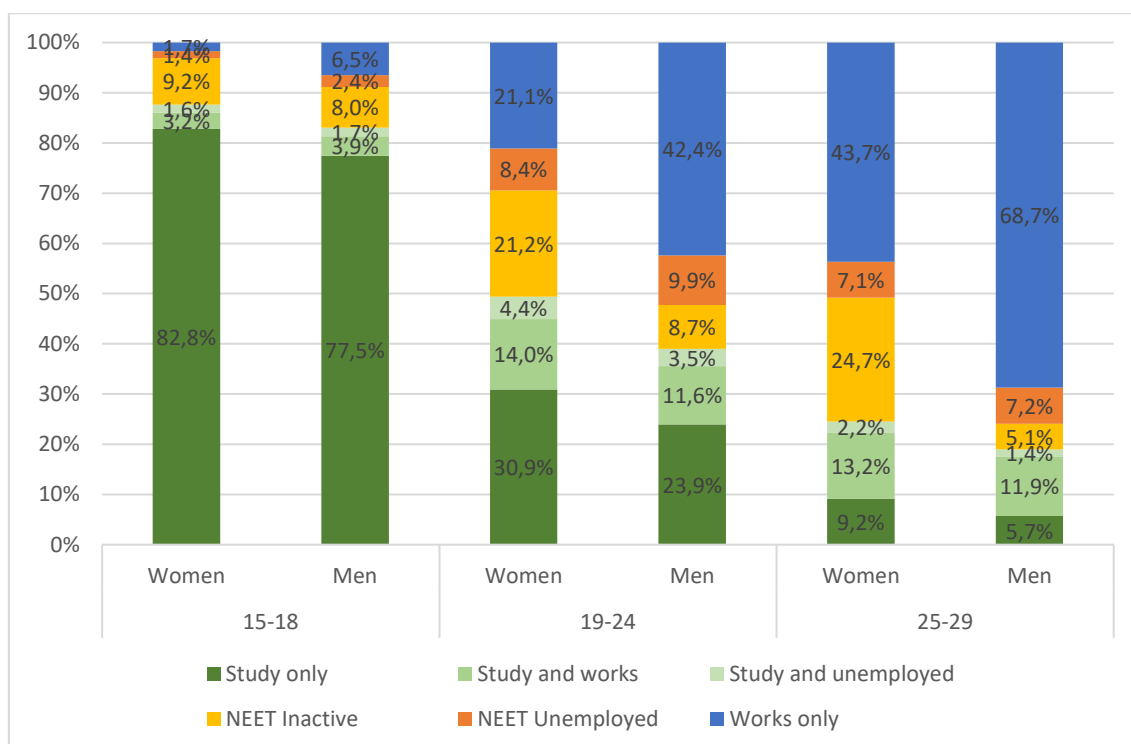
This heterogeneity of the NEET category means that both research and policy must begin with disaggregating to identify the distinct characteristics and needs of the various sub-groups (Furlong, 2006).

In order to put NEET classification into a wider framework and properly understand its importance, Graph 5 displays the composition of each age group by its school attendance and labour participation, *i.e.* the characteristics that demarcate the category, for 2018. As it was expected, the youngest group is more attached to education and thus their NEET rate is the lowest. The oldest group, on the contrary, is more committed with labour activities, and consequently presents a lower rate student condition than the middle age group. As a matter of fact, this last critical segment englobes those with issues finishing mandatory education, those having difficulties on their transition to work and those that had not define if they will continue their studies. It is interesting to note that indistinct of the age, women are more attached to the student state than men, either fully dedicating to education or complementing it while being active in the labour market. This contrast with the proportion of young men that only works, which not only increase with age but also wider the gap with only worker women.

The historical low labour participation of women is strongly depicted in the graph, as inactive rate is increasing while education is reducing. As it was identified in most of the available literature, women are in a more vulnerable position when it comes to school-to-work transitions, facing more barriers than men to access good quality jobs. Lack of outside demand for productive work by women, due to social or cultural reasons, discourages many young women from being active in the labour force (Matsumoto and Elder, 2010). Education appears not only as refuge, but also as a way of gaining competitiveness through human capital and overcome social bias to hiring men. Disparity is well capture in Graph A.4 from the Annex, where it is possible to appreciate that in average women are twice more exposed to being both out of labour market and education institutions than men, whose NEET' rate along the period is on average 10pp.

Graph 5: Composition of youth by school attendance, labour participation and gender.

Year 2018



Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

While picturing the relevance of NEETs in the total framework of youth activities, it is possible to see that the category doubles its relevance after secondary school, but it is still not trivial for teenagers, affecting near 11% of them. While pure inactivity affects always less than 10% of men, it has an increasing weight for women. In fact, almost one out of four women between 25 and 29 years old declare not being under education nor active in the labour market.

Understanding the composition of the NEET would help to comprehend better the drivers of each subgroup, as nowadays there is a general impression that they have a “passive attachment” to the labour market, and it is under question their willingness to engage with the world of work. This label can stigmatise young people by creating a false impression of their attitudes to employment (Maguire, 2015). Staying out of the employment, education and training is socially reprehensible and even punish, which increases NEETs vulnerability (De la Torre and Baquerin de Riccitelli, 2017).

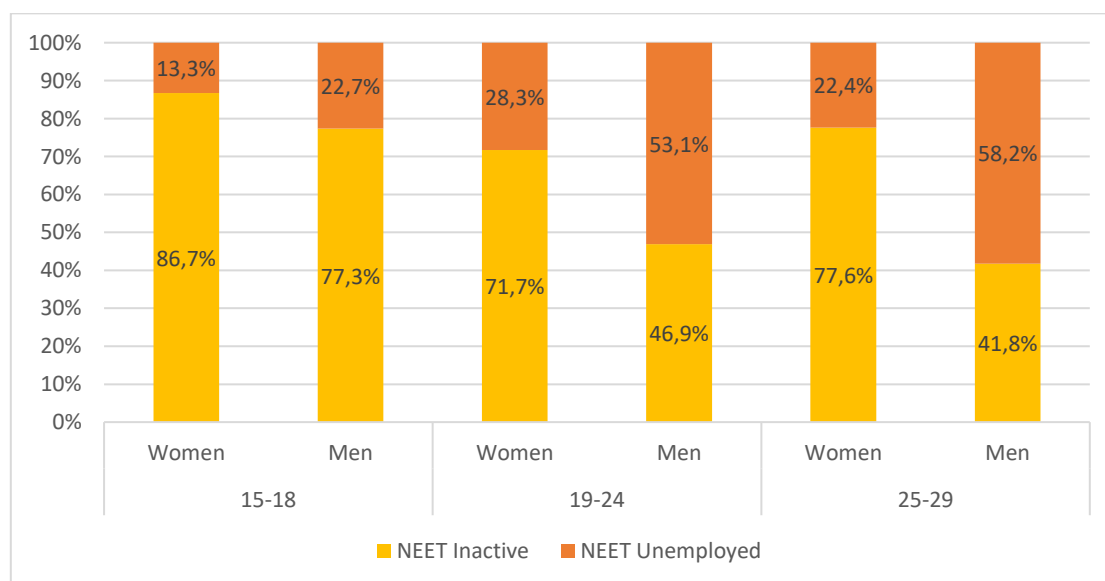
Although it is possible that some specific groups have less incentives to work, generalizing this conception hides most of young people vulnerabilities either for finding a quality job, for being discouraged or because they are attached to other activities.

Groups such as the long-term sick or disabled, or those with responsibilities for the care of children or relatives may not be available for work (Furlong, 2006).

While zooming the picture to the NEETs, Graph 5 present its distribution between unemployed and inactive, by gender. As it is usually highlighted in the international literature, the majority of the first subcategory corresponds to young women tending to the household, many of which are thus excluded from participating in the labour market. Nonetheless, putting a negative connotation on their home-care contributions with the label of “jobless” is a matter that requires careful consideration (ILO, 2015). The feminist economy broadly questions this statement, arguing that the denial of the valuation of the activities that support the material basis of family reproduction is a fact that consolidates the subaltern position of women, especially in the sectors of low economic resources (Miranda, 2015). Under that perspective, not considering household care and reproductive tasks as an economic activity turns the individuals involved invisible and undervalued.

For men, not only the quantity of individuals under NEET category is significantly lower, but also the distribution after mandatory education is encompassed in a more egalitarian way, with even a biased to activity. As it was mention before, in low income countries must of the working age population can’t afford being long term unemployed or inactive, and thus informal employment appears as at least income-generating opportunities.

Graph 4: Characterization NEETS by labour participation and gender. Year 2018



Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Trying to focalize more on the significant inactive proportion of youth, and with the intention of demystify the traditional negative denotation of the group, Graph A.6 and A.7 located at the Annex show that there is a huge gender disparity when it comes to family care work. The main outcome from the Graphs is that women's NEET composition are in majority taking care of family responsibilities, and thus being unpaid working at home. This dual scenario where women are being more dedicated to family care work and men expressing their higher participation in the labour market while remaining unemployed emerges as a structural feature of NEET category in Argentina.

During the previous section it was explained that unemployment had a noticeable downward trend during the first year. Nevertheless, while 20% of women NEET declared to be unemployed in average since 2008, this affected near 44% of men NEET. On the contrary, while 11% of men declare to be doing domestic work, this affected 63% of young women. When considering only those self-declaring as inactive (not counting unemployed), it is possible to see that, in average, 4 of each 5 inactive young women not in education nor training declare as main reason for being inactive their participation as domestic worker at their own home. This contrast with the share of 20% of inactive men not in education nor training.

Although the Graphs presented in the Annex collapse the information of NEET for all age groups, it is important to note that there are important differences between teenagers, full young people, young adults, and adults, for both genders. Table 1 presents the percentage of family carers within the inactive NEET population, by gender, for 2018. It is possible to grasp that performing home activities, either by taking care of a family member or doing domestic tasks explains a major percentage of those young women not in education nor training and neither looking actively for a job. In fact, while in average 33% of young people live in household where there is also an infant with age below 6 years old, when focusing in women that are NEET and the reason of their inactivity is specified by taking care of household activities, the presence of infants in the household is notoriously higher (61%, 72% and 73% for those teenagers, full young and adult young people, respectively). The association with infant care activates is thus straightforward and reveals the way in which the sexual division of care work and the strength that motherhood has to structure the life project of several women (De la Torre and Baquerin de Riccitelli, 2017).

Table 1: Percentage of inactive NEETs that are family carers

Gender	15-18	19-24	25-29	30-65
Women	53	74	88	93
Men	18	22	28	48

Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

As a conclusion, although young women present a structural bias to inactivity, after mandatory education this is mainly explained by home care activities. The extent until performing this role is an expression of vulnerability requires a deeper discussion that exceeds this article but must take into consideration its more probable counterfactual (working in an informal employment is helping young people to gain capabilities?). The lack of social institutions that may take care of young children or older familiars could explain women detachment of labour market.

On the other hand, unemployment is indeed affecting young people more than full adults. NEETs unemployed, both women and men, are evidently under a vulnerable environment, with lack of opportunities and more expose to instable or informal options. Finally, the important number of male young people that are not employed, in education nor training, neither seeking for a job nor helping at home is indeed alarming⁹. When most of employment indicators stabilized in 2008, this group remained steady in a value close to 40% of total male NEETs the following years. This fraction is perhaps the most expose to marginalization. As many authors had stated, an important part of this young people belongs to low-income families, where social networks and job opportunities are even scarcer.

Where are the NEETs going?

Contemporary young people tend to experience diversified paths into adulthood, irregular educational careers, delayed entrance in the labour market and intermittent working careers (Contini et al, 2019). Mobility in and out of the labour market, however, do not affect all young people with the same intensity. It is important to understand the underlying differences in the category, Table 2 to present a disaggregation of transition rates for NEETs, considering their initial job status.

⁹ This group is commonly known as “Status zero”, because of the difficulties for being assign a status and therefore fall under the common categories (Saraví, 2004).

As a stylized fact, those actively seeking for a job are more prone to find it, contrasting with those preferring to be out of the labour market, for any of the subcategories that was analysed. Although 23% of NEETs declared to be employed in the second survey, almost 40% of those seeking for a job ended up achieving it. This double those reporting being inactive at the time of the initial interview, what could suggest that actively seeking for more three months or more could be make difference in succeeding. On the contrary, those inactive were transitioning with higher rate to education, what could indicate that they may have been in pause, holidays or doing another non remunerative activity. Also, they may be already discouraged from not having found a job, and after some period out of the labour market they have decided to return to education. In overall, 10% of those characterized as NEETs transitioned to education.

One clear warning sign from Table 2 is NEETs' state dependence distinguishing feature. Almost 67% of those not working not being enrolled in education or training remained in the same state on two consecutive survey. Those studies that have deepened on the consequences of remaining as NEET over the time emphasise on the risks of social exclusion, pertaining to both material and cultural deprivation, as well as a detriment in future employment opportunities or reduced lifetime earnings (Thompson, 2011; Bynner and Parsons; 2002).

The second concerning issue pertains to the quality of the employment NEETs were able to obtain. More than 83% of transitions to employment were done to informal positions. In Section 4 it was stated that young people are characterized for their high informality rate affecting on average 56% of total those workers aged below 29 along the period. This means that those younger population transitioning to employment but coming from NEET state were engrossing informal employment rate.

Although access to formal jobs do not differ significantly among gender -considering total transitions to employment-, there is a big disparity when age is being under consideration. As it was stated along the article, the youngest population is more expose to vulnerable outcomes, and almost 94% of their transitions to employment when leaving education are done to an informal job, proportion that contracts for older young people. In concordance with Graph 2, in contrast with the first period, transitions to informal employment represent a lower proportion of total jobs acquired in the interval 2009-2015 but increased in the last phase.

When considering NEETs' transitions, gender has a significant role to determine whether youth are changing their state to employment, education or just remain as NEETs in the second survey. While only 16,4% of women transitioned to employment, 36.2% of men found a job. This enormous difference is explained mainly because of women's higher state dependence, as almost three out of four women remained NEET, in contrast with one out of two men.

When it comes to age differences, education popped up as the biggest destiny for the youngest group than employment. On the contrary, access to formal jobs had a positive association with age, as well as those remaining as NEETS. However, when discriminating those that remained in the same state by the second survey, it is feasible to see that the trend for those initially unemployed was indeed downward (as a result of them having gotten jobs in a larger quantity) while for those inactive was highly increasing, resulting in almost 80% of those between 24 and 29 years old having stayed in the same state. As it was shown in Graph 4, most of older young men were looking for jobs while older youth women were inactive, with higher family responsibilities influencing their decision. The importance of the econometric model of the following section relies on its consideration of the mentioned features all-together, and not in a static perspective as it is done here.

Table 2: Transition rates from NEET state to formal employment, informal employment, education or NEET state. Period 2003-2018

Variable		Formal Employment	Informal Employment	Education	Remain NEET
Baseline					
	NEET	3.8%	19.4%	10.0%	66.8%
	Unemployed	7.1%	31.4%	6.8%	54.7%
	Inactive	2.6%	15.0%	11.2%	71.2%
Gender					
Men	NEET	5.9%	30.3%	12.4%	51.3%
	Unemployed	7.8%	39.1%	6.1%	46.9%
	Inactive	4.6%	23.8%	17.0%	54.6%
Women	NEET	2.7%	13.7%	8.8%	74.9%
	Unemployed	6.2%	22.2%	7.5%	64.1%
	Inactive	1.9%	11.7%	9.0%	77.4%
Age					
15 to 18	NEET	1.0%	14.9%	24.2%	59.9%
	Unemployed	2.0%	27.0%	12.7%	58.3%
	Inactive	0.8%	12.5%	26.5%	60.2%
19 to 24	NEET	3.8%	21.1%	9.2%	65.8%
	Unemployed	6.3%	30.8%	7.5%	55.3%
	Inactive	2.7%	16.8%	9.9%	70.5%
24 to 29	NEET	5.2%	19.2%	3.6%	72.0%
	Unemployed	10.0%	33.9%	3.5%	52.6%
	Inactive	3.5%	13.9%	3.7%	79.0%
Period					
2003-2008	NEET	3.5%	21.2%	9.2%	66.0%
	Unemployed	6.3%	32.4%	6.4%	54.9%
	Inactive	2.3%	16.1%	10.5%	71.1%
2009-2015	NEET	4.1%	18.2%	10.4%	67.3%
	Unemployed	8.3%	30.8%	7.1%	53.8%
	Inactive	2.7%	14.3%	11.4%	71.5%
2016-2018	NEET	3.6%	18.7%	10.6%	67.1%
	Unemployed	5.9%	30.4%	6.8%	56.8%
	Inactive	2.7%	14.6%	12.0%	70.7%

Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

To sum up, along this descriptive section was stated that NEETs transitions stress complexity and non-linearity, as previously stated in Furlong (2006). The need of contemplating NEETs heterogeneity for understanding where they transit to is the main reason for performing a robust econometric model that contemplates the possible outcomes and control for socio-economic conditions, family background and macroeconomic/regional influences.

Methodology

Source of Information

The analysis was done using Argentina's national Household Survey, which is being constructed under the same methodology since 2003. In a strict sense, the survey provides cross-sectional data, nonetheless, due to its 2(2)2 setup it is possible to construct longitudinal data out of the rotating panels, and thus follow an individual for two consecutive quarters.

The concern to keep in mind is that it might be effectively re-interviewing a smaller proportion of households and people since there are some cases, known as the phenomenon of "attrition", that for various reasons had abandoned the panel (people who decided not to be interviewed again or difficulties in the field work, for example). This would not generate difficulties in principle, except for the fact that it can introduce a bias in the sample if the loss was not random. Although there is no correction performed in this work to confront this possible source of error, there is a history of studies that have done control for it and that do not show significant differences in the results achieved (Beccaria y Maurizio, 2007).

Another point to consider is that the amount of changes that are measured when comparing two successive waves of the survey can underestimate those effectively occurred. While comparing two observations with three months of difference, the transitions identified are those contrasting initial and final state. The individuals could have performed two or more movements during the period between two waves, without them being captured.

Despite the limitations mentioned, the information used allows obtaining a reasonable overview of the short run labour dynamics of the NEETs or their insertion to education. By keeping only NEETs in the first wave, it is feasible to identify any potential change of state during two consecutive surveys, and therefore appreciate if the individuals had found a job or get themselves into a study or training. On the contrary, if no change of state is recognized in the second survey, it means the individual had remain being under the group of NEETs.

It is possible that for each quarterly merged panel the amount of observations from the NEET category could not be enough to perform a deep analysis. To overcome this drawback, the methodology consisted not only in having merged consecutive panels, but

also having appended them for the entire period, and thus it was constructed a bigger dataset for the 15 years of available information.

The identification strategy will consist in a multinomial logit, where the dependant variable takes value 1 if the individual had found a formal job in between surveys, 2 if she/he found an informal job, 3 if she/he stayed as NEET and 4 if she/he started to study. Socioeconomic and personal information will define the explanatory variables, in order to distinguish the characteristics associated with transitions. In addition, macroeconomic effects will be considered using time and regional fixed effects. The study is restricted to young NEETS aged between 15 and 29 at the first survey, and the characteristics of the population refer also to the first of the two consecutive surveys.

Multinomial Logit

The methodology was selected for its faculty to predict categorical placement in a dependent variable based on multiple independent variables. In that sense, the Multinomial regression is an extension of the binary model, when the dependent variable is nominal with more than two levels. This can be thought as simultaneously estimating binary logits for all possible comparisons among the outcome categories (Long, 1997). Like binary logistic regression, it uses maximum likelihood estimation to evaluate the probability of the categorical membership (Starkweather and Moske, 2011). One of the attractiveness of this methodology is that it does not assume normality, linearity nor homoscedasticity.

Citing Long (1997), the specification of the probability of each of the transition states on the second survey as non-linear function of the explanatory variables can be demonstrated as it follows:

Let y be the dependent variable with J nominal outcomes (transitions to formal employment, informal employment, education and remaining as NEETs). The categories are numbered 1 through J , but are not assumed to be ordered. Let $\Pr(y = m|x)$ be the probability of observing outcome m given x . A probability model for y can be constructed as follows:

- Assuming that $\Pr(y = m|x)$ is a function of the linear combination $x\beta_m$. The vector $\beta_m = (\beta_{0m} \dots \beta_{km} \dots \beta_{Km})'$ includes the intercept β_{0m} and coefficients β_{km} for the direct effect of x_k on outcome m . The coefficient for the effect of having children in the household on the probability of transitioning to a formal

employment is different from the coefficient for the effect of having children in the household on the probability of transitioning to education.

- To ensure that the probabilities are nonnegative, it is necessary to take the exponential of $x\beta_m$: $\exp(x\beta_m)$. While the result is nonnegative, the sum $\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x\beta_m)$ does not equal 1 which it must for probabilities.
- In order to make the probabilities sum to 1, $\exp(x\beta_m)$ is divided by $\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x\beta_j)$:

$$\Pr(y_i = m|x_i) = \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j)}$$

With this normalization, it follows that $\sum_{m=1}^J \Pr(y = m|x) = 1$.

Although probabilities sum to 1, they could be unidentified since more than one set of parameters can generate the same probabilities of the observed outcomes. As a fact, multiplying the previous equation by $\exp(x\lambda)/\exp(x\lambda)$:

$$\begin{aligned} \Pr(y_i = m|x_i) &= \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j)} \times \frac{\exp(x_i\lambda)}{\exp(x_i\lambda)} \\ &= \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m + x_i\lambda)}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j + x_i\lambda)} \\ &= \frac{\exp[x_i(\beta_m + \lambda)]}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp[x_i(\beta_j + \lambda)]} \end{aligned}$$

While the values of the probabilities are unchanged, the original parameters β_m have been replaced by $\beta_m + \lambda$. Accordingly, for every nonzero λ there is a different set of parameters that results in the same predictions. That is, the model is not identified.

To identify the model, it is required to impose constraints on the β 's such that for any $\lambda \neq 0$ the constraints are violated. A commonly used constraint for the Multinomial Logit is that one of the β 's is forced to equal 0, such as $\beta_j = 0$. The choice is arbitrary and thus it is possible to assume that $\beta_1 = 0$.

Adding this constraint to the model results in the probability equation:

$$\Pr(y_i = m|x_i) = \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j)} \text{ where } \beta_1 = 0$$

Since $\exp(x_i\beta_1) = \exp(x_i0) = 1$, the model is commonly written as

$$\Pr(y_i = 1|x_i) = \frac{1}{1 + \sum_{j=2}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j)}$$

$$\Pr(y_i = m|x_i) = \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{1 + \sum_{j=2}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j)} \text{ for } m > 1$$

The coefficients of the Multinomial logit model estimated by maximum likelihood, are consistent and normally distributed estimator in large samples. Therefore, t-statistics and confidence intervals for the coefficients can be constructed (Stock and Watson, 2003).

However, in this study odds ratios were used to report the results, rather than predicted probabilities. Predicted probabilities, as the name suggests, predict the likelihood of an event occurring. They require thus the defining of a ‘typical’ case in the model. Conversely, the more variables in the mode and the more categories within variables, the less representative of the sample the typical case becomes (Stanwick *et al.*, 2017).

The Multinomial Logit expressed in terms of odds can be obtained as follows: the odds of outcome m vs outcome n given x , indicated by $\Omega_{m/n}(x)$, equal

$$\Omega_{m/n}(x_i) = \frac{\Pr(y_i = m|x_i)}{\Pr(y_i = n|x_i)} = \frac{\frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j)}}{\frac{\exp(x_i\beta_n)}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(x_i\beta_j)}} = \frac{\exp(x_i\beta_m)}{\exp(x_i\beta_n)}$$

Combining exponents leads to the odds equation:

$$\Omega_{m/n}(x_i) = \exp [x_i(\beta_m - \beta_n)]$$

Taking logs shows that the Multinomial Logit is linear in the logit:

$$\ln \Omega_{m/n}(x_i) = x_i(\beta_m - \beta_n)$$

The difference $(\beta_m - \beta_n)$ called a *contrast*, is the effect of x on the logit of outcome m vs outcome n .

Since the model is linear in the logit, it is simple to compute the partial derivate:

$$\frac{\partial \ln \Omega_{m/n}(x)}{\partial x_k} = \frac{\partial x(\beta_m - \beta_n)}{\partial x_k} = \frac{\partial x\beta_m}{\partial x_k} - \frac{\partial x\beta_n}{\partial x_k} = \beta_{km} - \beta_{kn}$$

For a unit change in x_k , the logit of outcome m vs outcome n is expected to change by $\beta_{km} - \beta_{kn}$ units, holding all other variables constant.

Since $\beta_1 = 0$, the equation for the comparison with outcome 1 simplifies to

$$\ln \Omega_{m/1}(x_i) = x_i(\beta_m - \beta_1) = x_i\beta_m$$

Therefore, for a unit change in x_k , the logit of outcome m vs outcome 1 is expected to change by β_{km} units, holding all other variables constant. This interpretation of β_{km} is simple since the effect of a unit change in x_k on the logit does not depend on the level of x_k or on the level of any other variable.

Econometric Results

Diverse specifications of the Multinomial Logit are presented in the Tables 3, 4 and 5 bellow each specific output: It comprises the Relative Risk Ratios (RRR)¹⁰ of transitioning to formal employment, informal employment and education, relative to remaining NEET. As this category was selected as the baseline, for those explanatory variables with a coefficient greater than 1 the risk of NEETs to transition to some of the new states relative to the risk of remaining as NEETs increases when the dummy takes value 1.

The general model includes dummy variables mentioned in the previous descriptive sections (Gender, Age group, Period). It also contains socio economical controls, such as education, marriage status and family responsibility, as well as potential household intergenerational influences, such as education and quality of the employment of the head of the household (HH). For these last two controls, dummies measuring if the adult economically responsible of the household has secondary education completed or belongs to a formal employment were incorporated¹¹.

In addition, dummies that measure the place of the household in the income distribution were added, in order to control for a proxy of social class (Thompson, 2011; Miranda, 2015). The access to social transfers was also included, to corroborate if these programs may have a disincentive effect on youth. Finally, regional controls were added. Robust standard errors had been used, as suggested by Long and Freese (2014).

¹⁰ Similar interpretation of odds when the category has only two outcomes.

¹¹ Another variable controlling for the position of the young individual in the household was added (i.e. if himself was perceived as the head of the household). Therefore, these two variables were not interacted with whom the head was. In further studies, the approach could involve a gender perspective and control for mother's education, another relevant variable not distinguished in this analysis. The variable pertaining to education has value 1 if the HH has education lower than complete secondary and 0 if complete or higher. The variable capturing the quality of employment takes the value 1 if the HH currently has a formal employment or 0 if he holds an informal position.

In additions, several comparative models where computed conditioned on the main characteristics. In that sense, it is feasible to contrast how RRR modified for gender, age, period and initial NEET classification (inactive or unemployed).

Transitions from being NEET to formal employment

One of the main outcomes of the transitions to formal employment, in contrast with those that stayed as NEET, is the significant relevance of both gender, age and education. As a matter of fact, the odds of transitioning to formal employment relative to remaining NEET are 3 times greater for men than for women, holding the other variables constant. The ratio is 3.4 times higher for those elder youth than for teenagers, and 10.2 for those with complete tertiary than for those with complete primary. The increasing value of the coefficient for both age and gender dummies show that the more educated and older is the individual being NEET, the higher the odds of transitioning to a formal employment than to staying NEET. These results are analogous to those found by Kelly and McGuinness (2015).

The specification of the model with explicit focus on gender, age, period and original status offers wider perspectives of the presented results. Interestingly, almost none of the coefficients change its “sign” for any of the specifications, in the sense that nearly all the values above 1 kept being above 1 indistinctive of pre-selecting for these attributes. However, it did change the nominal value of the odds or turn some of the coefficients non-significant, implying diverse strength of the effect.

As an example, having complete tertiary education (or being currently performing that level) has twice a positive effect for transitioning to formal employment for young women than for men, exhibiting how human capital has a stronger effect for the first group. On the contrary age seems to be a stronger attribute to foster formal employment for men than for women.

A positive effect is seen in the results concerning to the attributes of being the household head. This result show that being in charge of a family generates incentives for getting an income, and thus searching with more enthusiasm a job. The urgency of providing income to the family group, especially when there are children present, modifies the behavior of the individual, making him more likely to accept offers that perhaps with less responsibilities he would not have accepted.

If the young individual is not the head of the household, a positive influence is also revealed when the person economically in charge of the family group has a formal employment. Therefore, there is certain intergenerational transmission of employment quality. Individuals coming from a family where the head is used to being part of the social security system are more likely to search for jobs with those standards, similar to the result found by Furlong (2006) with professional and managerial occupations. The result, however, does not seem significant for women and for those young individuals coming from inactivity.

The odds of transitioning to formal employment relative to remaining NEET for those initially inactive were half of those initially unemployed, showing that being actively seeking for employment indeed increases the probability of finding a job. In the same line, being married or receiving social transfers have lower odds¹². This means that having a potential extra support could induce young NEETs to remain as NEETs, perhaps as a result of waiting for better options. Interestingly, being married is one of the only variables that has a diverse effect for women than for men. For the latter, the coefficient is 2.3, meaning that they have more chances to move to employment than staying NEET.

Also presenting a below-one coefficient is the case of the variable that controls for the presence of children under 6 years old at the household. As was effusively stated in the previous sections, the responsibility of doing care work of a family member, either for own maternity or to look after a relative, has a negative relation with transitioning to employment, in contrast with remaining as NEET. This effect, however, is relevant for women and not for men, and especially for the eldest of the youth.

¹² The results referring to social transfers, however, should be taken with some caution. As social transfers are assigned to those families with more vulnerabilities, potential endogeneity issues may arise, as the variable itself is constructed with self-selection bias. Nonetheless, as the regression controls not only for personal attributes but also for income and employment characteristics, the bias is expected to be alleviated.

Table 2: Transition from being NEET to Formal Employment. Relative Risk Ratios.
Multinomial Logit. Period 2003-2018 - Control group: remain NEET

	Relative Risk Ratios for Formal Employment										
	General	Women	Men	Age 15-18	Age 19-24	Age 25-29	Y 2003-2008	Y 2009-2015	Y 2016-2018	Inactive	Unemployed
1 if men	3.113*** (0.187)			3.288*** (0.774)	3.034*** (0.250)	3.158*** (0.303)	3.001*** (0.304)	3.300*** (0.287)	2.764*** (0.418)	3.542*** (0.325)	2.328*** (0.177)
1 if age 19-24	2.648*** (0.295)	2.632*** (0.550)	3.004*** (0.399)				2.865*** (0.526)	2.321*** (0.356)	3.814*** (1.360)	2.823*** (0.392)	2.630*** (0.497)
1 if age 25-29	3.411*** (0.396)	3.519*** (0.748)	3.961*** (0.566)				3.055*** (0.590)	3.115*** (0.501)	6.592*** (2.391)	3.877*** (0.565)	3.448*** (0.672)
1 if year 2009-2015	1.106* (0.0597)	1.104 (0.0855)	1.097 (0.0831)	1.289 (0.294)	0.990 (0.0745)	1.256*** (0.104)				1.066 (0.0816)	1.157* (0.0885)
1 if year 2016-2018	0.868* (0.0642)	0.865 (0.0944)	0.823* (0.0829)	0.671 (0.257)	0.737*** (0.0770)	1.075 (0.120)				0.935 (0.0963)	0.800** (0.0857)
1 if it is an inactive NEET	0.540*** (0.0292)	0.487*** (0.0390)	0.815*** (0.0593)	0.549** (0.132)	0.585*** (0.0433)	0.477*** (0.0403)	0.540*** (0.0504)	0.505*** (0.0393)	0.641*** (0.0849)		
1 if household head	1.850*** (0.170)	1.229 (0.174)	1.678*** (0.235)	0 (0)	2.036*** (0.308)	1.659*** (0.197)	1.979*** (0.335)	1.900*** (0.243)	1.471* (0.325)	1.511*** (0.223)	1.911*** (0.235)
1 if incomplete primary	0.408*** (0.0794)	0.346*** (0.140)	0.369*** (0.0828)	0.782 (0.435)	0.341*** (0.101)	0.425*** (0.127)	0.359*** (0.124)	0.468*** (0.123)	0.290** (0.161)	0.227*** (0.0667)	0.869 (0.230)
1 if incomplete secondary	1.417*** (0.138)	1.084 (0.188)	1.633*** (0.197)	2.649*** (0.968)	1.327** (0.179)	1.305* (0.204)	1.359** (0.212)	1.411** (0.200)	1.476 (0.404)	1.448*** (0.195)	1.313* (0.188)
1 if complete secondary	2.442*** (0.229)	2.557*** (0.400)	2.323*** (0.279)	4.832*** (1.758)	2.151*** (0.280)	2.589*** (0.375)	2.457*** (0.361)	2.480*** (0.339)	2.123*** (0.573)	2.709*** (0.348)	1.966*** (0.273)
1 if incomplete tertiary	3.835*** (0.466)	4.800*** (0.870)	2.927*** (0.520)	6.630* (7.184)	3.846*** (0.671)	3.623*** (0.641)	4.540*** (0.839)	3.667*** (0.663)	2.670*** (0.961)	4.278*** (0.721)	2.993*** (0.533)
1 if complete tertiary	10.18*** (1.144)	12.16*** (2.077)	5.557*** (0.931)	58.40*** (77.45)	7.927*** (1.353)	10.89*** (1.764)	11.08*** (1.996)	11.42*** (1.857)	5.878*** (1.865)	14.16*** (2.169)	6.180*** (1.011)
1 if married	0.751*** (0.0536)	0.521*** (0.0461)	2.340*** (0.271)	0.397 (0.241)	0.701*** (0.0750)	0.856 (0.0858)	0.790* (0.0970)	0.743*** (0.0758)	0.725* (0.125)	0.554*** (0.0576)	1.216** (0.113)
1 if there is a child < 6 in the home	0.852** (0.0532)	0.705*** (0.0583)	1.117 (0.0971)	1.153 (0.281)	0.867 (0.0766)	0.802** (0.0757)	0.717*** (0.0751)	0.974 (0.0877)	0.801 (0.125)	0.836** (0.0727)	0.932 (0.0803)
1 income dis (20-40)	0.928 (0.0707)	1.012 (0.118)	0.962 (0.0991)	1.300 (0.381)	1.001 (0.105)	0.772** (0.0928)	1.005 (0.130)	0.974 (0.106)	0.669** (0.131)	0.977 (0.106)	0.929 (0.101)
1 income dis (40-60)	1.122 (0.0856)	1.122 (0.133)	1.323*** (0.135)	1.738* (0.550)	1.159 (0.124)	0.973 (0.114)	1.044 (0.139)	1.248** (0.133)	0.899 (0.176)	1.162 (0.127)	1.153 (0.125)
1 income dis (60-80)	1.059 (0.0865)	1.239* (0.151)	1.070 (0.122)	1.157 (0.438)	1.173 (0.133)	0.890 (0.111)	1.070 (0.150)	1.012 (0.120)	1.139 (0.220)	1.126 (0.131)	1.067 (0.124)
1 income dis (80-100)	1.146 (0.105)	1.401** (0.193)	1.104 (0.138)	1.441 (0.663)	1.232 (0.158)	0.972 (0.134)	0.953 (0.154)	1.198 (0.155)	1.424 (0.313)	1.177 (0.156)	1.178 (0.150)
1 if HH has education lower than secondary	0.958 (0.0541)	0.839** (0.0659)	1.045 (0.0847)	1.634 (0.526)	0.966 (0.0755)	0.924 (0.0804)	0.918 (0.0881)	0.987 (0.0797)	0.941 (0.132)	1.025 (0.0792)	0.883 (0.0729)
1 if HH has formal employment	1.154*** (0.0634)	1.118 (0.0877)	1.223*** (0.0936)	1.491* (0.351)	1.214*** (0.0911)	1.037 (0.0892)	1.232** (0.115)	1.089 (0.0858)	1.182 (0.161)	1.129 (0.0855)	1.199** (0.0956)
1 if the household receive a social transfer	0.459*** (0.0581)	0.649*** (0.0884)	0.202*** (0.102)	0 (0)	0.444*** (0.0903)	0.464*** (0.0765)	0.283*** (0.111)	0.448*** (0.0739)	0.528*** (0.129)	0.435*** (0.0711)	0.539*** (0.109)
Northwest	0.477*** (0.0423)	0.490*** (0.0619)	0.438*** (0.0549)	0.534 (0.221)	0.400*** (0.0511)	0.563*** (0.0754)	0.527*** (0.0783)	0.417*** (0.0545)	0.507*** (0.108)	0.516*** (0.0715)	0.456*** (0.0539)
Northeast	0.556*** (0.0550)	0.582*** (0.0843)	0.466*** (0.0634)	0.560 (0.247)	0.490*** (0.0686)	0.674*** (0.101)	0.628*** (0.106)	0.436*** (0.0632)	0.756 (0.170)	0.621*** (0.0853)	0.435*** (0.0745)
Cuyo	0.716*** (0.0714)	0.628*** (0.0909)	0.784* (0.110)	0.755 (0.333)	0.688*** (0.0975)	0.752* (0.113)	0.797 (0.137)	0.612*** (0.0868)	0.713 (0.182)	0.728** (0.105)	0.737** (0.108)
Pampeana	0.823** (0.0637)	0.714*** (0.0802)	0.913 (0.0979)	1.082 (0.357)	0.865 (0.0909)	0.759** (0.0928)	1.092 (0.139)	0.623*** (0.0719)	0.868 (0.158)	0.945 (0.116)	0.728*** (0.0734)
Patagonica	1.333*** (0.113)	1.373*** (0.168)	1.224* (0.145)	1.613 (0.618)	1.313** (0.151)	1.294* (0.174)	2.114*** (0.301)	1.005 (0.122)	1.076 (0.223)	1.432*** (0.187)	1.253* (0.145)
Constant	0.0130*** (0.00218)	0.0181*** (0.00491)	0.0233*** (0.00473)	0.00254*** (0.00157)	0.0381*** (0.00746)	0.0497*** (0.0109)	0.0115*** (0.00313)	0.0181*** (0.00428)	0.00862*** (0.00416)	0.00557*** (0.00128)	0.0177*** (0.00439)
Observations	56,294	37,395	18,899	10,017	27,212	19,065	20,928	25,959	9,407	41,487	14,807
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1											

Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Transitions from being NEET to informal employment

When considering the transitions to informal employment, some similarities are found with the results presented for formal employment. This means that there are essential individual or socioeconomic attributes that increase or reduce the odds of those finding a job regardless of its quality versus those remaining as NEET. Gender, age, being an inactive NEET, being the household head, being married and receiving a social transfer have the same sign (coefficient below or above 1, for each case) for both types of jobs. However, the level of the coefficients differs significantly, connoting diverse intensities of the odds.

Being a man, for example, has an RRR value of 2.6 for the multinomial output of transitioning to an informal employment, noticeably lower than the value of 3.1 for the case of formal employment. This comparison illustrates the difficulty for young women to access any type of job, but a greater difficulty to those covered by social security schemes -*i.e.* the better-quality positions- as being a man seems to be a stronger attribute for transitioning to a formal job than to an informal one. The same results for the age variables: even though for both cases the coefficient increases with age, the value is not so high for those transitioning to informal employment, connoting the difficulty struggle of the youngest to find quality opportunities.

An interesting contrast with those transitioning to formal employment is the non-significance of the coefficients relating to education, mainly for men and for both age groups between 15-18 and 19-24. This could mean that, while having higher studies than primary school is determinant for those finding a formal job comparing to remaining NEET, it is not a feature that influence those finding an informal position. These results are in line with those founded by De la Torre and Baquerin de Riccitelli (2017), as the authors stated that those youth being NEETs had similar education characteristics than those working in unprotected positions.

Although education level seems to not have such a differential effect, income shows up as a highly relevant driver of transitioning to informal positions rather than remaining NEET. As a matter of fact, while for formal employment outcome the variables incorporating the position of the household in income distribution were not relevant to distinguish the transitions from remaining NEET, they result highly relevant and with increasing negative relative effect for informal transitions. The odds of moving to

informal employment relative to staying NEET for those in the richest 20% of the income distribution are almost half the amount than for those lowest 20%, holding the other variables constant. In other words, the less income, the relative odds of finding an informal job are higher.

This result reveals that remaining NEET, even controlling for gender (i.e. incorporating the fact that most of NEETs are women), is a more probable outcome for those who have some economic support. On the other hand, those inactive or unemployed young individuals that were not under any education scheme found it more difficult to afford not bringing any income to the household, and thus had to accept jobs even if the conditions involved certain level of precariousness. In that sense, transitions to informal employment were 93% and 84% of total transitions to employment for the two youngest groups. As was commented along this work, this could indeed reinforce their vulnerabilities, as in these environments there is no guarantee that wages or labour conditions satisfy the regulatory framework, and thus be exposed to undermining experiences.

Finally, the variables capturing macroeconomic changes by period dummies exhibited significant coefficients, in contrast with those for formal transitions outcomes (only significant at 10%). During the described analysis it was largely debated the change in the downward tendency of informal employment for the different age-groups along the period. However, in concordance with Table 2 regarding exit rates, the first period presented the highest transitions from NEET category to informal employment, both as total transitions and as share of exits to employment. This is also shown in the coefficients for the dummies capturing the period 2009-2015 and 2016-2018, that are lower than the baseline. This may indicate that, although the risk of informality is higher for NEETs than for other young population¹³, the risk decreased for this group along the period, relative to remaining as NEET.

Table 3 also shows that, during the last period, transitioning to informal employment affected with more intensity the most vulnerable group: women, teenagers and those belonging to the poorest families. An interesting fact related to this is that being part of a household where the head is formally employed influence negatively the transitions to an informal employment in almost all the cases (for women, men, different ages, for inactive or unemployed) but it is not relevant only for the observations during the last

¹³ More than 80% of the employments that this group got during the period of analysis were in informal positions, substantially higher than the average youth informal rate.

period. The limitations in the labour market appeared to affect even those youth even belonging to households that were used to being part of the social protection framework.

Table 3: Transition from being NEET to Informal Employment. Relative Risk Ratios.
Multinomial Logit. Period 2003-2018 - Control group: remain NEET

	Relative Risk Ratios for Informal Employment										
	General	Women	Men	Age 15-18	Age 19-24	Age 25-29	Y 2003-2008	Y 2009-2015	Y 2016-2018	Inactive	Unemployed
1 if men	2.641*** (0.0733)			2.661*** (0.180)	2.510*** (0.0943)	2.843*** (0.148)	2.438*** (0.104)	2.726*** (0.117)	2.942*** (0.208)	2.498*** (0.0928)	2.461*** (0.106)
1 if age 19-24	1.451*** (0.0512)	1.535*** (0.0865)	1.488*** (0.0689)				1.424*** (0.0766)	1.404*** (0.0750)	1.692*** (0.166)	1.530*** (0.0639)	1.388*** (0.0918)
1 if age 25-29	1.511*** (0.0594)	1.596*** (0.0963)	1.586*** (0.0872)				1.441*** (0.0870)	1.530*** (0.0910)	1.686*** (0.183)	1.465*** (0.0702)	1.708*** (0.123)
1 if year 2009-2015	0.862*** (0.0220)	0.788*** (0.0276)	0.915** (0.0352)	0.875** (0.0566)	0.845*** (0.0302)	0.880*** (0.0393)				0.818*** (0.0264)	0.931* (0.0394)
1 if year 2016-2018	0.831*** (0.0284)	0.723*** (0.0349)	0.888** (0.0442)	0.741*** (0.0717)	0.869*** (0.0403)	0.797*** (0.0482)				0.772*** (0.0337)	0.911* (0.0509)
1 if it is an inactive NEET	0.550*** (0.0144)	0.599*** (0.0234)	0.636*** (0.0237)	0.565*** (0.0406)	0.628*** (0.0222)	0.442*** (0.0204)	0.569*** (0.0231)	0.535*** (0.0216)	0.541*** (0.0347)		
1 if household head	1.510*** (0.0662)	1.248*** (0.0738)	1.350*** (0.117)	2.027** (0.558)	1.501*** (0.104)	1.441*** (0.0871)	1.613*** (0.118)	1.538*** (0.1000)	1.296** (0.137)	1.318*** (0.0809)	1.552*** (0.110)
1 if incomplete primary	0.674*** (0.0327)	0.658*** (0.0534)	0.608*** (0.0393)	0.787** (0.0767)	0.641*** (0.0459)	0.628*** (0.0579)	0.730*** (0.0525)	0.667*** (0.0498)	0.527*** (0.0749)	0.622*** (0.0375)	0.854* (0.0792)
1 if incomplete secondary	1.047 (0.0347)	1.122** (0.0540)	0.999 (0.0492)	1.034 (0.0790)	0.968 (0.0457)	1.166*** (0.0689)	1.056 (0.0533)	1.042 (0.0526)	1.028 (0.0926)	1.118*** (0.0468)	0.911 (0.0520)
1 if complete secondary	1.003 (0.0355)	1.219*** (0.0603)	0.793*** (0.0422)	0.968 (0.0964)	0.886** (0.0434)	1.232*** (0.0754)	1.013 (0.0551)	0.990 (0.0537)	0.984 (0.0917)	1.173*** (0.0520)	0.748*** (0.0448)
1 if incomplete tertiary	1.180*** (0.0726)	1.435*** (0.111)	0.894 (0.0923)	1.255 (0.516)	1.151 (0.102)	1.276*** (0.118)	1.321*** (0.120)	1.044 (0.102)	1.163 (0.191)	1.388*** (0.109)	0.875 (0.0862)
1 if complete tertiary	1.149** (0.0786)	1.388*** (0.115)	0.680*** (0.0835)	0 (0)	1.063 (0.117)	1.302*** (0.124)	1.237** (0.132)	1.148 (0.121)	0.960 (0.166)	1.491*** (0.140)	0.760*** (0.0761)
1 if married	0.731*** (0.0226)	0.561*** (0.0209)	1.791*** (0.118)	0.739*** (0.0856)	0.697*** (0.0300)	0.809*** (0.0402)	0.691*** (0.0336)	0.738*** (0.0346)	0.808*** (0.0618)	0.616*** (0.0245)	1.012 (0.0513)
1 if there is a child < 6 in the home	0.951* (0.0262)	0.795*** (0.0292)	1.128*** (0.0459)	1.036 (0.0682)	0.962 (0.0370)	0.896** (0.0444)	0.969 (0.0417)	0.933* (0.0390)	0.957 (0.0665)	0.880*** (0.0310)	1.066 (0.0468)
1 income dis (20-40)	0.844*** (0.0254)	0.880*** (0.0366)	0.861*** (0.0391)	1.029 (0.0774)	0.823*** (0.0342)	0.794*** (0.0427)	0.830*** (0.0398)	0.901** (0.0409)	0.736*** (0.0551)	0.870*** (0.0327)	0.832*** (0.0424)
1 income dis (40-60)	0.788*** (0.0273)	0.861*** (0.0404)	0.784*** (0.0414)	0.918 (0.0854)	0.773*** (0.0368)	0.747*** (0.0454)	0.815*** (0.0449)	0.809*** (0.0425)	0.684*** (0.0585)	0.809*** (0.0351)	0.788*** (0.0462)
1 income dis (60-80)	0.718*** (0.0299)	0.776*** (0.0446)	0.729*** (0.0447)	0.988 (0.114)	0.702*** (0.0400)	0.647*** (0.0466)	0.714*** (0.0474)	0.739*** (0.0469)	0.676*** (0.0677)	0.726*** (0.0388)	0.732*** (0.0491)
1 income dis (80-100)	0.625*** (0.0349)	0.749*** (0.0585)	0.589*** (0.0460)	0.953 (0.165)	0.588*** (0.0457)	0.589*** (0.0544)	0.683*** (0.0606)	0.626*** (0.0526)	0.497*** (0.0705)	0.632*** (0.0457)	0.629*** (0.0555)
1 if HH has education lower than secondary	1.019 (0.0300)	0.984 (0.0386)	1.037 (0.0463)	1.157 (0.106)	0.973 (0.0394)	1.066 (0.0530)	0.968 (0.0470)	1.059 (0.0468)	1.020 (0.0704)	1.038 (0.0387)	0.986 (0.0477)
1 if HH has formal employment	0.816*** (0.0230)	0.847*** (0.0325)	0.807*** (0.0337)	0.822*** (0.0615)	0.850*** (0.0325)	0.775*** (0.0392)	0.765*** (0.0345)	0.820*** (0.0346)	0.949 (0.0667)	0.800*** (0.0284)	0.862*** (0.0402)
1 if the household receive a social transfer	0.892*** (0.0349)	1.095** (0.0477)	0.694*** (0.0958)	0.799 (0.150)	0.837*** (0.0482)	0.963 (0.0559)	0.941 (0.0742)	0.860*** (0.0477)	0.938 (0.0797)	0.987 (0.0443)	0.752*** (0.0644)
Northwest	1.081* (0.0438)	1.003 (0.0541)	1.155** (0.0718)	1.084 (0.114)	1.078 (0.0607)	1.068 (0.0756)	0.970 (0.0597)	1.105 (0.0738)	1.303*** (0.120)	1.062 (0.0580)	1.080 (0.0666)
Northeast	0.856*** (0.0397)	0.860** (0.0533)	0.808*** (0.0564)	0.587*** (0.0744)	0.861** (0.0555)	0.973 (0.0777)	0.915 (0.0645)	0.823*** (0.0610)	0.777** (0.0900)	0.834*** (0.0488)	0.829** (0.0711)
Cuyo	1.072 (0.0511)	0.910 (0.0585)	1.280*** (0.0943)	0.999 (0.120)	1.106 (0.0735)	1.027 (0.0862)	1.079 (0.0795)	0.976 (0.0738)	1.375*** (0.158)	1.058 (0.0645)	1.047 (0.0853)
Pampeana	0.908** (0.0361)	0.828*** (0.0439)	0.999 (0.0613)	0.815** (0.0835)	0.940 (0.0519)	0.887* (0.0618)	0.960 (0.0575)	0.843*** (0.0553)	0.934 (0.0865)	0.892** (0.0488)	0.891* (0.0524)
Patagonica	0.842*** (0.0419)	0.798*** (0.0540)	0.851** (0.0638)	0.975 (0.128)	0.821*** (0.0567)	0.818** (0.0703)	0.809*** (0.0662)	0.860** (0.0654)	0.836 (0.101)	0.860** (0.0565)	0.785*** (0.0613)
Constant	0.341*** (0.0229)	0.371*** (0.0344)	0.718*** (0.0650)	0.270*** (0.0450)	0.529*** (0.0449)	0.519*** (0.0564)	0.369*** (0.0375)	0.298*** (0.0314)	0.232*** (0.0392)	0.198*** (0.0164)	0.366*** (0.0396)
Observations	56,294	37,395	18,899	10,017	27,212	19,065	20,928	25,959	9,407	41,487	14,807
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1											

Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Transitions from being NEET to education

Transitions from being NEET to education illustrate an altered scene than transitions to employment. To begin with, the relative risk ratio is only 1.07 times greater for men than for women, what implies that although it is a significant statistic difference, the gender odd for those young people getting back to educations instead of those remaining as NEET are substantially lower than for any of the two employment destinations. Moreover, the gender variable is not significant when fixing the observations to teenagers, elder youth, initially unemployed or for the second two periods.

On the contrary to what happened with employment transitions, age show a marked negative odd with age. Those over 25 years presented 0.15 chances of re-entering education than to remain as NEETS relative to those below 18. In the same line of the argument, those initially perceived as inactive had 1.6 times greater odds than those initially unemployed of coming back to education. This could support the idea that some of those inactive young people could be in a break from education and, as they are not fully involved in job searching, it is feasible to make them return to the education system. However, this ratio is higher when considering only men and for the youngest group, what also suggest that maternity is indeed not only a reason for remaining inactive but also to not even get involve in education schemes. Likewise, the coefficient of the odd for the variable that controls if there is a child under 6 years old in the household is 0.64, but only significant for women. As was mentioned, Beccaria *et al.* (2017) and Bertranou *et al.* (2017) arrived at the same results using diverse methodologies.

Interestingly, when contrasting the results for the education dummies, all the outcomes have a greater odd than the baseline (young individuals with complete primary education), even for those with incomplete primary. This means that, in contrast to that group, the odds of transitioning to education are relatively higher than remaining as NEET. It is surprisingly high the coefficient for those with incomplete tertiary (8 times bigger than for those with complete primary). Even for those with complete tertiary, the odds of going through a new training are quite big, representing 3 times greater odds of transitioning than for those in the baseline.

In concordance with the results of informal employment, when controlling for the position of the household in the income distribution it is feasible to verify that the higher the income of the family the higher the odds of transitioning to educations relative to

remaining NEET. The costs associated with education may result an impediment for the poorest families to support their young studies. Even if they cannot contribute with an income, remaining at home is still cheaper than spending money and energies for reaching school.

Two important variables that are relevant in the analysis of transitions to education are those related with the household head. In fact, if the education of the individual in charge of the household where the young lives has an education level below than complete secondary, the odds of transitioning to education are 0.69. These findings support the role of intergenerational influence of disadvantages, where family backgrounds influence youth education paths (Filmus, 2001; Furlong, 2006; De la Torre and Baquerin de Riccitelli, 2017). In the same line, if the head has a formal employment, there is a higher chance for the young individual to return to school than to remain as NEET. Stability of family income could induce individuals to make more risky decisions, as to stay in school instead of waiting for a labour opportunity. In that sense, the result is even higher for those that were originally unemployed, suggesting that under the frustration of not finding a job, making the decision of coming back to study and increase human capital is also affected by family income solidity.

Table 4: Transition from being NEET to Education. Relative Risk Ratios.
Multinomial Logit. Period 2003-2018 - Control group: remain NEET

	Relative Risk Ratios for Education										
	General	Women	Men	Age 15-18	Age 19-24	Age 25-29	Y 2003-2008	Y 2009-2015	Y 2016-2018	Inactive	Unemployed
1 if men	1.077** (0.0380)			1.048 (0.0561)	1.110** (0.0582)	0.989 (0.109)	1.155** (0.0688)	1.054 (0.0543)	0.993 (0.0822)	1.095** (0.0439)	0.957 (0.0729)
1 if age 19-24	0.332*** (0.0122)	0.324*** (0.0162)	0.364*** (0.0201)				0.324*** (0.0203)	0.331*** (0.0178)	0.359*** (0.0310)	0.317*** (0.0130)	0.450*** (0.0424)
1 if age 25-29	0.159*** (0.00848)	0.167*** (0.0112)	0.151*** (0.0143)				0.165*** (0.0152)	0.149*** (0.0117)	0.179*** (0.0218)	0.147*** (0.00907)	0.236*** (0.0280)
1 if year 2009-2015	1.103*** (0.0389)	1.170*** (0.0542)	1.013 (0.0555)	1.063 (0.0596)	1.127** (0.0595)	1.092 (0.104)				1.088** (0.0433)	1.144* (0.0889)
1 if year 2016-2018	1.128*** (0.0523)	1.253*** (0.0765)	0.956 (0.0685)	1.017 (0.0803)	1.133* (0.0755)	1.302** (0.154)				1.138** (0.0598)	1.055 (0.109)
1 if it is an inactive NEET	1.636*** (0.0688)	1.506*** (0.0893)	1.976*** (0.119)	2.238*** (0.193)	1.533*** (0.0856)	1.268** (0.129)	1.724*** (0.115)	1.586*** (0.102)	1.615*** (0.162)		
1 if household head	1.075 (0.0968)	0.924 (0.0990)	1.332 (0.237)	0.896 (0.311)	1.281** (0.153)	0.909 (0.143)	0.994 (0.179)	1.032 (0.132)	1.166 (0.212)	1.085 (0.110)	0.930 (0.188)
1 if incomplete primary	1.386*** (0.104)	1.378*** (0.148)	1.316*** (0.139)	1.059 (0.105)	2.049*** (0.289)	2.422*** (0.541)	1.368** (0.166)	1.261** (0.141)	1.765*** (0.338)	1.408*** (0.112)	0.948 (0.260)
1 if incomplete secondary	2.043*** (0.119)	1.990*** (0.160)	2.130*** (0.182)	1.930*** (0.147)	2.420*** (0.280)	1.626** (0.337)	2.121*** (0.200)	2.013*** (0.171)	1.934*** (0.301)	2.069*** (0.131)	1.908*** (0.292)
1 if complete secondary	2.190*** (0.132)	2.107*** (0.171)	2.214*** (0.200)	1.582*** (0.139)	3.043*** (0.345)	2.466*** (0.476)	2.225*** (0.217)	2.250*** (0.199)	1.872*** (0.294)	2.205*** (0.146)	2.185*** (0.330)
1 if incomplete tertiary	8.012*** (0.616)	8.127*** (0.803)	7.291*** (0.925)	4.164*** (1.019)	9.745*** (1.254)	11.74*** (2.295)	8.731*** (1.086)	7.963*** (0.921)	7.000*** (1.341)	8.736*** (0.759)	6.191*** (1.096)
1 if complete tertiary	3.455*** (0.335)	3.268*** (0.393)	3.137*** (0.547)	4.633* (4.146)	3.922*** (0.614)	4.867*** (1.041)	3.972*** (0.644)	3.445*** (0.490)	2.594*** (0.612)	3.946*** (0.456)	2.706*** (0.540)
1 if married	0.250*** (0.0132)	0.244*** (0.0139)	0.440*** (0.0853)	0.238*** (0.0294)	0.247*** (0.0188)	0.328*** (0.0339)	0.179*** (0.0175)	0.271*** (0.0202)	0.348*** (0.0408)	0.235*** (0.0135)	0.382*** (0.0503)
1 if there is a child < 6 in the home	0.694*** (0.0260)	0.592*** (0.0274)	0.936 (0.0572)	0.775*** (0.0443)	0.656*** (0.0383)	0.647*** (0.0666)	0.683*** (0.0433)	0.690*** (0.0377)	0.754*** (0.0674)	0.683*** (0.0285)	0.739*** (0.0634)
1 income dis (20-40)	1.129*** (0.0508)	1.170*** (0.0686)	1.103 (0.0780)	1.158** (0.0787)	1.139* (0.0785)	1.065 (0.139)	1.176** (0.0909)	1.125* (0.0733)	1.036 (0.109)	1.141*** (0.0572)	1.103 (0.114)
1 income dis (40-60)	1.225*** (0.0602)	1.217*** (0.0784)	1.290*** (0.0989)	1.224*** (0.0958)	1.305*** (0.0940)	1.034 (0.146)	1.211** (0.104)	1.238*** (0.0875)	1.173 (0.133)	1.218*** (0.0672)	1.291** (0.140)
1 income dis (60-80)	1.417*** (0.0759)	1.437*** (0.101)	1.457*** (0.121)	1.497*** (0.135)	1.374*** (0.108)	1.452*** (0.204)	1.475*** (0.136)	1.396*** (0.110)	1.326** (0.162)	1.492*** (0.0905)	1.205 (0.141)
1 income dis (80-100)	1.601*** (0.102)	1.682*** (0.144)	1.566*** (0.150)	2.053*** (0.239)	1.557*** (0.142)	1.337* (0.222)	1.749*** (0.195)	1.533*** (0.142)	1.458*** (0.212)	1.687*** (0.122)	1.355** (0.192)
1 if HH has education lower than secondary	0.654*** (0.0240)	0.633*** (0.0302)	0.684*** (0.0395)	0.582*** (0.0369)	0.703*** (0.0367)	0.725*** (0.0677)	0.597*** (0.0383)	0.680*** (0.0362)	0.675*** (0.0550)	0.632*** (0.0261)	0.761*** (0.0628)
1 if HH has formal employment	1.077** (0.0384)	1.075 (0.0506)	1.087 (0.0600)	1.136** (0.0674)	1.089* (0.0560)	0.960 (0.0909)	1.107* (0.0676)	1.029 (0.0535)	1.180** (0.0984)	1.043 (0.0422)	1.210** (0.0937)
1 if the household receive a social transfer	0.688*** (0.0499)	0.702*** (0.0547)	1.027 (0.232)	0.611*** (0.107)	0.677*** (0.0688)	0.815 (0.112)	0.818 (0.159)	0.599*** (0.0593)	0.660*** (0.0880)	0.699*** (0.0548)	0.753 (0.146)
Northwest	1.272*** (0.0734)	1.266*** (0.0961)	1.277*** (0.114)	1.079 (0.0994)	1.425*** (0.125)	1.296 (0.206)	1.299*** (0.124)	1.197** (0.108)	1.372** (0.169)	1.111 (0.0742)	1.792*** (0.209)
Northeast	0.948 (0.0612)	0.954 (0.0820)	0.903 (0.0890)	0.794** (0.0802)	1.011 (0.0996)	1.122 (0.197)	1.092 (0.117)	0.761*** (0.0747)	1.198 (0.172)	0.852** (0.0613)	1.271 (0.210)
Cuyo	0.924 (0.0633)	0.917 (0.0818)	0.938 (0.102)	0.726*** (0.0788)	1.112 (0.115)	0.973 (0.181)	1.000 (0.115)	0.741*** (0.0771)	1.321* (0.198)	0.801*** (0.0618)	1.449** (0.223)
Pampeana	0.970 (0.0549)	0.946 (0.0705)	1.002 (0.0880)	0.846* (0.0746)	1.065 (0.0929)	1.010 (0.161)	1.172* (0.108)	0.846* (0.0739)	0.873 (0.111)	0.897 (0.0593)	1.124 (0.128)
Patagonica	1.089 (0.0723)	1.112 (0.0970)	1.041 (0.107)	1.071 (0.116)	1.185* (0.118)	0.923 (0.178)	1.174 (0.136)	1.005 (0.0989)	1.028 (0.154)	0.982 (0.0748)	1.381** (0.193)
Constant	0.193*** (0.0181)	0.228*** (0.0280)	0.159*** (0.0219)	0.203*** (0.0299)	0.0449*** (0.00694)	0.0294*** (0.00787)	0.172*** (0.0267)	0.252*** (0.0349)	0.204*** (0.0456)	0.368*** (0.0366)	0.115*** (0.0247)
Observations	56,294	37,395	18,899	10,017	27,212	19,065	20,928	25,959	9,407	41,487	14,807
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1											

Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Conclusions

The objective of this study was to determine the characteristics of NEETs that influence diverse labour market transitions in Argentina, for the period 2003-2018. The main observation of this article is the non-surprising confirmation of the great heterogeneity that underlies the category. As was stated by Thompson (2011) this is not an empirical ‘discovery’, but a logical consequence of a broad definition.

Along the period under analysis, it was registered a recovery in most of the labour market indicators, related to the after-crisis extensive growth of the economy. However, not only young people were less sensitive to growth, but were also more affected when the economy started to stagnate. By the last years of the study, opportunities were getting scarce and the most vulnerable group begun to face more limited quality offers, both in terms of social security coverage and in number of working hours. Sustained economic growth seems to be a necessary condition, as it makes occupational dynamics more predictable and thus it is easy for employers to hire staff through long-term contracts. However, it is not sufficient, and policies targeted to this vulnerable groups should be performed.

Youth transitions to employment are transversally crossed by the ongoing process of education. In that sense, education-related indicators shown a constant improvement along the period, which could lead to an optimistic scenario if the dropout rates continue to reduce. Although it exceeds this study, a further analysis of the quality of the formal education system, that comprises the type of content given in school and its match with the skills required by the employment structure becomes mandatory to fully understand the challenges of school-to-work transitions.

The descriptive analysis showed that near 40% of young population considered as NEET are in fact young inactive women that have decided to stay out of the labour market and education primary because of family care work. Likewise, another 30 % of total NEETs are men or women unemployed, which are still attached to the labour market, waiting and seeking for an opportunity to develop their careers. That leaves an extra 30% composed by those inactive not performing care work nor interested in schooling and a minority of population excluded of both employment and education because of disability. The first of this group, however, englobes those in serious risk of marginalization with those voluntary out of the traditional social networks. Research and policy recommendation

must, therefore, be disaggregated for each of the subgroups, as latent vulnerabilities undeniably differ even for each of these subcategories when considering individual and socioeconomical attributes.

Along the study, three age groups were established for comparison purposes: 15-18, 19-24 and 25-29. While the main difficulty found for the first group is schooling, and employment is seen more as an obstacle to finish mandatory education, the picture is completely opposite for those above 25. It is clear than the challenges of a young teenage women coming from a poor background that had dropout high school to take care of a children are not the same of a recently graduate man that took some time to travel before undergoing into deep job search.

This survey analysed three potential transition states: finding a formal job, finding an informal job and returning to education. The methodology used, a multinomial logit, verified that the attributes of young people effectively influence the odds of transitioning to any of these states with diverse strength. Being man, older, being the household head and being married seem to be the main stable drivers to quit NEET state and transition to any of the states, in comparison to stay as NEET. The level of education, while being extremely relevant for transitions to a formal position or for returning to training, is not an attribute that differentiate those remaining NEET than those finding an informal job. On the other hand, household income is highly pertinent to explain transitions from being NEET to education or to an informal employment, but not to formal employment. Likewise, family backgrounds affect the three outcomes when the non-NEET head of the household is working under a formal arrangement, but his/her level of education only affects NEETs transitions to a new training and is not related with youth movements towards employment.

As was mentioned, the underling distinctions of the subgroups influence the transitions, as most of the outcomes differ in strength when controlling for gender, age or initial category. As was expected, those initially inactive are more prone to education, while actively seeking for a job is clearly a driver for finding it. This means that the distinction between inactive NEET and unemployed NEET is worthwhile, and a fragmentation on sub-categories must be done in order to promote accurate recommendations.

By 2018, 64% of NEETs in Argentina were women. The vast majority of the inactive women reported that the main reason of being under that state was related with duties in their household. As was corroborated with the econometrical approach, being women,

inactive, and living with small children are crucial factors to explain detachment of both labour market and education. From a policy perspective, the lack of social institutions that may take care of young children or older relatives, and the absence of labour opportunities for young women could play a big role on intra-family decisions that discourage young women to continue their studies or participate in the labour market.

To reduce this concern, there is a need for appropriate work-family conciliation policies, such as the promotion of decent part-time jobs, the extension of parental leave or the provision of childcare services. The expansion of a network that can support those families with less access to the professional care sector and extended school days for young people children, becomes a factor of great importance to achieve greater promotion and educational retention, as well as greater participation in public spheres, which mark new alternatives to domestic activity as an exclusive task (Miranda, 2015).

Another important issue addressed in this study pertains to the quality of the jobs that NEETs can get. In Argentina, more than 80% of the transitions from this category to employment are made to an informal job, where the lack social protection makes young workers more vulnerable. The absence of regulations is commonly associated with less salary, less working quality standards and less stability. Most of young people working in this type of jobs claimed to be underemployed, which meant that they were not satisfied with the load of work they were performing. In addition, the higher exposition of this jobs to the economic cycle do not guarantee a stable carer growth, and thus degenerate the ideal of employment as a social and material engine towards better standard of living.

It is not clear, therefore, that transitioning to an informal employment is more beneficial in the long run for young people than remaining NEET. If the work they carry out is of low quality or precarious, being part of the employment structure does not imply for these young people having overcome marginality.

Without doubt, family income plays a determinant role in NEETs composition and mobility. As was demonstrated, dropouts from mandatory school are highly biased with income. In consequence, labour prospects for the already vulnerable population are worsen. Intergenerational transmission of both poverty and lack of opportunities can only reinforce social disparities. In that sense, if education is not guaranteed for teenagers and young adults, early entrance to informal positions are more likely, which will certainly inhibit fruitful career development.

As was mentioned by Furlong (2006), disadvantaged people may lack the resources to navigate transitions or exercise choice, contrasting with more privileged young people who are able to exercise significant degree of choice regarding the ways in which they manage their lives. The corollary of this statement is that if nothing is done to guarantee that vulnerable young people complete their studies, which is an indirect consequence of the income level and stability of their families, it would be hard to reduce inequalities and vulnerable people disaffection. As a policy recommendation, the strategies to hold back low-income students and the provision of vocational qualifications that enhance their basic skills are needed.

Following Maguire (2015), *“measures designed to reduce the NEET population should include (a) policies which tackle NEET prevention; (b) re-engagement strategies for the hardest to reach groups, and (c) active labour market policies for the young unemployed. By addressing the demand side, active labour market policies can stimulate labour market demand for young people who are “work ready”. These include wage and training subsidies, or tax breaks, for employers; programmes offering a bridge between education and work; and youth guarantees, which ensure a job offer or an educational/training opportunity. However, they may not be effective for disadvantaged groups unless accompanied by re-engagement strategies”*.

As was demonstrated, young people considered as NEET, usually perceived as feckless and lacking both aspiration and employment-related skills, are in fact a highly heterogeneous group. In general, their detachment is a consequence of the structural employment limitations and the lack of global strategies to promote their development than for the stereotyped reasons. When considering young people vulnerabilities, not only the analysis should consider their explicit diversity among those unemployed and inactive, but also include their weak insertion in non-formal jobs and those underemployed, which are also barriers to their personal growth and social integration.

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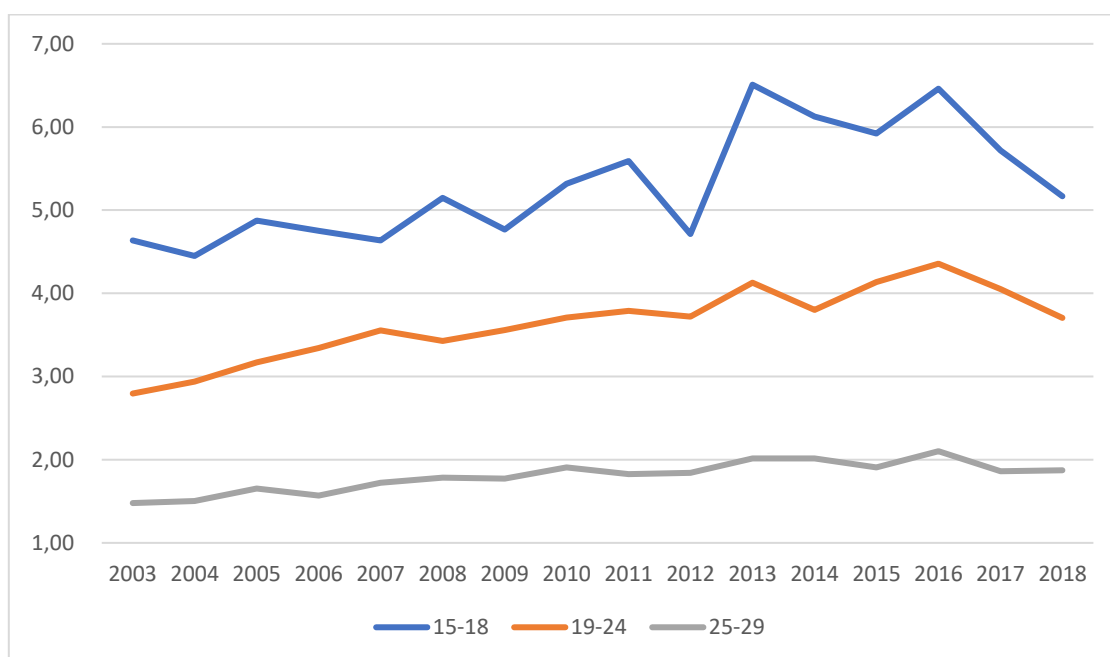
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Annex:

Graph A.1: Ratio of unemployment by year and age groups (youth/adults)



Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

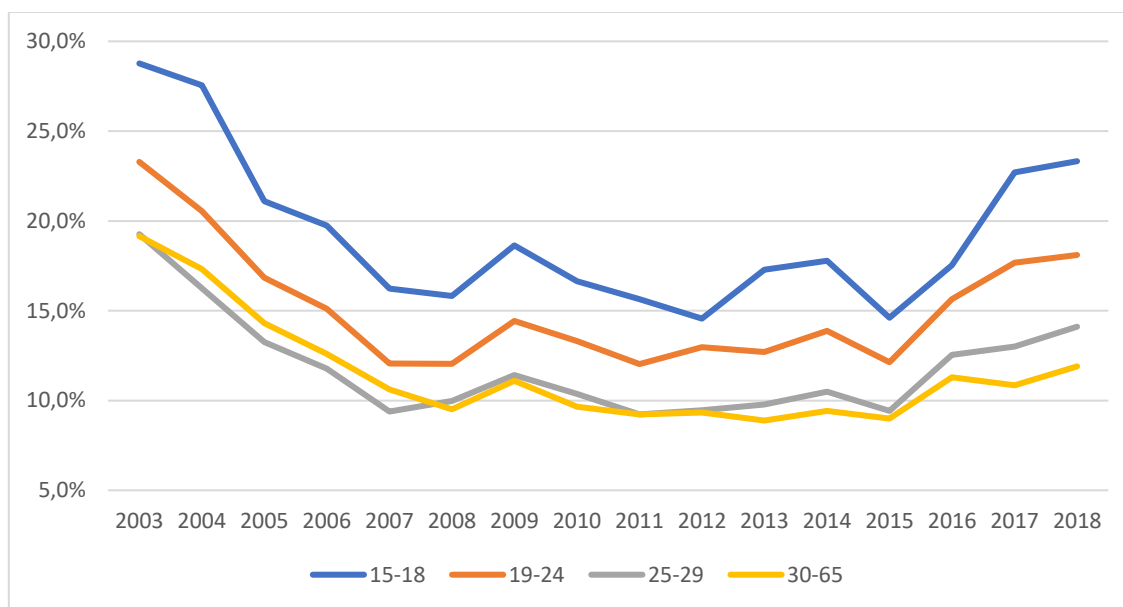
Table A.1: Informal employment by year and age group, in percentages

Year	15-18	19-24	25-29	30-65
2003	96,1	75,1	58,0	52,7
2004	95,9	70,9	54,8	52,3
2005	92,6	67,2	53,6	50,8
2006	93,2	64,8	50,2	48,4
2007	91,3	59,9	46,0	46,3
2008	89,7	56,7	44,1	44,2
2009	88,8	57,7	43,1	43,6
2010	88,3	58,4	41,0	42,6
2011	89,0	57,7	40,4	41,7
2012	88,7	58,9	40,5	41,4
2013	88,2	59,6	41,8	41,0
2014	88,3	60,0	42,8	40,6
2015	88,2	59,2	42,0	39,8
2016	91,8	60,6	45,5	40,7
2017	87,8	63,0	46,6	40,9

Year	15-18	19-24	25-29	30-65
2018	89,8	63,0	47,4	40,9

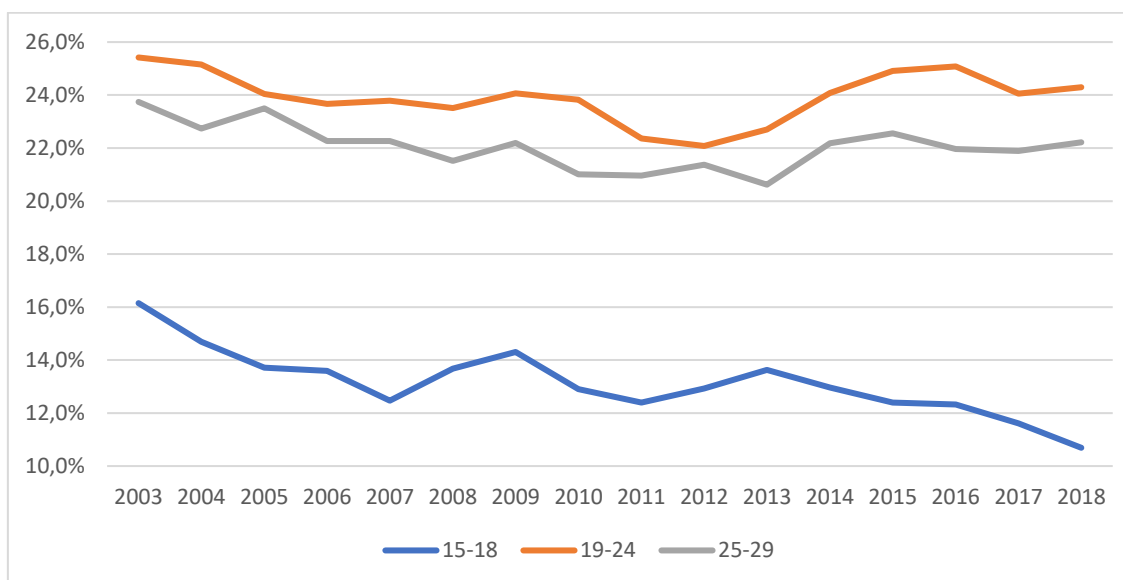
Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Graph A.2: Share of underemployment by year and age group



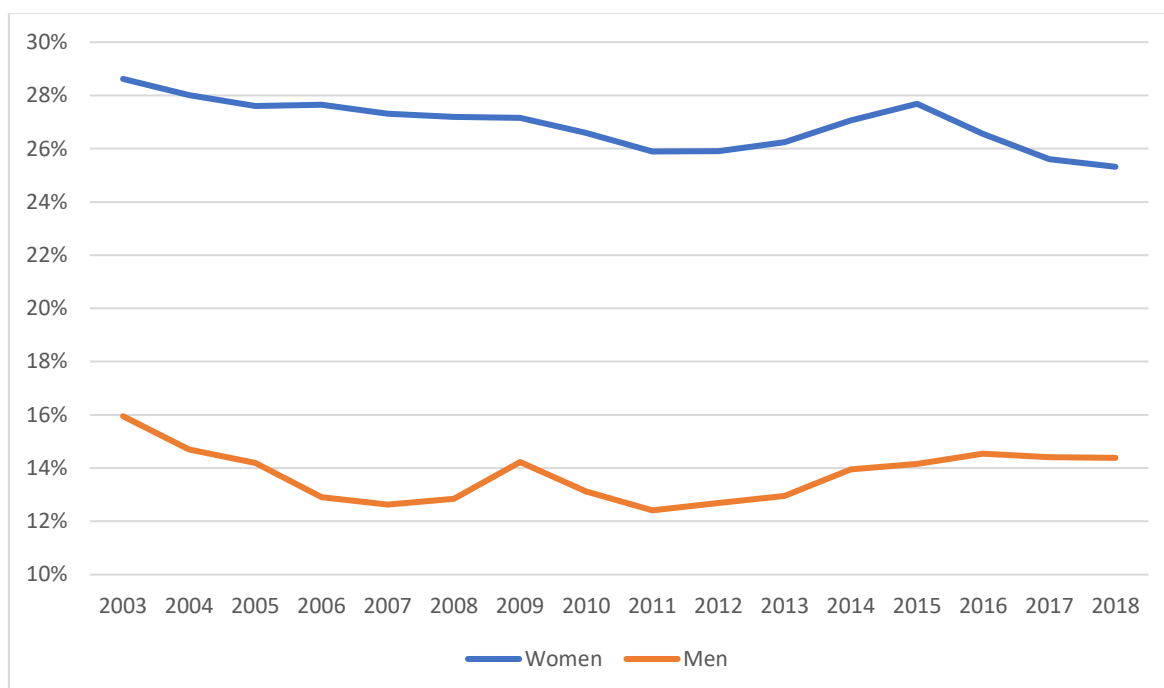
Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Graph A.3: NEET rate by age group and year



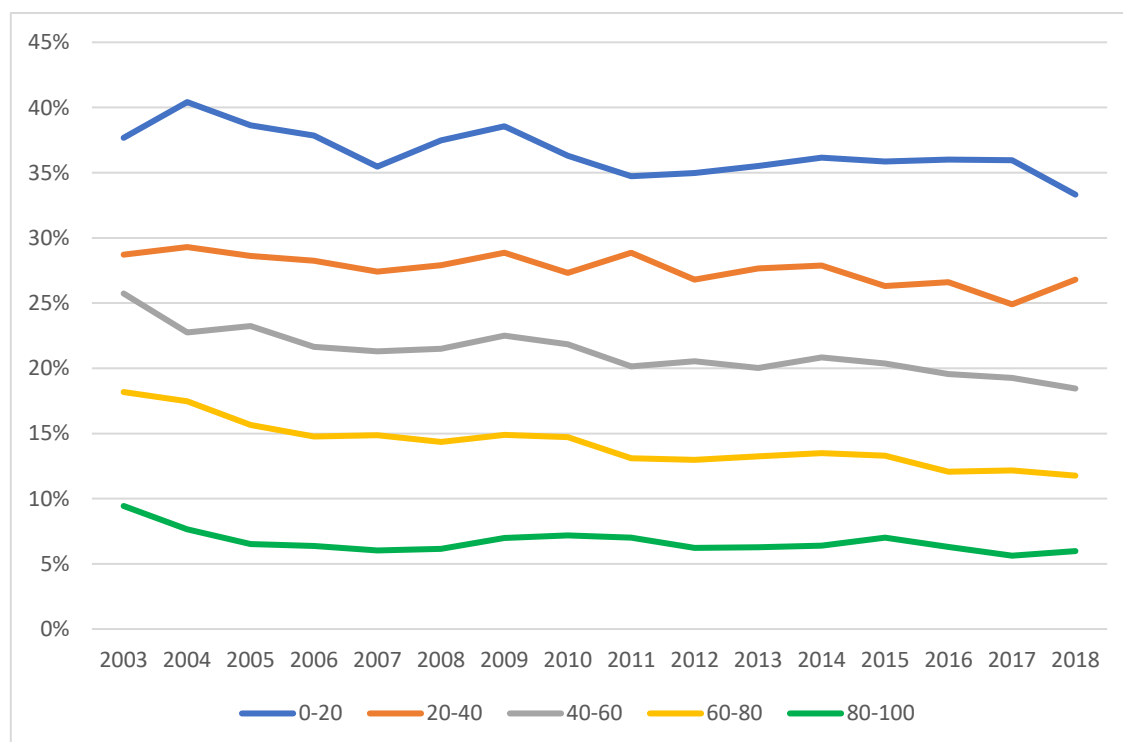
Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Graph A.4: NEET rate by gender and year



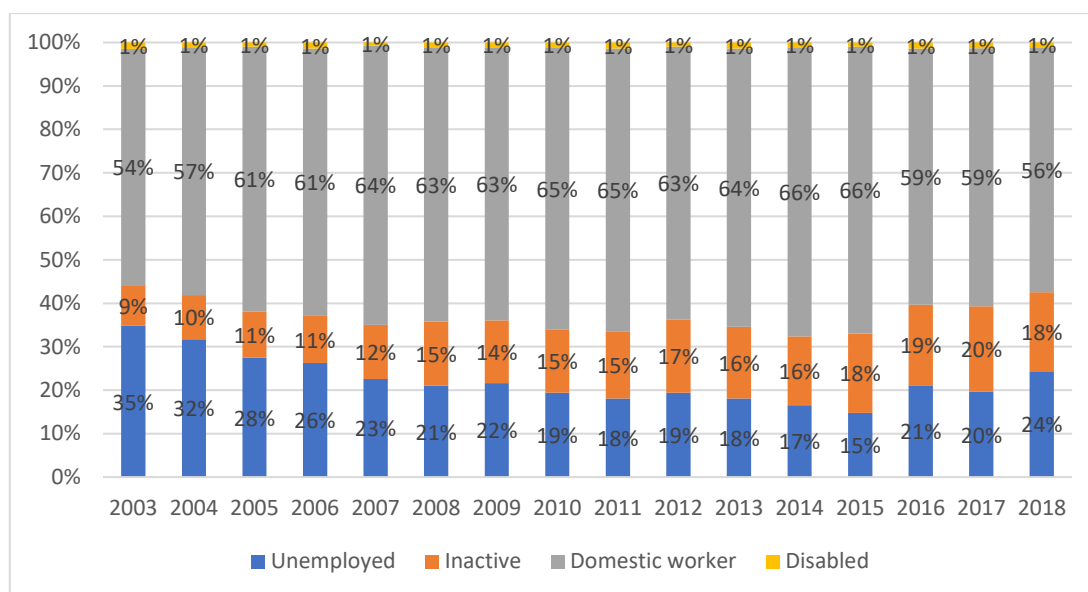
Own computation on Encuesta Permanente de Hogares - INDEC data

Graph A.5: NEET rate by percentile of income and year



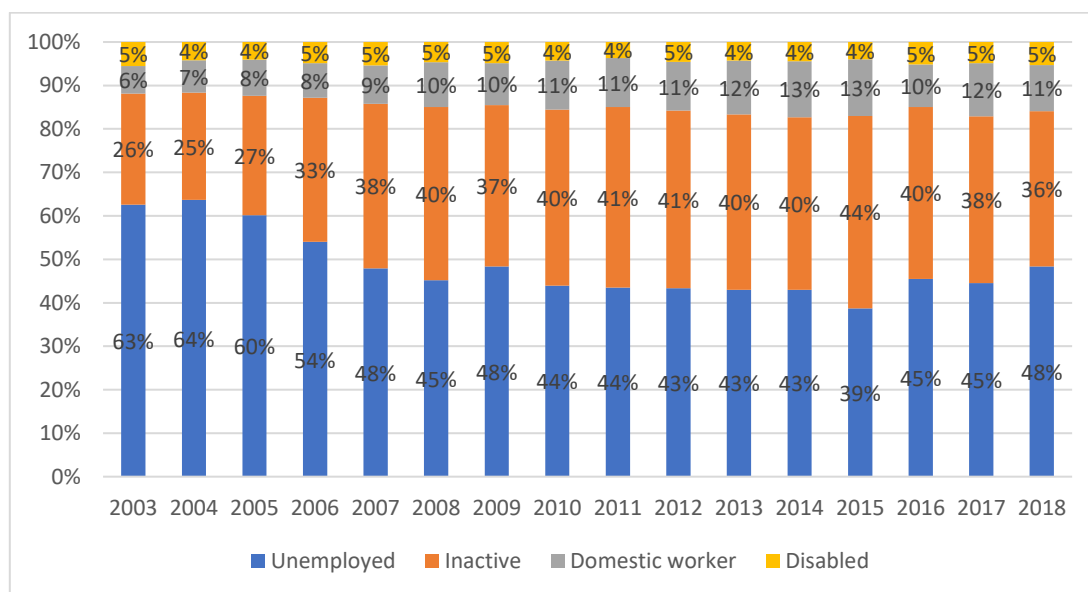
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Graph A.6: NEET's women composition by year



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Graph A.7: NEET's men composition by year



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