Work and Organisational Issues Affecting Young Workers

Belgin Okay-Somerville[a], Eva Selenko[b] and Rosalind Searle[a]

[a] University of Glasgow, Adam Smith Business School

[b] Loughborough University, School of Business and Economics

Author's accepted manuscript (December 2021) to be published in

Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology

Work and Organisational Issues Affecting Young Workers

> Imagine what our world could look like if every single one of these young people were supported and empowered to fulfil their potential? (UNICEF, 2021)

Summary

Young people (aged between 15 – 24 years), by virtue of being inexperienced and at the start of working lives, are in a different position to the rest of society. The chapter reviews young people's (i) difficulties in access to work using lifespan career development perspectives, focusing specifically on development of career competencies; and (ii) work-related motives based on lifespan development theories and taking into account generational perspectives. The chapter also brings in economics and sociology perspectives to explaining young people's career competencies. Conclusion highlights the importance of socio-economic context for understanding and improving young workers' experience of work and areas where psychology can make impactful contributions.

Keywords:

young workers, youth employment, unemployment, lifespan development, generations, career competencies, work identity, over-qualification, employability, work motives

Young workers are the future of work. Young people (15- to 24-year-olds (ILO, 2010)), by virtue of being inexperienced and at the start of working lives, are in a different position to the rest of society. Young people's unemployment, underemployment and economic inactivity have multi-level implications: at the individual (e.g., hampering young people's knowledge, skills, abilities, and relationships development; lowering wellbeing; slowing career development, resulting in underemployment and reduced lifetime earnings), at the organisational (e.g., hampering succession planning of retiring workforces; missing out on new talent) and at societal level (e.g., exclusion from society, social mobility, underutilisation of pockets of the labour force) (Baron, 2008; ILO, 2020b; McQuaid, 2017; Strandh, Winefield, Nilsson, & Hammarström, 2014; Thern, de Munter, Hemmingsson, & Rasmussen, 2017). Young people's attainment of full and productive employment is therefore a global challenge, reflected particularly in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (SDSN, 2015).

This chapter reviews the work and organisational issues affecting young workers from a psychological perspective. Primarily due to the life stage that they are in, young people differ from the rest of working population in the difficulties they experience in access to work and their work-related motives. The chapter reviews the empirical evidence and theoretical explanations for these below. Conclusion highlights the importance of socio-economic context for understanding and improving young workers' experience of work and areas where psychology can make impactful contributions.

Young people's access to work

Young people experience unique barriers in access to work, in comparison to the rest of the working population. Despite great geographical variation (Searle, Erdogan, Peiro & Klehe, 2014), on average young people are three times more likely to be unemployed

compared to the wider working age population and a substantial proportion of young people (20% in 2020) globally are not in education, employment or training (NEET) (Chacaltana & Dasgupta, 2021). Even with employment, working poverty is common experience. For instance, in 2020, 30% of young people world-wide were reported to be in extreme or moderate poverty (ILO, 2020a). Young people's jobs are also at the highest risk of automation, especially for those with vocational training whose occupation-specific skills become obsolete with automation (ILO, 2020a).

Beyond persistently high unemployment rates, a number of global trends in youth employment are evident since the turn of the 21st century (ILO, 2020a), including: decreasing youth labour force participation; declining share of youth employment; and increasing enrolment in secondary and tertiary education, leading to higher qualification. Meanwhile there is a global decrease in demand for vocational qualifications (Vogel, 2015), such as apprenticeships, which are perceived as leading to blue collar work (European Commission, 2021). All together, these labour market trends prolong young people's transition from school into 'stable' jobs (with reliable incomes, career opportunities and social protection) (Lodovici & Semenza, 2012). Persistent gender gaps exist (especially in Arab States and Northern Africa), and informal employment is prevalent (especially in Sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia) for young workers (ILO, 2020a). Socio-economic context play a crucial role in youth employment outcomes. For instance, young people in emerging economies take longer to settle into stable jobs and are more likely to be in informal employment or NEET, than counterparts in advanced economies, where school retention and completion rates are higher, and social and legal protections are in place, e.g., minimum wage, jobseekers' allowance, union recognition and/or representation (ILO, 2014; Quintini & Martin, 2014). Depending on the social protections afforded to young people, job insecurity and precarity may further exacerbate young people's barriers to employment through social and financial

insecurity, low self-esteem, and lack of meaningful labour market experience (Buzzeo, Marvell, Everett & Newton, 2016). Not being able to secure stable employment (e.g., long spells of unemployment and/or precarious employment), some young people often struggle in their ability to afford basic living and housing costs and may become reliant on the public welfare systems and/or third sector organisations, such as foodbanks (Buzzeo, Byford, Martin & Newton, 2019).

Twenty-first century labour markets can be insecure and precarious for young entrants (Kalleberg, 2019). Even in the most developed parts of the world, young people's first jobs tend to be in temporary employment, accompanied by low wages, unpaid overtime, and informal work, regardless of the worker's educational attainment (Lodovici & Semenza, 2012). Non-standard forms of employment (temporary, part-time work, temporary agency work, and working without contracts) are thus highly prevalent among young people (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living Working Conditions, 2013). While young people report receiving greater social support from peers and supervisors, they also experience more adverse social behaviour, e.g., bullying and harassment– particularly young women (Turte, Correa, da Luz, & Fischer, 2012; Vargas Llave, Wilkens, & Mullan, 2017). Moreover, their job quality is discernibly different with lower levels of work autonomy, longer working time, more irregular working hours and worse pay levels compared to other age groups in the working population (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living Working Conditions, 2013; Okay-Somerville, Scholarios, & Sosu, 2019; Wong & Au-Yeung, 2019).

Extant psychology research on school-to-work transitions highlights several key factors. Family can financially, emotionally and motivationally support young people's transitions to work. Unemployment and work-related struggles may be part of a generational legacy for young people who have had vicarious exposure to long-term unemployment

growing up through their parents' experiences (O'Reilly, et al., 2015). Particularly for young people who could not rely on the emotional or tangible support of their parents, unemployment further diminishes their scarce social support networks and undermined their success (Bolibar, Verd & Barranco, 2019; Selenko & Pils, 2016). Social class has an impact on young people's access to work (Blustein et al., 2002). Young people from more disadvantaged backgrounds are also more likely to attain higher and more prestigious education, which also increases likelihood of successful transitions. Moreover, academic satisfaction and the resources offered by educational institution play crucial roles in predicting employability and career success (Okay-Somerville, Allison, Luchinskaya & Scholarios, 2020; Presti, Capone, Aversano & Akkermans, 2021). Internships and work experience during education are positive factors contributing to employability (Ebner, Soucek & Selenko, 2021; Shoenfelt, Stone & Kottke, 2013), especially if the individual is paid and if the young person is provided with a mentor, similar opportunities as employees and given sufficient time to experience work (O'Higgins & Pinedo, 2018). Career self-management and job search quality also predict positive school-to-work transition outcomes (Bridgstock, 2009; Stremersch, Van Hoye, & Van Hooft, 2021).

Theoretically, the difficulties young people experience in access to jobs can be explained referring to the lifespan career theory perspective, focusing particularly on development of career competencies. The analysis below is complemented by concepts from economics and sociology, taking into account the wider context of young people's transitions to work.

Lifespan career development theories

Career transitions are always challenging (Arnold, 1997). From a lifespan career theory perspective, it is part of the developmental process that young people take some time to secure employment and when they do, these are entry level jobs that do not necessarily

offer most of the intrinsic qualities of work that are associated with 'good quality' work, especially pay, autonomy and responsibility. This is because young people are in the process of developing career resources that enable them to secure jobs and navigate the world of work (Savickas, 2002, 2006; Super, 1980; Super et al., 1957). Due to differences in chronological age, younger workers have had less time than more senior people to accumulate the necessary career resources required to successfully master employment challenges. For example, young people have less work experience, fewer opportunities to build networks of mentors and peers, fewer experiences of successful job applications (Akkermans, Brenninkmeijer, Huibers, & Blonk, 2013), all of which are predictors of successful education-to-work transitions as noted in the previous section. Hence, young people have less bargaining power to (i) access work and (ii) secure jobs that offer crucial intrinsic features conducive to career development, such as autonomy or skill development. Understanding career competency development is crucial for explain why young people are in a different situation to the rest of the working population.

Career Competencies

Career competencies refer to "competencies that are relevant for all employees to develop their own career, regardless of the specific job they have" (Kuijpers & Scheerens, 2006, p. 305). Three key career competencies for successfully navigating uncertain labour markets are: *know-how*, *know-whom* and *know-why* (De Fillippi & Arthur, 1994). However, young workers' lack of these career competencies makes them particularly vulnerable to unemployment and underemployment, especially during economic downturns (Bell & Blanchflower, 2011). This vulnerability was most clearly evidenced in the Great Recession of 2008-09 (Kalleberg, 2019) and COVID-19-related economic downturn (Costa Dias, Joyce, & Norris Keiller, 2020). This section reviews the arguments and evidence explaining the

difficulties young people experience in developing career competencies and thus their lack of access to (i) work and (ii) good quality work.

Know-How

Know-how refers to career-related knowledge and skills that accumulate over time and is akin to the notion of human capital (De Fillippi & Arthur, 1994). Human Capital Theory (Becker, 1964) suggests that the likelihood of securing employment and higher earnings is associated with an individual's accumulated human capital, i.e., their stock of knowledge, skills and abilities. Human capital is an integral component of employability (Forrier, Sels, & Stynen, 2009; McArdle, Waters, Briscoe, & Hall, 2007). Human capital is essentially an economics notion that signals one's productivity at work, and therefore their worth in the labour market (Becker, 1954). It is not only proxied by education and qualifications but also labour market involvement, such as internships, apprenticeships, work experience, occupational expertise and training (Berntson, Sverke, & Marklund, 2006; Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz, 1995; Van der Heijden, 2003). Although globally young people's enrolment in secondary and tertiary education, and therefore qualification attainment, has been increasing (ILO, 2020a), they can suffer from an "experience trap" (Mann, Denis, & Percy, 2020), due to their limited work-related skills and competencies, which paradoxically can only be gained through work (Pastore, 2018).

Level of education makes a difference to young people's likelihood of unemployment (OECD, 2021). Although subject to significant variation across countries, on average, higher education degree pays a premium not only in terms of salary but also in quality of opportunities that are available (Green & Henseke, 2021). Regardless of level of education and experience, young people may be faced with age stereotypes and deemed 'too young' for certain professions based on age-related stereotypes (North & Fiske, 2012; Posthuma &

Campion, 2009). These stereotypical beliefs may have negative implications for young people's access to certain occupations, as well as promotion, training and performance appraisals at work (Snape & Redman, 2003). These beliefs are concerned with perceived age norms for certain jobs, indicative of shared beliefs about a perceived 'correct age' to accumulate the necessary *know-how* to be competent in certain occupations (Posthuma & Campion, 2009). For example, physicians are often expected to be older than 45 years of age, otherwise patients wonder 'is this person really old enough to be my doctor?' (Fowler, 2016).

Relatedly, there is also the common belief that younger workers would be 'digital natives' (Prensky, 2001). This belief arises from a refuted brain-structural difference argument. More supported differences in digital literacy, defined as "an individual's ability to use computers to investigate, create and communicate" (Fraillon, Schulz, & Ainley, 2013), understand it as a learned skill, developed through education and experience. Favourable attitudes towards new technology might also be influenced by younger people's greater adoption of such technology (e.g., Morris & Venkatesh, 2000). Given the clear role of learning in digital literacy, age alone is a limited predictor. From a know-how perspective, being classified as digital natives does not shield young people from unemployment, underemployment and economic inactivity, as the evidence above suggests. Technical digital skills are necessary but not sufficient to perform well in digitised, knowledge economies unless accompanied by other digital transferable skills such as: information management, collaboration, creativity, critical thinking and problem solving (van Laar, van Deursen, Van Dijk & De Haan, 2017).

Those young people who take longer to secure stable employment tend to join labour markets with fewer qualifications and accumulate less work experience than their counterparts who can benefit from on-the-job learning and other forms of skill development (Robalino, Margolis, Rother, Newhouse, & Lundberg, 2013). Critically, long-term

unemployment and under-employment is associated with under-utilisation and erosion of skills and cognitive decline (De Grip, Bosma, Willems, & van Boxtel, 2008; Green & Zhu, 2010), i.e., further degradation of *know-how*.

Know-Whom

A second career competency relevant for career success is *know-whom* (Akkermans et al., 2013; De Fillippi & Arthur, 1994), denoting career-related social networks or social capital. Social capital refers to an individual's actual and potential resources that arise from their networks of relationships, and therefore captures an interpersonal dimension of employability (McArdle et al., 2007). Who we know influences access to and flow of job-related information, and is a predictor of future earnings (Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001). For example, a study of university graduates reveals personal connections and contacts as the most important factor in securing first post-graduation job (Brennan, Johnston, Little, Shah, & Woodley, 2001).

Know-whom is also relevant for young people's employability skills (e.g., communication, proactivity and teamwork). From a sociological perspective, scrutinising the skills young people are required to demonstrate reveals an implicit 'class' bias, mimicking and favouring the attributes of those from high status social backgrounds (Brown & Hesketh, 2004). Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are not necessarily socialised into these skills through upbringing, e.g., they have fewer opportunities to vicariously learn from their family or social networks. Hence, young people from disadvantaged or minority backgrounds tend score lower on these skills and have poorer labour market outcomes (Adams, 2012; ILO, 2020b; Silver, 2007).

Social networks also partially explain the prevalence of under-employment among young migrant workers, arising from the challenges in transferring their social and cultural capital to a new country context. Impoverished local social networks and support affects

immigrants' labour market success (Zikic, 2015). Further, strong family or national community networks can constrain their integration into the host country and can negatively affect employment, as these social ties are more likely to be employed in low-skilled, low-paid work (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008). These findings graphically demonstrate how social networks may constraint young workers' access into labour markets (Hällsten, Edling, & Rydgren, 2017; Winterheller & Hirt, 2017).

The intertwining of social and human capital was evident in the 2020 USA Ivy League admissions scandal with wealthy elites using bribery to gain admissions to top universities for their children (Jack, 2020). Such behaviour resonates with Positional Conflict Theory (Brown, 2000, 2003), a sociological theory which argues that social elites use their greater financial and cultural resources to enhance their credentials (human capital) and thus secure advantages in the labour market. The gaining of prestigious education facilitates access to labour markets (Okay-Somerville, et al., 2020). These results confirm a direct and indirect impact of social networks on youth employment.

Combined effects of *know-how* and *know-whom* on youth transitions to work also resonate with sources of self-efficacy beliefs, as discussed in Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory. Mastery experiences contribute towards one's *know-how*, while *know-whom* may provide vicarious learning and social persuasion on crucial job search and employability-related skills. According to social cognitive career theory (Lent & Brown, 1994) self-efficacy beliefs impact our work-related interests, goals and actions. Self-efficacy has been shown to be negative associated with likelihood of unemployment during school-to-work transitions (Pinquart, Juang, & Silbereisen, 2003). Moreover, experience of unemployment further diminishes young people's self-efficacy beliefs (Mortimer, et al., 2016), as it depletes young people cognitive (De Grip et al., 2008) and social resources (Bolivar, et al., 2019).

Considering the growing inequalities in wealth distribution in the 21st century (OECD, 2011), young people from disadvantaged social backgrounds access to work is hindered by their lack of both *know-how* and *know-whom*. By contrast some young people, by virtue of their family upbringing and life experiences are 'socialised' into labour markets creating a 'rocket pack' of human and social capital that propels them into better employment opportunities.

Know-Why

A third crucial career competency relevant for career success is *know-why*. This relates to the individuals' career-related identity (De Fillippi & Arthur, 1994). Identity is an area of important difference between young people and older people in the labour market, with younger people having fewer opportunities and time to develop strong work-related identities. Without these self-understandings, it is harder to develop clear career goals or decisions about how to take forward their desired futures (Praskova et al., 2015). While some young people can easily identify labour market opportunities, others engage concurrently in job search and career identity and goal formation processes (Saks & Ashforth, 2002). This latter group's lack of familiarity with labour markets and job opportunities impedes their successful navigation (Turban, Stevens, & Lee, 2009). Hence, they can struggle to situate themselves in the labour market, as they are still addressing crucial *know-why* questions, such as 'who am I' and 'who I want to be' (Holmes, 2013).

A young person's successful transition in both work and adulthood involves significant self-exploration relevant to achieving self-definition and developing their *know-why*. Arnett (2000) uses the concept of 'emerging adulthood', which signifies a period of instability and identity exploration. For those at the start of careers, this necessitates opportunities to explore and experience different types of work, and from these experiences have support to make sense of their situation, and to construct themselves in a particular way

(Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). There are many obstacles which can hamper young workers' development of *know-why*: some obstacles relate to the social context, including lack of positive career feedback, role models and/or labour market opportunities (Hu, Hood, & Creed, 2017), while other impediments are internal, such as career indecision. Particularly in the aftermath of the 2008 Great Financial Crisis and during the COVID-19 pandemic, a sharp decline in the availability of entry-level jobs for young people to provide work exploration and experience is observed (Gonzalez et al., 2020; ILO, 2020b). Young people's career counselling needs, especially those in less disadvantaged communities (e.g., low- or middle-income economies, or those from socially disadvantaged backgrounds), are often not met effectively to support career decision-making (Maree, 2021). Moreover, visibility of opportunities may decline further as the jobs young people hold are at higher risk from automation (ILO, 2020a). Those who struggle to form career identities due to limited availability or visibility of labour market opportunities can be discouraged in their job search and career behaviours, increasing their likelihood of unemployment or under-employment (Lozano & Rentería, 2021).

Know-why is highly relevant for making forward-leading decisions. While career-indecision can occur at any age, among young workers it is more associated with under-employment. Paradoxically, difficulties in career-goal formation and pursuit can produce hypervigilance (individuals rushing into any decision), procrastination, or decision avoidance (Callanan & Greenhaus, 1992; Feldman, 2003). This indecision is shown to reduce the amount of career exploration and reconsideration, impeding further processes of identity formation (Laughland-Booÿ, Newcombe, & Skrbiš, 2017). While indecision may not be necessarily detrimental for career development, enabling individuals to take advantage of unplanned/unexpected career opportunities (Krumboltz, 1992, 1998; Mitchell, Levin, & Krumboltz, 1999), it is deleterious for job search: Indecision can lead to indifference in job

search activities (Betz & Voyten, 1997), or less engaged goal-directed job search behaviours (Okay-Somerville et al., 2020). These haphazard job search activities are associated with loss of earnings, under-employment and poorer first job attitudes (Feldman & Turnley, 1995; Koen, Klehe, Van Vianen, Zikic, & Nauta, 2010; Okay-Somerville & Scholarios, 2021).

The exploratory process of forming *know-why* may explain the divergence found in age-related effects on work attitudes and behaviours. Negative relationship between age, and organisational commitment and willingness to leave jobs and organisations (Ng & Feldman, 2010) may reflect younger workers' self- and environment-exploration. Extant evidence indicates the value of social support during the first critical six months of new organisational entry helping young workers integrate leading to their subsequent organisational commitment (Nägele & Neuenschwander, 2014). However, the amount of security and social protection offered to young people depends on the institutional context of the country and reveals an intricate tension between young people's need for flexibility to explore labour market opportunities and adapt to the challenges, alongside a desire for stability and predictability required for career-identity development (King, 2003; Modestino, Sugiyama, & Ladge, 2019).

Young people's work motives

Beyond issues in access to work, meta-analytic evidence shows age-related differences in work motives. Younger workers show higher preference for growth (e.g., related to achievement and mastery) and extrinsic motives (e.g., pay, benefits and promotion), but lower preference for intrinsic motives (e.g., accomplishment) in comparison to older workers (Kooij, De Lange, Jansen, Kanfer, & Dikkers, 2011). It is helpful to understand differences between younger and older people with the use of lifespan theories, or through research on ageing. This is in contrast to popular discourse, which focusses on simplistic generational perspectives.

Lifespan theories of ageing

According to lifespan theories of ageing (Baltes, 1987) our goals and motives change as we age. For instance, from a socioemotional selectivity theory perspective (e.g., Carstensen, Fung, & Charles, 2003) growth and expanding horizons is of greater importance when we are younger, with ageing and increasing perceptions of mortality shifting our motivation towards emotional meanings of life. Similarly, according to the motivational theory of life-span development (Heckhausen, Wrosch & Schulz, 2010), throughout our lives we face different normative developmental goals: At a young age these normative goals include not only having to find a first job, but also to complete education, become financially independent, move out of family home, find a partner, have a first child etc. From a lifespan theory of ageing perspective, as young people are at the start of working lives and in transitional stages, e.g., from adolescence to young adulthood and from education to work or further education, personal growth and financial security may be more important motives in work.

Generational perspectives and their limitations

There is a tendency, particularly among popular media, to discuss young people's work and employment experiences and their work-related values, from a generational perspective. While evidence suggests age-effects on work values (Kooij et al., 2011) and life conditions certainly vary over time (Kontopantelis et al., 2018), conceptualising these in terms of 'generational differences' is unhelpful (Costanza & Finkelstein, 2015; Rudolph et al., 2020; Zacher, 2015). This is not only because generations are a too fuzzy concept, they also stereotype people into cohorts, offering an overly simplistic picture of the nuanced individual experiences people have. Critically, generational effects are nearly impossible to investigate in a conceptually or methodologically valid way (Costanza, Badger, Fraser, Severt, & Gade, 2012; Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010), rendering the practical

and explanatory value of generational concepts limited. There are others who have written extensively on the limitations of generational approaches, the following just highlights a few of the most central issues (e.g. Rudoph et al., 2018; Rudoph et al, 2020, Rudolph & Zacher, 2020).

First, generation is a fuzzy concept. While biological 'age' is a relatively undisputed measure of a person's chronological time from birth; 'generation' is a socially constructed term that attempts to capture a cohort of people who supposedly share important experiences at crucial times in their lives (Costanza et al., 2012). While generational labels are widely familiar, there is no agreement on the birth year ranges they supposedly capture (Campbell, Twenge, & Campbell, 2017; Rudolph et al., 2020). For example, are Millennials born between 1980 to 2000 (Rainer & Rainer, 2011), or 1979 to 1994 (Myers & Sadaghiani, 2010), or 1981 to 1996 (Dimock, 2019). Similar imprecision arises in other workplace generational studies (e.g., Costanza et al., 2012). In short, there is no consensus about who is part of which generation, and thus it can be argued that as an objective category, generations do not exist (Rudolph, Rauvola, Costanza, & Zacher, 2020). That said, generations do exist as socially constructed categories in peoples' minds and have meaning for how people label themselves and others. As such, they can inform social perceptions and actions, leading to age stereotypes and ageism.

Second, a methodologically valid, informative study of workplace generational differences is nearly impossible to carry out – rendering the informative value of almost any study that attempts to capture "younger generation's values" almost nill (Rudolph et al., 2020). Not only is the concept of generational cohort fuzzy; comparing cohorts is not useful either as it is impossible to distinguish generational differences from those that arise due to age, career-stages or timepoints of when the study was conducted (see Rudolph et al., 2020). Perhaps unsurprisingly, meta-analytical evidence of studies investigating cohort differences

conclude that effects can rather be attributed to other factors than generations (Costanza et al., 2012). Even observing work values of a singular age cohort over multiple time points cannot eliminate other effects, e.g., career-effects, learning, aging effects as people get older over time. The solution – sequential longitudinal cohort studies (i.e. repeatedly sampling cohorts of 20 year olds each year and observing their work values over time) is immensely laborious to carry out, which might explain why they are not available.

Like societal norms, economic conditions and political contexts change slowly; in the same way individual work norms might change alongside equally slowly – and concurrently across differently aged people. Thus, someone growing up in the 2000s might have learned different values from someone who grew up in the 1980s, but the older person might have adapted their values in the 2000s, as a function of the time period and their personal and career development. Drawing artificial boundaries between people of different ages in the workplace is not only meaningless for conceptual and methodological reasons; it also obscures the real reasons that might explain why work-values might be different for younger and older people at a certain workplace. Thinking in generations may serve to cement age stereotypes, which may further undermine the inclusion of younger people in the workplace.

Future directions for psychology researchers

This review has highlighted how young people experience work and employment differently from the rest of the working population. These differences are primarily attributable to young people's developmental stage in terms of lifespan and career. Young people's lack of career competencies makes them vulnerable to adverse socio-economic conditions, e.g., economic downturns. This section highlights potential contributions by psychologists for improving young workers' labour market access and experience.

From a youth employment perspective replacement of entry-level jobs by automation reflect an impoverishment in work, with reduced provisions failing to support young people in fostering their autonomy and developing their work skills and attitudes. Automation of much entry-level work may also challenge what is meant by 'entry-level' work. Digitisation may offer new opportunities favouring knowledge workers, even at entry-level. For instance, apprenticeships, although often associated with manual work, are recognised as means for developing digital skills (European Commission, 2021). These types of apprenticeships cover crucial digital skills such as cybersecurity, digital banking, software engineering, and IT consulting (ILO, 2021). For future cohorts of young people, entry-level work may require more sophisticated skills as more mundane tasks may be automated. This may indicate more upskilled start for young people. A crucial area for exploration is therefore the role of 'digital skills' in employability and university-to-work transitions. Relatedly, there scope for more scholarly exploration in job analysis and job design, in designing entry-level jobs in the 'future of work'.

Another job design-related psychology contribution is in young people's underemployment. Young people who are discouraged by the struggles in access to work may opt to remain in education (ILO, 2020a), in an attempt to improve their labour market opportunities. For instance, in reaction to the disappearing entry-level opportunities during the COVID-19 pandemic, an increase in educational enrolments was observed, especially in high income countries (UNESCO, 2021). Yet, even with additional credentials, a successful transition into work is not guaranteed, as many may experience overqualification at least in the first few years of careers (Okay-Somerville & Scholarios, 2014). In addition, these education routes are only available to those who can afford it. In fact, a decline in education enrolment was observed in lower-middle income countries during the COVID-19 pandemic (UNESCO, 2021). While research shows considerable direct and indirect organisational

dividends from employing overqualified staff (Hu et al., 2015), there are clear financial and psychological implications for workers (Harari, Manapragada, & Viswesvaran, 2017). These negative impacts could be restored by improvements in job autonomy (Wu, Luksyte, & Parker, 2015), and safeguarding jobs against autonomy. Alternatively, leader and peer support are also highly relevant for improving job satisfaction (Alfes, Shantz, & van Baalen, 2016) and retention. There is extant psychology research on overqualification (e.g., Erdogan, Bauer, Peiro, & Truxillo, 2011; Erdogan, Karaeminogullari, Bauer, & Ellis, 2020; Lee at al., 2021), which could inform young workers' labour market access and experience.

While more practical support could be given at all stages of education, further research should focus upstream to better examine the formation of career identity (Searle et al., 2014), and how this is different across the socio-economic contexts that this review has shown to make an impact on youth employment outcomes: especially in the provision of social securities. Indeed, prior study has shown the significance of teachers' inputs, especially helping children from disadvantaged families, to better navigate the employment context (St. Clair, Kintrea, & Houston, 2013). Through earlier attention on the acquisition of these skills and ongoing exposure to work experiences throughout secondary education, educators and students could significantly enhance the curriculum and their futures. Thus, there is merit in future longitudinal studies that incorporate earlier career identity and attitude development. Further, university curricula need to be infused with opportunities to develop employability skills and promote work identities. Critically, attention should ensure opportunities to build all three career competencies.

Work of psychologists offer important perspectives as to why there is such widespread institutional inertia in recognising and engaging with this increasingly 'wicked' problem of youth employment (Carter, 2020) – particularly in supporting young people from socially disadvantaged background. Specifically, research reveals a repulsion from, rather

than engagement with, those in poverty (Fiske, 2007) and a pernicious prejudice linked to social class that taints those from lower socioeconomic groups as not only less competent, but also less deserving (Durante & Fiske, 2017). Thus, this situation is positioned as dispositional and self-inflicted, rather than recognising the disproportionate large stigma that has to be overcome alongside inadequate access to welfare and key resources. While there is increasing recognition of the corrosive consequences of poverty particularly for self-efficacy and identify (Smith, 2015), there remains a stubborn inertia to recognising the clear psychological basis regarding income inequality, anti-immigrant tensions, and intergenerational and class prejudice (Moya & Fiske, 2017).

Viewed through this novel psychological prism, responses to these challenges become very different. Critically, they shift employability away from the individual, to instead reveal its more contextual and relational dimensions, showing a polarising of outcomes that is not always helpful (Forrier, De Cuyper, & Akkermans, 2018). Through a shift in emphasis, far greater support should be provided for young people to address the specific challenges they face in accessing and accumulating resources. Such provision should recognise the role of parents, whose own experiences can curtail the aspirations and identity formation of young people (Berrington, Roberts, & Tammes, 2016; Ladge & Little, 2019). Further, this perspective indicates the declining value of some resources (Forrier et al., 2018). Applying research insights would change career guidance to focus on vocational pathways and identifying jobs that are more resilient to the encroachment of automation. It would position support towards the development of work identities and career competencies concurrent with a capacity to adapt. Extant research shows the value of such provision, especially for migrant workers (Wehrle, Kira, & Klehe, 2019; Zikic & Richardson, 2016). Future research could incorporate more attention on the contextual and relational factors to consider the labour

market pull and push factors for young people, especially from disadvantages backgrounds to provide better insight into why interventions might fail.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified a diverse range of factors relevant for understanding young workers' work and employment experiences. This highlights a multi-level phenomenon. Future research should strive to mimic this multi-level multi-faceted nature of young people's experiences in the labour market. In particular, contextualising young people's work and employment in its unique socio-economic and lifespan development conditions would provide what could be far more valuable insight and through this the means to better inform policy and practice. Indeed, there is growing recognition of the complexity of the problems, and thus their solution, as shown by the United Nations Global Initiative on Decent Jobs for Youth calling for cooperation between public and private actors, the promotion of partnerships, and especially information exchange to facilitate effective labour market interventions (ILO, 2020a). Psychology is uniquely placed to the inform these interventions.

References

Adams, A. V. (2012). The role of skills development in overcoming social disadvantage. UNESCO. Retrieved from: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.469.602&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Akkermans, J., Brenninkmeijer, V., Huibers, M., & Blonk, R. W. (2013). Competencies for the contemporary career: Development and preliminary validation of the Career Competencies Questionnaire. *Journal of Career Development, 40*(3), 245-267. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0894845312467501

Alfes, K., Shantz, A., & van Baalen, S. (2016). Reducing perceptions of overqualification and its impact on job satisfaction: The dual roles of interpersonal relationships at work.

Human Resource Management Journal, 26(1), 84-101. https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12094

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55*(5), 469. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0003-066X.55.5.469

Arnold, J. (1997). *Managing Careers into the 21st Century*. London: PCP.

Ashforth, B. E., & Schinoff, B. S. (2016). Identity under construction: How individuals come to define themselves in organizations. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 3*, 111-137. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-041015-062322

Baltes, P. B. (1987). Theoretical propositions of life-span developmental psychology: On the dynamics between growth and decline. *Developmental Psychology, 23*(5), 611. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0012-1649.23.5.611

Baron, S. W. (2008). Street youth, unemployment, and crime: Is it that simple? Using general strain theory to untangle the relationship. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 50*(4), 399-434. https://doi.org/10.3138/cjccj.50.4.399

Becker, G. S. (1964). *Human Capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Bell, D. N., & Blanchflower, D. G. (2011). Young people and the Great Recession. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 27*(2), 241-267. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grr011

Berntson, E., Sverke, M., & Marklund, S. (2006). Predicting perceived employability: Human capital or labour market opportunities? *Economic and Industrial Democracy, 27*(2), 223-244. doi:10.1177/0143831x06063098

Berrington, A., Roberts, S., & Tammes, P. (2016). Educational aspirations among UK Young Teenagers: Exploring the role of gender, class and ethnicity. *British Educational Research Journal, 42*(5), 729-755. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3235

Betz, N., & Voyten, K. K. (1997). Efficacy and Outcome Expectations Influence Career Exploration and Decidedness. *The Career Development Quarterly, 46*(2), 179-189. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.1997.tb01004.x

Blustein, D. L., Chaves, A. P., Diemer, M. A., Gallagher, L. A., Marshall, K. G., Sirin, S., & Bhati, K. S. (2002). Voices of the forgotten half: The role of social class in the school-to-work transition. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 49(3), 311.

Bolíbar, M., Verd, J. M., & Barranco, O. (2019). The Downward Spiral of Youth Unemployment: An Approach Considering Social Networks and Family Background. *Work, Employment and Society*, 33(3), 401–421. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017018822918

Brennan, J., Johnston, B., Little, B., Shah, T., & Woodley, A. (2001). *The employment of UK graduates: comparisons with Europe and Japan*. Retrieved from: http://oro.open.ac.uk/328/

Bridgstock, R. (2009). The graduate attributes we've overlooked: Enhancing graduate employability through career management skills. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 28(1), 31-44. https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360802444347

Brown, P. (2000). The globalisation of positional competition? *Sociology*, 633-653. doi:10.1177/s0038038500000390 34:

Brown, P. (2003). The opportunity trap: education and employment in global economy. *European Educational Research Journal, 2*(1), 141 - 178. https://doi.org/10.2304%2Feerj.2003.2.1.4

Brown, P., & Hesketh, A. (2004). *Mismanagement of Talent: Employability and Jobs in the Knowledge Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buzzeo, J., Marvell, R., Everett, C., & Newton, B. (2016). *Tackling unemployment among disadvantaged young people.* Brighton: Institute of Employment Studies.

Buzzeo, J., Byford, M., Martin, A., & Newton, B. (2019). *Experiences of homeless young people in precarious employment.* Brighton: Institute of Employment Studies.

Callanan, G. A., & Greenhaus, J. H. (1992). The career indecision of managers and professionals: An examination of multiple subtypes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 41*(3), 212-231. doi:10.1016/0001-8791(92)90023-S

Campbell, S. M., Twenge, J. M., & Campbell, W. K. (2017). Fuzzy but useful constructs: Making sense of the differences between generations. *Work, Aging and Retirement, 3*(2), 130-139. https://doi.org/10.1093/workar/wax001

Carter, A. (2020, 29th June - 3rd July 2020). *The wicked problem of youth employment: Context, issues & ways forward.* Paper presented at the EAWOP/ESRC Small Group Meeting on Young People' Work, Employment and Careers, Glasgow, UK.

Costa Dias, M., Joyce, R., & Norris Keiller, A. (2020). COVID-19 and the career prospects of young people. *Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS), Briefing Note, 299*.

Costanza, D. P., Badger, J. M., Fraser, R. L., Severt, J. B., & Gade, P. A. (2012). Generational differences in work-related attitudes: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *27*(4), 375-394. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007%2Fs10869-012-9259-4

Costanza, D. P., & Finkelstein, L. M. (2015). Generationally based differences in the workplace: Is there a there there? *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 8*(3), 308. https://doi.org/10.1017/iop.2015.15

De Fillippi, R. J., & Arthur, M. B. (1994). The boundaryless career: a competency - based perspective. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 15*(4), 307 - 324. doi:10.1002/job.4030150403

De Grip, A., Bosma, H., Willems, D., & van Boxtel, M. (2008). Job-worker mismatch and cognitive decline. *Oxford Economic Papers, 60*(2), 237-253. doi:10.1093/oep/gpm023

Dimock, M. (2019). Defining generations: Where Millennials end and Generation Z begins. *Pew Research Center, 17*(1), 1-7.

Durante, F., & Fiske, S. T. (2017). How social-class stereotypes maintain inequality. *Current Opinion in Psychology, 18*, 43-48. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.07.033

Ebner, K., Soucek, R. and Selenko, E. (2021), "Perceived quality of internships and employability perceptions: the mediating role of career-entry worries", *Education + Training*, *63*(4), 579-596. https://doi.org/10.1108/ET-02-2020-0037

Erdogan, B., Bauer, T. N., Peiró, J. M., & Truxillo, D. M. (2011). Overqualification theory, research, and practice: Things that matter. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 4(2), 260-267.

Erdogan, B., Karaeminogullari, A., Bauer, T. N., & Ellis, A. M. (2020). Perceived overqualification at work: Implications for extra-role behaviors and advice network centrality. *Journal of Management*, 46(4), 583-606. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0149206318804331

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living Working Conditions. (2013). *Working conditions of young entrants to the labour market*. Retrieved from http://ketlib.lib.unipi.gr/xmlui/handle/ket/950:

Feldman, D. C. (2003). The antecedents and consequences of early career indecision among young adults. *Human Resource Management Review, 13*(3), 499-531. doi:10.1016/S1053-4822(03)00048-2

Feldman, D. C., & Turnley, W. H. (1995). Underemployment among recent business college graduates. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 16*(6), 691-706. doi:10.1002/job.4030160708

Fiske, S. T. (2007). On prejudice and the brain. *Daedalus, 136*(1), 156-159. doi:10.1162/daed.2007.136.1.156

Forrier, A., De Cuyper, N., & Akkermans, J. (2018). The winner takes it all, the loser has to fall: Provoking the agency perspective in employability research. *Human Resource Management Journal, 28*(4), 511-523. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12206

Forrier, A., Sels, L., & Stynen, D. (2009). Career mobility at the intersection between agent and structure: A conceptual model. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 82*(4), 739-759. doi:10.1348/096317909x470933

Fowler, C. (2016). Careerealism: When You Look Too Young to be the Doctor (or How Not to be Called Doogie Howser). *Emergency Medicine News, 38*(9), 33.

Fraillon, J., Schulz, W., & Ainley, J. (2013). *International Computer and Information Literacy Study: Assessment Framework*: ERIC.

Gonzalez, S., Gardiner, D., Bausch, J., Danish, M., Moitra, E., & Yan, L. (2020). *Youth and COVID-19: impacts on jobs, education, rights and mental well-being: survey report 2020*. Retrieved from Geneva: https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/youth-employment/publications/WCMS_753026/lang--en/index.htm

Green, F., & Henseke, G. (2021). Europe's evolving graduate labour markets: supply, demand, underemployment and pay. Journal for labour market research, 55(1), 2. doi:10.1186/s12651-021-00288-y

Green, F., & Zhu, Y. (2010). Overqualification, job dissatisfaction, and increasing dispersion in the returns to graduate education. *Oxford Economic Papers, 62*(4), 740-763. doi:10.1093/oep/gpq002

Hällsten, M., Edling, C., & Rydgren, J. (2017). Social capital, friendship networks, and youth unemployment. *Social science research, 61*, 234-250. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2016.06.017

Harari, M. B., Manapragada, A., & Viswesvaran, C. (2017). Who thinks they're a big fish in a small pond and why does it matter? A meta-analysis of perceived overqualification. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 102*, 28-47. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.06.002

Holmes, L. (2013). Competing perspectives on graduate employability: possession, position or process? *Studies in Higher Education, 38*(4), 538-554. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2011.587140

Hu, S., Hood, M., & Creed, P. A. (2017). Negative career feedback and career goal disengagement in young adults: The moderating role of mind-set about work. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 102*, 63-71. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.07.006

ILO (2021). *Decent Jobs for Youth.* https://www.decentjobsforyouth.org/about

ILO (2020a). *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2020: Technology and the future of jobs*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

ILO (2020b). *Preventing exclusion from the labour market: tackling the COVID-19 youth employment crisis*. Retrieved from Geneva: International Labour Organisation. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/documents/publication/wcms_746031.pdf

ILO (2018). *The Youth Employment Challenge and the 2030 Agenda* [Video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=odHxTnN7OLg&t=1s

ILO (2014). *Informal employment among youth: Evidence*

from 20 school-to-work transition surveys. Retreieved from Geneva: International Labour Organisation. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_234911.pdf

Jack, A. (2020). Unacceptable — inside the Ivy League admissions scandal. *Financial Times*. Retrieved from https://www.ft.com/content/bbdd0722-e368-4611-982d-60b884fd8682

Judge, T. A., Cable, D. M., Boudreau, J. W., & Bretz, J. R. D. (1995). An empirical investigation of the predictors of executive career success. *Personnel Psychology, 48*(3), 485-519. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.1995.tb01767.x

Kalleberg, A. L. (2019). Precarious Work and Young Workers in the United States. In L. S. Chancer, M. Sanchez-Jankowski, & C. Trost (Eds.), *Youth, Jobs, and the Future: Problems and Prospects* (pp. 35-54). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

King, Z. (2003). New or traditional careers? A study of UK graduates' preferences. *Human Resource Management Journal, 13*(1), 5-26. doi:10.1111/j.1748-8583.2003.tb00081.x

Koen, J., Klehe, U.-C., Van Vianen, A. E. M., Zikic, J., & Nauta, A. (2010). Job-search strategies and reemployment quality: The impact of career adaptability. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 77*(1), 126-139. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2010.02.004

Kontopantelis, E., Mamas, M. A., van Marwijk, H., Buchan, I., Ryan, A. M., & Doran, T. (2018). Increasing socioeconomic gap between the young and old: temporal trends in health and overall deprivation in England by age, sex, urbanity and ethnicity, 2004–2015. *J Epidemiol Community Health, 72*(7), 636-644.

Kooij, D. T. A. M., De Lange, A. H., Jansen, P. G. W., Kanfer, R., & Dikkers, J. S. E. (2011). Age and work-related motives: Results of a meta-analysis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 32*(2), 197-225. doi:https://doi.org/10.1002/job.665

Krumboltz, J. D. (1992). The wisdom of indecision. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *41*(3), 239-244. doi:10.1016/0001-8791(92)90025-U

Krumboltz, J. D. (1998). Serendipity is not serendipitous. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 45*(4), 390 - 392. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.45.4.390

Kuijpers, M. A. C. T., & Scheerens, J. (2006). Career Competencies for the Modern Career. *Journal of Career Development, 32*(4), 303-319. doi:10.1177/0894845305283006

Ladge, J. J., & Little, L. M. (2019). When expectations become reality: Work-family image management and identity adaptation. *Academy of management Review, 44*(1), 126-149. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2016.0438

Laughland-Booÿ, J., Newcombe, P., & Skrbiš, Z. (2017). Looking forward: Career identity formation and the temporal orientations of young Australians. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 101,* 43-56. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.04.005

Lee, A., Erdogan, B., Tian, A., Willis, S., & Cao, J. (2021). Perceived overqualification and task performance: Reconciling two opposing pathways. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 94(1), 80-106. https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12323

Lodovici, M. S., & Semenza, R. (2012). *Precarious work and high-skilled youth in Europe* (Vol. 937). Milan: FrancoAngeli

Lozano, M., & Rentería, E. (2021, March 20). Trends in the length of long-term unemployment in Europe: an approach using working life tables, 2000-2018. https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/9c2jp

Mann, A., Denis, V., & Percy, C. (2020). Career ready?: How schools can better prepare young people for working life in the era of COVID-19. OECD Education Working Papers. https://doi.org/10.1787/e1503534-en

Maree, J. G. (2021). Innovating and contextualising career counselling for young people during the Covid-19 pandemic. *South African Journal of Psychology, 51*(2), 244-255. doi:10.1177/0081246321999507

McArdle, S., Waters, L., Briscoe, J. P., & Hall, D. T. T. (2007). Employability during unemployment: Adaptability, career identity and human and social capital. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 71*(2), 247-264. doi:10.1016/j.jvb.2007.06.003

McQuaid, R. (2017). Youth unemployment produces multiple scarring effects. Retrieved from http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/

Mitchell, K. E., Levin, A. S., & Krumboltz, J. D. (1999). Planned happenstance: Constructing unexpected career opportunities. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 77*(2), 115 - 125. doi:10.1002/j.1556-6676.1999.tb02431.x

Modestino, A. S., Sugiyama, K., & Ladge, J. (2019). Careers in construction: An examination of the career narratives of young professionals and their emerging career self-concepts. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 115*, 103306. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2019.05.003

Morris, M. G., & Venkatesh, V. (2000). Age differences in technology adoption decisions: Implications for a changing work force. *Personnel Psychology, 53*(2), 375-403. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2000.tb00206.x

Mortimer, J. T., Kim, M., Staff, J., & Vuolo, M. (2016). Unemployment, Parental Help, and Self-Efficacy During the Transition to Adulthood. *Work and Occupations*, 43(4), 434–465. https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888416656904

Moya, M., & Fiske, S. T. (2017). The Social Psychology of the Great Recession and Social Class Divides. *Journal of Social Issues, 73*(1), 8-22. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12201

Myers, K. K., & Sadaghiani, K. (2010). Millennials in the workplace: A communication perspective on millennials' organizational relationships and performance. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 225-238. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-010-9172-7

Nägele, C., & Neuenschwander, M. P. (2014). Adjustment processes and fit perceptions as predictors of organizational commitment and occupational commitment of young workers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 85*(3), 385-393. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2014.08.011

Ng, T. W. H., & Feldman, D. C. (2010). The relationships of age with job attitudes: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology, 63*(3), 677-718. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2010.01184.x

North, M. S., & Fiske, S. T. (2012). An inconvenienced youth? Ageism and its potential intergenerational roots. *Psychological Bulletin, 138*(5), 982. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0027843

OECD (2011). *An overview of growing income inequalities in OECD countries: main findings*. Retrieved from http://www.i-red.eu/resources/publications-files/oecd-divided-we-stand.pdf

OECD (2021). Unemployment rates by education level (indicator). doi: 10.1787/6183d527-en (Accessed on 27 September 2021)**.**

O'Higgins, N. & Pinedo, L. (2018). *Interns and outcomes just how effective are internships as a bridge to stable employment?,"* ILO Working Papers 994999791602676, Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Okay-Somerville, B., Allison, I., Luchinskaya, D., & Scholarios, D. (2020). Disentangling the impact of social disadvantage on 'becoming employable': evidence from STEM student university-to-work transitions. *Studies in Higher Education, ahead-of-print*, 1-15. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2020.1767052

Okay-Somerville, B., & Scholarios, D. (2014). Coping with career boundaries and boundary-crossing in the graduate labour market. *Career Development International, 19*(6), 668-682. https://doi.org/10.1108/CDI-12-2013-0144

Okay-Somerville, B., & Scholarios, D. (2021). Job search strategies and successful university-to-work transitions in the context of labour market ambiguity. *Journal of Career Development*. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F08948453211016058

Okay-Somerville, B., Scholarios, D., & Sosu, E. (2019). Young workers' job satisfaction in Europe. In Bengt Furåker & K. Håkansson (Eds.), *Work Orientations: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings* (pp. 193-218). London: Routledge.

O'Reilly, J., Eichhorst, W., Gábos, A., Hadjivassiliou, K., Lain, D., Leschke, J., McGuinness, S., Kureková, L. M., Nazio, T., Ortlieb, R., Russell, H., & Villa, P. (2015). *Five Characteristics of Youth Unemployment in Europe: Flexibility, Education, Migration, Family Legacies, and EU Policy.* SAGE Open. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244015574962

Pastore, F. (2018). Why is youth unemployment so high and different across countries? *IZA World of Labor*. doi:10.15185/izawol.420

Pinquart, M., Juang, L. P., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2003). Self-efficacy and successful school-to-work transition: A longitudinal study. *Journal of vocational behavior*, 63(3), 329-346.

Praskova, A., Creed, P. A., & Hood, M. (2015). Career identity and the complex mediating relationships between career preparatory actions and career progress markers. *Journal of vocational behavior*, 87, 145-153.

Presti, A. L., Capone, V., Aversano, A., & Akkermans, J. (2021). Career Competencies and Career Success: On the Roles of Employability Activities and Academic Satisfaction

During the School-to-Work Transition. *Journal of Career Development*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845321992536

Posthuma, R. A., & Campion, M. A. (2009). Age Stereotypes in the Workplace: Common Stereotypes, Moderators, and Future Research Directions. *Journal of Management, 35*(1), 158-188. doi:10.1177/0149206308318617

Prensky, M. (2001). Digital natives, digital immigrants part 2: Do they really think differently? *On the horizon*. 9(6), 1-6. https://doi.org/10.1108/10748120110424843

Quintini, G. and S. Martin (2014). "*Same Same but Different: School-to-work Transitions in Emerging and Advanced Economies*", OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 154, OECD Publishing, Paris. https://doi.org/10.1787/5jzbb2t1rcwc-en

Rainer, T. S., & Rainer, J. (2011). *The millennials*: B&H Publishing Group.

Robalino, D., Margolis, D., Rother, F., Newhouse, D., & Lundberg, M. (2013). *Youth employment: A human development agenda for the next decade*. Retrieved from Washington: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/17620

Rudolph, C. W., Rauvola, R. S., Costanza, D. P., & Zacher, H. (2020). Generations and Generational Differences: Debunking Myths in Organizational Science and Practice and Paving New Paths Forward. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 1-23. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-020-09715-2

Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., & Siara, B. (2008). Social networks, social support and social capital: The experiences of recent Polish migrants in London. *Sociology, 42*(4), 672-690. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0038038508091622

Saks, A. M., & Ashforth, B. E. (2002). Is job search related to employment quality? It all depends on the fit. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(4), 646. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.87.4.646

Savickas, M. L. (2002). Career construction: A developmental theory of vocational behavior. In *Career choice and development* (4th edn ed., Vol. 149 - 205, pp. 205). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Savickas, M. L. (2006). *Career Construction Theory.* Paper presented at the Proceedings of the AACC 15th Annual National Conference Sydney.

SDSN. (2015). *Indicators and a Monitoring Framework for the Sustainable Development Goals: Launching a data revolution for the SDG*. Retrieved from https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/2013150612-FINAL-SDSN-Indicator-Report1.pdf

Searle, R., Erdogan, B., Peiró, J. M., & Klehe, U. C. (2014). *What we know about youth employment: Research summary and best practices* (SIOP White Paper Series). Retrieved from: https://www.siop.org/Portals/84/docs/White%20Papers/Youth%20Employment%20Full%20FINAL.pdf

Seibert, S. E., Kraimer, M. L., & Crant, J. M. (2001). What do proactive people do? A longitudinal model linking proactive personality and career success. *Personnel Psychology, 54*(4), 845-874. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.2001.tb00234.x

Selenko, E., & Pils, K. (2019). The after-effects of youth unemployment: More vulnerable persons are less likely to succeed in Youth Guarantee programmes. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, *40*(2), 282-300.

Shoenfelt, E., Stone, N., & Kottke, J. (2013). Internships: An Established Mechanism for Increasing Employability. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 6(1), 24-27. doi:10.1111/iops.12004

Silver, H. (2007). Social exclusion: Comparative analysis of Europe and Middle East youth. *Middle East Youth Initiative Working Paper*(1).

Smith, L. (2015). *Psychology, poverty, and the end of social exclusion: Putting our practice to work*: Teachers College Press.

Snape, E., & Redman, T. (2003). Too old or too young? The impact of perceived age discrimination. *Human Resource Management Journal, 13*(1), 78-89. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-8583.2003.tb00085.x

St. Clair, R., Kintrea, K., & Houston, M. (2013). Silver bullet or red herring? New evidence on the place of aspirations in education. *Oxford Review of Education, 39*(6), 719-738. https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2013.854201

Strandh, M., Winefield, A., Nilsson, K., & Hammarström, A. (2014). Unemployment and mental health scarring during the life course. *The European Journal of Public Health, 24*(3), 440-445. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/cku005

Stremersch, J., Van Hoye, G., & Van Hooft, E. (2021). How to successfully manage the school-to-work transition: Integrating job search quality in the social cognitive model of career self-management. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2021.103643

Super, D. E. (1980). A life-span, life-space approach to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 16*, 282 - 298. https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-8791(80)90056-1

Super, D. E., Crites, J. O., Hummel, R. C., Moser, H. P., Overstreet, P. L., & Warnath, C. F. (1957). *Vocational Development: A Framework for Research*. New York: Teachers Coll. Bureau of Publ.

Thern, E., de Munter, J., Hemmingsson, T., & Rasmussen, F. (2017). Long-term effects of youth unemployment on mental health: does an economic crisis make a difference? *J Epidemiol Community Health, 71*(4), 344-349.

Turban, D. B., Stevens, C. K., & Lee, F. K. (2009). Effects of conscientiousness and extraversion on lew labor market entrants' job search: The mediating role of

metacognitive activities and positive emotions. *Personnel Psychology, 62*(3), 553-573. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.2009.01148.x

Turte, S. L., Correa, M. E. C., da Luz, A. A., & Fischer, F. M. (2012). Harassment at work? Empowerment and autonomy as coping strategies of young workers. *Work, 41*, 5674-5676. doi:10.3233/WOR-2012-0916-5674

Twenge, J. M., Campbell, S. M., Hoffman, B. J., & Lance, C. E. (2010). Generational differences in work values: Leisure and extrinsic values increasing, social and intrinsic values decreasing. *Journal of Management, 36*(5), 1117-1142. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0149206309352246

UNICEF (2021). UNICEF and young people: A generation full of potential and the power to change the world. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/young-people

Van der Heijden, B. I. J. M. (2003). Organisational influences upon the development of occupational expertise throughout the career. *International Journal of Training and Development, 7*(3), 142-165. doi:10.1111/1468-2419.00178

Van Laar, E., Van Deursen, A. J., Van Dijk, J. A., & De Haan, J. (2017). The relation between 21st-century skills and digital skills: A systematic literature review. *Computers in human behavior*, 72, 577-588. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.03.010

Vargas Llave, O., Wilkens, M., & Mullan, J. (2017). *Working conditions of workers of different ages*. Retrieved from Luxembourg: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2017/working-conditions-of-workers-of-different-ages

Vogel P. (2015) *Generation Jobless?*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wehrle, K., Kira, M., & Klehe, U.-C. (2019). Putting career construction into context: Career adaptability among refugees. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 111*, 107-124. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2018.08.007

Winterheller, J., & Hirt, C. (2017). Career patterns of young highly skilled migrants from Southeast Europe in Austria. *Personnel Review, 46*(2), 222-236. doi:10.1108/PR-05-2015-0148

Wong, V., & Au-Yeung, T. C. (2019). Autonomous precarity or precarious autonomy? Dilemmas of young workers in Hong Kong. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review, 30*(2), 241-261. doi:10.1177/1035304619838976

Wu, C.-H., Luksyte, A., & Parker, S. K. (2015). Overqualification and subjective well-being at work: The moderating role of job autonomy and culture. *Social Indicators Research, 121*(3), 917-937. DOI 10.1007/s11205-014-0662-2

Zacher, H. (2015). Using lifespan developmental theory and methods as a viable alternative to the study of generational differences at work. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 8*(3), 342-346. https://doi.org/10.1017/iop.2015.47

Zikic, J. (2015). Skilled migrants' career capital as a source of competitive advantage: implications for strategic HRM. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 26*(10), 1360-1381. doi:10.1080/09585192.2014.981199

Zikic, J., & Richardson, J. (2016). What happens when you can't be who you are: Professional identity at the institutional periphery. *Human Relations, 69*(1), 139-168. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0018726715580865.