

**Comparative Analysis of Policies to Tackle Youth Unemployment
Issue between Turkey and the European Union**

***Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye’de Uygulanan Genç İşsizliği ile Mücadele
Politikalarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi***

Özgür Topkaya

*Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University
Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences
Labour Economics and Industrial Relations Department
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Biga İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi
Çalışma Ekonomisi ve Endüstri İlişkileri Bölümü
ozgurtopkaya@gmail.com*

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Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'de Uygulanan Genç İşsizliği ile Mücadele Politikalarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi

Özgür Topkaya¹

Abstract

This study discusses youth unemployment issue and policies to overcome the problem of youth unemployment for Turkey and the European Union (EU 28) by reviewing existing literature and the statistical data. Youth unemployment rates are the highest among other classifications of workforce in both economies and the issue is a threat against social cohesion since younger generations play critical importance for the continuity of societies and social cohesion. The study aims to put forward the existing public policies to eliminate the problem of youth unemployment from historical development perspective. The study concludes that in spite of the existing active employment policies; the problem still persists. Effectiveness of active labour market policies are quite limited both for EU and Turkey in the short run.

Keywords: Youth Unemployment, European Union, Labour Market Policies, Social Cohesion, Social Inclusion.

Öz

Çalışmada; Türkiye ve Avrupa Birliği (AB28)'de önemli bir sorun olan genç işsizliği ve bu soruna yönelik politikalar, mevcut literatür taraması ve istatistiki verilerin değerlendirilmesi ile tartışılmaktadır. Genç işsizliği oranları; işgücünün diğer sınıfları ile karşılaştırıldığında en yüksek işsizlik oranına sahip grubu teşkil etmektedir. Bu durum her iki ekonomi açısından toplumsal huzurun ve bütünlüğün önünde bir tehdit oluşturmaktadır. Çünkü yeni nesiller, toplumların devamlılığı açısından büyük önem taşımaktadır. Çalışma tarihsel gelişim sürecinden, genç işsizliği problemini ortadan kaldırmak üzere ortaya konan kamu politikalarını değerlendirmektedir. Çalışma AB'de birlik düzeyinde mevcut politikaların, birlik düzeyinde tüm ülkelerde yaygınlaştırılması için daha fazla çaba gösterilmesi ve birlik içerisinde ülkeler arası farklılıkların ortadan kalkması gerektiği değerlendirilmesinde bulunmaktadır. Çalışmada ayrıca; genç işsizliğini azaltmada uygulanan aktif istihdam politikalarının etkinliğinin AB geneli ve Türkiye'de kısa vadede oldukça sınırlı olduğu ifade edilmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Genç İşsizliği, Avrupa Birliği, İstihdam Politikaları, Sosyal Bütünlük, Sosyal İçerme

¹ Assistant. Prof. Dr., Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Labour Economics and Industrial Relations Department, ozgurtopkaya@gmail.com

Introduction

Higher rates of unemployment in the labour markets around the world caused adverse affects on vulnerable groups including the young generation extensively during and after the global economic crisis in 2008. Youth unemployment has always been a major problem since young generations face several difficulties to enter the labour markets. However, global economic crisis has intensified the issue with cross-country differences. Several studies in the literature stress a rising trend in youth unemployment rates. While youth unemployment rates rise in some countries such as Spain, Greece and Portugal, it remains unaffected or hardly affected in some other countries such as Germany, Austria and the Norway. The difference indicates the important role of institutional settings and public policies can play in facilitating school to work transitions (Cahuc et al., 2013:2).

Youth unemployment refers to non-working but willing to work employees between the ages of 15-24 years (mdgs.un.org, Millennium Development Goals Indicators, Access Date: March 21, 2016; data.worldbank.org, Unemployment, Youth Total, Access Date: March 21, 2016). This age group of unemployed have always had higher rates of unemployment in the labour markets. Besides, they are preferred in times of economic expansion and usually the first to be laid off in times of economic crises. In the early years of their career, young employees usually engage in various job searching activities and change jobs quite often (Gundersen and Fazio, 2014:xv). Policy effectiveness to overcome the problem of youth unemployment is desired.

European Statistic Office (Eurostat) data indicate that the Union has a population of about 507 million people as of January 1st, 2014 (EU 28). There is no doubt that youth unemployment is one of the most important socio-economic problems of the Union today. While EU unemployment rate is 10.2%, youth unemployment rate is 21.9% for 2014. Turkish youth unemployment rate is 18% for 2014. These rates are nearly double amount of adult unemployment rates. The study finds its significance with respect to high youth unemployment rates since it bears critical importance for European and Turkish societies. Turkey is on the verge of participation to EU and several areas have already been harmonized. Stressing the similarities and differences of youth employment policies also constitutes an area of comparison that should be discussed. In this way, this study is aimed at forming a basic resource about youth unemployment.

Although Turkish and European Union's unemployment characteristics in their economies differ in the beginning, the dates of its rise as a problem coincide with each other. Both Turkey and the European Union started to suffer from unemployment problem after the oil shock in the mid 1970s (Giugni, 2009:1). Before this date Turkey did not have unemployment problem. Added to dense employment rates in agricultural industries, domestic migration flows from rural to the urban areas between 1950 to 1960s and then workforce migration from Turkey to abroad particularly to developed European countries between 1960s to 1970s decreased the pressure of unemployment in Turkey in these years. However, oil crisis in the world caused stoppage of workforce migration added to political conflicts and high inflation rates of the period in Turkey. Neo-liberal policies started in Turkey in 1980 and privatization of state owned enterprises worsened the problem of unemployment (Tokol, 2012:78-81).

Turkish rural migration trends to the urban areas increased in these periods and socio-economic structure of the economy could not meet the expectancies of new entrants to the labour markets. Industrial transformation from the rural to the urban areas could not be realized easily because of the low development levels of industrial sectors (Mahiroğulları and Korkmaz, 2013:56).

While policies to overcome unemployment in Turkey started in 1963 with the first of 'development plans', the plans mainly focused on economic development agenda. Development plans mainly regarded unemployment as a systematic element of development and suggested that it would soon be eliminated by the economic development efforts. This notion is also conveyed in other socio-economic subjects of the time similar to the approaches of development economics. European policies to struggle unemployment started in 1990s when the union gained a new dimension following the Maastricht Agreement which founded European Union. The Union started to design policies about social policy. Until then the union was a supranational organization which was founded primarily for economic goals. Social policy and employment issues within the organization were left to the initiative of member countries. (Walsh, 2009:8) Maastricht agreement introduced a new term "union citizenship" and aimed at providing same standards of living conditions for every union citizen.

To analyze whether the policies have been successful or not, one needs to monitor related data about the subject. The next part of the study includes comparative analysis of data about labour supply and youth unemployment for EU 28 and Turkey. This part is followed by causes of youth unemployment. In this way, the study aims to identify goals of policies implemented to overcome the issue. Finally, the policies are discussed in detail which is followed by conclusion.

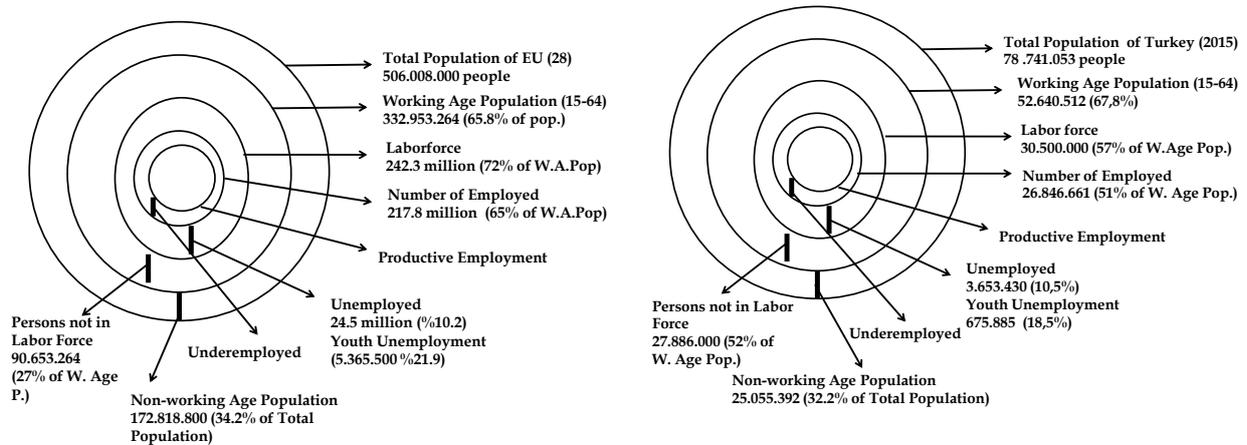
1. Comparative Overview of the Problem of Youth Unemployment

Unemployment and non-use of available human resources are unfavourable for any economy because of several adverse effects. While inefficient use of productive capacity causes GDP losses, masses of unemployed people also increase dependency ratios and threaten the state insurance funds. On the other hand, as William H. Beveridge points out unemployment as a threat against social cohesion and root for every evil in the society (Beveridge, 1909:1) which is an adverse factor above all since societal continuity is not possible without social cohesion. Societies can only survive if a harmonious environment is created within the socio-economic life.

Figure 1 demonstrates labour force supply of both EU(28) and Turkey. While working age population (15-64 years of age) of EU(28) represents 65% of population, it represents 67,8% of population in Turkey. Persons not in labour force forms 27% and 52% of demographic structure for EU(28) and Turkey respectively. Unemployed makes 10,2% and 10,5% of workforce in EU(28) and Turkey respectively. Youth unemployment rate for EU 28 is 21.9% and %18.5 for Turkey.

Figure 1 also include data about non-working age population. 34.2% of total population in the EU 28 below 15 years and above 65 years of age. Young people makes up 15.6% of non-working age population in the EU 28 (Eurostat, Population Structure, 2016b).

Figure 1. Labour Force Supply of Population for EU (28) and Turkey in 2014



Source: Turkish Statistical Office, Households Labour Force Survey Eurostat (2016b), Population Structure and Ageing, Eurostat, Employment Statistics (2016d), Eurostat (2016f), People Outside the Labour Market

Turkish non working age population rate is 32.2%. 24.0% of non-working age population is young people between the age of 0-14 and 8% of this group is above 65 years old. While half of the EU 28 non working age population consists of young people, the other half include people over 65 years old. This rate explains why EU 28 gives importance both for youth and elderly in labour market and social policies. On the other hand Turkish young people make up almost 4/5 of non working age population.

Table 1: Annual Youth Unemployment Rates for EU 28 and Turkey

Years	EU	Turkey	Years	EU	Turkey	Years	EU	Turkey
1988	18,21	17,5	1997	22,1	14,3	2006	17,7	19,1
1989	16,65	16,5	1998	20,6	14,2	2007	15,9	20
1990	15,95	16	1999	20,2	15	2008	15,9	20,5
1991	15,3	15,3	2000	19,1	13,1	2009	20,3	25,3
1992	16,8	16,3	2001	19,0	16,2	2010	21,4	21,7
1993	21,5	17,7	2002	19,7	19,2	2011	21,7	18,4
1994	22,4	16	2003	18,7	20,51	2012	23,3	17,5
1995	22,2	15,5	2004	19,2	20,6	2013	23,7	18,7
1996	22,7	13,5	2005	19,0	19,9	2014	22,2	18,0

Notes: EU: 1988-1992 years include authors self calculations. German Data was included starting from the 1991 and no data was available for Greece for this period. 1993-97 years include EU15. 1998-2000 include EU25, and 2000 onwards include EU 28 from Eurostat Database indicated below.

Source: TUIK, İşgücü İstatistikleri Database, [https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul]

Eurostat,(2016c), Unemployment Rate By Age and Sex.

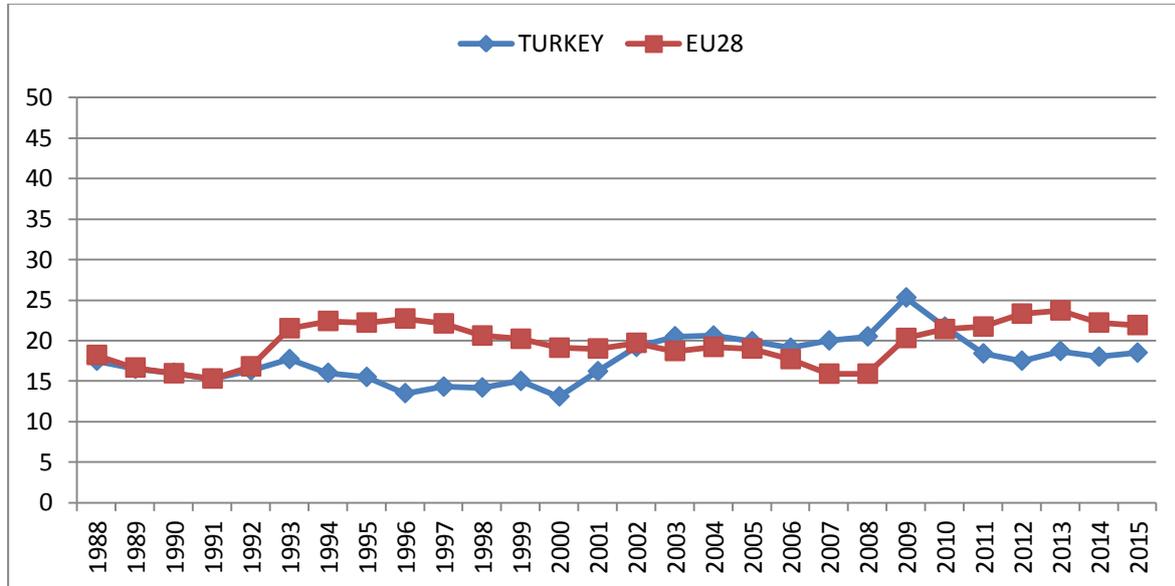
Annual youth unemployment rates for EU 28 and Turkey are shown in Table 1. Unemployment figures declined from 1988 to 1993. In 1993 EU members signed Maastricht Treaty and political and social integration gained a new phase. The number of member countries started to increase in 1995. Youth unemployment rates between the years 1993 and 97 include EU15(Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, Sweden, Finland and Austria) and these years faced significant increase in the youth unemployment rates following the participation

of Sweden, Finland and Austria in 1995. To interpret today's EU 28 it is more appropriate to check on the figures starting from the 2000 which include data of all member countries today.

Starting from the year 2000 EU youth unemployment figures decreased steadily until 2009 when the Global Economic Crisis started to affect economies. During and after the economic crisis EU youth unemployment rates stayed over 20%. Turkish youth unemployment rates exceeded EU 28 when fluctuations occurred in its economy after 2000 and just aftermath the economic crisis. To better understand the differences Figure 2 represents unemployment curves.

Figure 2 shows youth unemployment trends for EU 28 and Turkey between the years 1988 and 2015. Comparative representation of the trends demonstrate that while Turkey enjoyed low levels of youth unemployment rates in the 1990s, EU 28 rates remained above 20%. The trend also shows the highest point since 1988. Young people were affected hardest by the crisis and its aftermath. In the following years aftermath the crisis, a recovery in the youth unemployment rates are seen.

Figure 2: EU 28 and Turkey Annual Youth Unemployment Rates, 1988-2015



Notes: EU: 1988-1992 years include author's self calculations. German Data was included starting from the 1991 and no data was available for Greece for this period. 1993-97 years include EU15. 1998-2000 include EU25, and 2000 onwards include EU 28 from Eurostat Database indicated below.

Source: TÜİK, İşgücü İstatistikleri Database, [<https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>]

Eurostat,(2016c), Unemployment Rate By Age and Sex.

2008 Global Economic Crisis' effect over youth unemployment rates were more adverse compared to EU 28 since Turkish youth unemployment rate reached 25% in 2009. However, the rate started a downward slope for Turkey after 2009. On the other hand, EU 28 enjoyed increases in the youth unemployment rates. This can be explained by European Debt Crisis which occurred following the recession.

2. Causes of Youth Unemployment Problem

Causes of unemployment vary. Total and youth unemployment are caused by macroeconomic, structural conditions, educational and labour market policies. Moreover,

labour market institutions and regulation also have effects over the problem (Choudhry, Marelli and Signorelli, 2012:14a). Youth unemployment as seen in the tables and figures is not a new phenomenon. However, the emphasis placed by Europe on the future of younger generations and the extent of the issue where it is discussed which lead to major labour market reforms and deregulation on nation States casted by central institutions is a new perspective (Tiraboschi, 2014:4). Besides structural characteristics of labour markets, globalization and economic crises played a significant role in the rise of youth unemployment problem (Bacak, Topkaya and Gezer, 2015:20).

Turkish unemployment problem is defined as a structural unemployment such as job creation incapacity of economy, high population growth and already existing bulk of unemployed people. Several causes can be named to define Turkish unemployment problem; yet seeking job for the first time is one of them. (Eser ve Terzi, 2008:232). Job seeking activity can be related to young people since most of the time people attempt to find a job when they enter the labour markets. Structural problems also include imbalance between labour supply and labour demand of the economy (Murat, 1995:186).

Continuous high levels of youth unemployment indicate that both economies have difficulties to cope with the problem. So it can be said that youth unemployment is not only a structural problem for Turkey (Ekin, 1980:41;Murat, 1995:185) but also it is a structural problem for the European Union as well (European Commission, 2015:1).

2.1. Economic Crises

World Bank President Robert Zoellick stated that Global Financial Crisis would soon transform into an unemployment crisis in his speech in French Parliament in December 2008. According to Zoellick unemployment crisis would reach to high levels that could threaten the social structure of many countries. After the 2008 Global Economic Crisis, unemployment is seen as one of the most significant global risks in the next ten years (Özsöz, 2012:2).

2008 Global economic started in the financial industries in the United States of America (USA) then quickly spread to other financial markets around the world and began to effect manufacturing industries. Closure of businesses in the developed economies reduced the labour demand in the economies around the world.

Choudhry, et al. (2012b) investigated the effect of financial crises on youth unemployment rates during the period of 1980-2005 for about 70 countries. The empirical study put forward that financial crises' impact on the youth unemployment rates was statistically significant. Authors' results also demonstrated that the most adverse effects are found in the second and third year after the financial crisis. Finally, the authors stressed that the effect of economic crises on youth unemployment is greater than the effect on overall employment levels.

2.2. Educational Attainment Levels and Job-Skills Mismatch

Young people should be equipped with necessary qualification. Qualifications of young people are undoubtedly the key resource in the determination of individual job search outcomes (Müller and Gangl, 2003:10) During the entry process to the labour markets, low levels of qualification, both educational and vocational cause risk of exclusion from the primary labour market. Already continued low demand for young job seekers in the labour

market and the frequent lack of job experience among young people prevents entry into a job career (Kieselbach, 2001:19).

There is a negative relationship between Turkish youth unemployment and educational attainment levels. Primary school graduates suffer from unemployment issue less than university graduates. Young workers with higher levels of educational attainment tend to prefer jobs with higher wages which demand experience and skill (Bayraktar and İncekara, 2013:24; Sayın, 2011:39). Long periods of job-seeking activity reflect on the youth unemployment rates negatively.

Turkish education system and employment relationship also demonstrate that qualifications of graduates of education systems are different than what labour markets demand. Education systems and economic markets need to be aligned with each other due to the rapidly changing business environment. Ever changing technological dynamics require institutional changes and the education system need to adapt to these changes as well (İçli, 2001:68).

This problem can also be discussed from the supply and demand sides of the economy. The demand side of the economy usually prefer experienced workers particularly in the economic recession periods. Supply side of the economy stresses the lack of skills due to inexperienced characteristics of young workers. This imbalance causes youth unemployment rates be higher than the general employment levels (Bayraktar and İncekara, 2013:24).

2.3. Job Creation Incapacity of Economies

Youth unemployment problem mainly arises from insufficient job creation. Necessary number of jobs for young people should be provided at first in order to eliminate or lessen the depth of youth unemployment problem (Erdayı, 2009:144). Although birth rates are on the decline, labour supply side of the population is on, contrary to the job creation capacity of the demand side. Businesses cannot meet job demand for ever-increasing labour supply. Unemployment problem becomes chronic when demand side of the economy cannot create new jobs sufficiently (ILO Ankara, Access Date: March 26, 2016).

Table 2 is an attempt to give an idea about the job creation capacity of economies. Although there is a continuous rise in the job creation capacity of Turkish economy, the number of job vacancy compared to unemployed is so small with almost 6% of number of employed persons for 2014. This signals a structural problem. Moreover, Turkish job vacancy (persons) for 2015 was 132,570 jobs , 30% decrease was seen compared to previous year (ISKUR, 2015: 14). EU job vacancy rate remained between 1,4 to 1,6 between the years 2011 and 2014. However, significant increases were seen in the number of unemployed particularly in 2013. So at least for the aftermath of the crisis it can be said that EU also problems related to its economy based on the downturn.

Table 2: Comparison of Job Vacancy and Total Unemployment in the Economies

	2011		2012		2013		2014	
	EU	Turkey	EU	Turkey	EU	Turkey	EU	Turkey
Job Vacancy (Persons)	*	54.909,25	*	82.311,34	*	118.428,8	*	144.356,9
Rate (%)	1,5	1,7**	1,4	1,5**	1,5	1,4**	1,6	1,2**
Unemployed (Persons)	22.300.000	1.526.613	25.520.000	2.112.503	26,129.000	2.347.988	21.996.000	2.416.788
Rate (%)	9,6	8,8	10,5	8,2	10,8	8,8	10,2	9,9

Notes: * Not available from Eurostat or OECD.

**Change based on previous year

Source: OECD, Job vacancies, Total, New Vacancies (flow), Dataset: Registered Unemployed and Job Vacancies, OECD.Stat, Access Date: February 19th, 2016.

OECD, Registered Unemployment, Level, Total, Dataset: Registered Unemployed and Job Vacancies, OECD.Stat, Access Date: February 19th, 2016.

Eurostat, Unemployment Rate and Unemployed Persons, Persons aged 15 and Over, 2006-13,

[http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/File:Unemployment_rate_and_unemployed_persons_aged_15_and_over_2006%E2%80%9313_EU_world15.png]

EU 28 is facing a growing but ageing population problem. This problem is reflected on the low fertility rates and higher life expectancy rates. It is expected that older people will constitute much greater share of population in member countries in the next decades. Between 2002 and 2013 the number of older people aged 65 and over increased 17.7 percent in the EU. In addition; the rate of people over 80 increased 44.8% and population aged 20 to 64 only increased by 3.6%. In contrast the number of 0 to 19 year olds decreased by 5.8% (Eurostat, 2016e, "Europe 2020 Indicators-Employment").

A current research of ILO about the relationship between economic growth and employment relationship for G20 Countries where Turkey and several powerful European countries are members give evidence on the job creation incapacity of economies in the last couple of years. The study put forward that the economic growth rates are lower than expected in the last years and economies cannot meet labour market demands which led to a 0,9% increase of unemployment rate in 2007 from %5,1 to %6. In 2014 unemployment rate for G20 countries was measured as 5,8% for 2014 (ILO, 2015:4).

2.4. Labour Immobility

EU 28 legislation allows free movement of workers within the EU Member States. By stimulating economic recovery the current employment strategy aims to create more and better jobs for citizens. However, the potential of mobility is still limited and it needs to be developed. The workforce in employment in the EU is about 217.7 million people and only 3,1% of them are working in another Member State which makes 7,5 million people. EU surveys demonstrate that young people are the group that are most likely to benefit from the mobility (European Commission, 2015:1).

High mobility potential of young employees results in temporary demand and low wage for them. This leads a cycle when young people reach older ages. Their social responsibilities increase and they start to look for jobs with better wages which in turn causes job changes (Gündoğan, 1999:70).

Turkey is not integrated to European labour markets currently and labour mobility is limited to regional labour mobility in this regard. Regional mobility in the scope of internal mobility from one city to another and from rural to urban areas are leading forms of labour mobility in Turkey. A research study put forward that these forms of mobility is not sufficient to relieve the problems of unemployment and employment either in the sending or the receiving residence area (Bahar and Bingöl, 2010:55).

2.5. Expansion of Non-Standard Work Arrangements

There have been significant decreases in the number of permanent jobs and this is another factor that cause increases in youth unemployment rates. Temporary contracts makes up for over 50% of all new hires across EU. However, temporary contracts are linked with apprenticeship or other form of education and training activities particularly in Germany, the Netherlands, Luxemburg. Temporary contracts encompass more than 50% of new hires across EU and about 60% of young people (20-24) got a job this way (European Commission, 2012: 23). When the period of apprenticeship or training activities end, temporary work arrangements end too.

EU Commission report (2015) also demonstrates that the precariousness is still on. 42,7% of young people with jobs were on temporary contracts in 2013 compared to 13,8% of the overall working age population (15-64). 31,9% of young employees had part-time jobs, compared to 19,6% of workers overall (European Commission, 2015:1).

3. Employment Policies to Tackle Youth Unemployment Problem

States' intervention to labour markets has generally been held by passive labour market policies in the form of unemployment insurance, social assistance, and unemployment benefits. Following the significant increase of unemployment rates, developed nations regarded passive labour markets insufficient as it aims to protect employees' social and economic conditions financially and they started to implement policies to create new jobs and develop skills of employees that are called active labour market policies. Although history of active labour market policies in developed nations goes back to the 1945s, the post-war era, the importance given to them increased after 1990s in Europe (Işığık, 2014a:174).

Active labour market policies in the EU 28 started in 1990s. The report "The Way Forward the Union" by Jack Delor's Committee laid down the fundamentals of employment issue in the EU. Following this report, Essen Strategy was implemented. Institutional framework of European employment strategy was designed in Amsterdam Summit between the dates of 16-17 June 1997. European Employment Pact was designed by Germany in 1999 and finally, March 2000 Lisbon Summit introduced a new European employment strategy. A ten year employment strategy with the aim of increasing number of employed and transforming into a knowledge economy began. New social model aims to increase competitive advantage and social integration (Şener, Benli, Topkaya, 2007:665-666; Lahusen, 2009:152).

Employment policies of EU and Turkey should also be discussed with respect to economic transformation. Following the adoption of neo-liberal policies in 1980s, EU failed to combat unemployment problem which led to the higher unemployment rates between 1990 and 1994. The Council discussed unemployment problem as the major theme in their meeting in Essen in 1994 (Hermann, 2007:18). Turkey also had similar problems related to

neo-liberalism activities particularly in the form of privatization of state enterprises between 1980 and 1995.

European Union integration into member countries social and employment policy consists of three dimensions. The first dimension of integration is policy aims which is expressed as the desired extent and nature of policy change. The second dimension consists of surveillance of national policy by EU actors. In this dimension EU conducts policy monitoring of the member countries. Third dimension is called enforcement. This is the strongest form of EU integration method (Porte and Heins, 2015:11). To expand good practices in employment activities of member countries The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) can be stressed as an EU policy making process as well. OMC activities do not result in EU legislation, but it is a method of soft governance. The root of OMC goes back to Maastricht Treaty but formally it was initiated by the Lisbon European Council in 2000. OMC targets identifying and promoting effective social policies (Prpic, 2014:1).

Currently Europe 2020 strategy is being implemented for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. This strategy has two elements related to labour markets. First is 'an agenda for new skills and jobs' and second is 'youth on the move'. Second programme came into force on December 2014. This strategy also targets that by 2020, three quarters of (75%) of 20 to 64 year olds in the EU 28 are employed. To achieve this target European Commission has set a range of actions (ec.europa.eu, Labour Market Statistics Introduced, Access Date: February 11th, 2016);

- promote flexisecurity in national labour markets
- introduce a new concept about quality of work
- identify effects of employment policies on wages and taxation
- promote job creation
- promote new ways to improve youth employment and self-employment
- identify the effects of climate change on labour markets

Moreover, EU 28 also has policy packages that directly target youth unemployment. 'Moving Youth into Employment' is one of them (ec.europa.eu, Labour Market Statistics Introduced, Access Date: February 11th, 2016);

- after graduation from formal education all young people up to the age of 25 should receive a quality offer of a job, continued education, an apprenticeship or a traineeship within four months of leaving formal education or becoming unemployed;
- to reach a consensus among European social partners for young people to receive safe and quality traineeship in order to enable young people obtain high quality work experience;
- structuring a European alliance for apprenticeships to improve the quality and supply of apprenticeships available and framing new methods to minimize restrictions to mobility for young people.

Another programme that can be added to above mentioned policies is 'Youth Guarantee'. It was introduced in April 2013 linked to 2020 Strategy framework. The programme targets offering young people a good quality and concrete job offer within 4 months of graduation from formal education. The purpose of this policy is to eliminate inactivity trap among young people. So the programme stimulates the purpose of activating

young people. The difference of this programme from the 1990's policies is that it reserved €6 billion for the implementation of the policies (Porte and Heins, 2015:22).

Active labour market policies for young people date back to 5th development plan between the years 1984-1989 in Turkey. The plan proposed priorities to tackle youth unemployment issue. Following resolutions were adopted for young people (Murat, 2007:105-106);

- Activating in-school training programmes and encouraging in-service training programmes so that unqualified workforce gain qualifications.
- To reduce youth unemployment rates, introducing tax subsidies to employers who provide employment for young people.
- Establish channels to guide young people in their career path starting from the high-school years.

Active labour market policies in Turkey target training of young people and encouraging employers to make investment. First initiative about training of young people started in 1988 with the enactment of Labour Force Training Regulation. The courses were held by Turkish Labour Agency. These courses still continue not only by Turkish Labour Agency but also by different state and NGO institutions in Turkey. Labour force training courses are discussed under the following headings (Işığışok, 2014:221);

- general labour force training
- labour force training with guaranteed work
- labour force training for entrepreneurs
- labour force training for the disadvantaged groups

On-site training programmes provide subsidies to employers in the form of social security contribution if the employer hires a young worker who had on-site training in his business up to 320 days (1 year). For young employees between the ages of 18 to 29, on site training programmes are offered. At the end of the programme till the first three months of contract ending, if the employer hires mentioned young employee he does not have pay social security contribution up to 42 months if employer is in the manufacturing industry and up to 30 months if the employer is in other industries (ISKUR, İşverenler İçin İstihdam Teşvikleri, Access Date: March 28, 2016).

Turkish unemployment insurance fund started in 1999 with the enactment of the law 4447 following the first three years of fund saving activities. The fund started to pay unemployment insurance to workers in 2002 (Işığışok, 2015b:146). With the gradual improvements the scope of the unemployed covered by the unemployment insurance expanded in years.

Passive labour market policies are also designed for young people in the form of benefits. However, unemployed young people are often not entitled to unemployment benefits due to lack of work experience. Many countries are expanding the coverage of unemployment benefit to encompass young unemployed people. While France requires 4 months work experience for the unemployment benefit, EU wide duration is generally one year. With the aim of supporting these Union wide policies, some cross country policies also come forward. The Qualification Programme in Norway is one of them. The programme aims to assist people with little work experience and poor working skills due to poor mental or somatic health, addiction problems or low levels of education find a suitable job. Swedish government grant financial support for young people who cannot get unemployment fund.

The benefit is called as development benefit. Finnish government assist young people who do not have sufficient professional qualification. Young people are provided with financial support on condition that they pursue vocational education. Those without vocational education cannot refuse offered work. (Hajdu, 45-50).

3.1. Effectiveness of Policies to Tackle Youth Unemployment

Several policies have been introduced to tackle youth unemployment particularly since the beginning of 2008 Global Economic Crisis. While there are vast resources about the nature of these policies, there is usually little about the quantitative effects of these policies. However, many of these policies do not systematically collect information about their results (Carreras et al., 2015:9).

Table 3: Measures Against Causes of Youth Unemployment

Measures against	EU	TURKEY
Economic Crisis	-EU Youth Strategy (2010-18) -Youth Employment Package (2012)	-National Youth Employment Action Plan (2010) -Law 5763 (2008-2015), compensates social security contribution of employers for their young employers -Wage subsidies given to employers for young employees
Job-Skills Mismatch	-Youth Opportunities Initiative (2011) -European Apprenticeships Alliance -European Social Fund	-ISKUR-UMEM, Specialized Vocational Training Programme -ISKUR On-site Training Programme
Job Creation Incapacity of Economies	-Youth Entrepreneurship -Moving Youth Into Employment Programme	National Youth Employment Action Plan (2010) Youth Entrepreneurship ISGEM by KOSGEB (general programme)
Non-Standard Work Arrangements	Supported by EU and flexisecurity measures are implemented	Supported by Turkish government and flexisecurity measures are implemented in the scope of ISKUR On-Site Training Programme
Labour Immobility	-Your First EURES Job	NA

Source: Content Analysis of EU Commission, ISKUR and KOSGEB Publications and Web Sites.

Table 3 summarizes applications of active labour market programmes to combat youth unemployment in Europe and in Turkey. Causes of youth unemployment such as economic crisis, job skills mismatch, job creation incapacity of economies, non-standard work arrangements and labour immobility have their matches to some programmes in the table which indicates that scholarly discussions and practical applications in the labour market are relevant to each other on this subject.

Studies in the literature indicate that vocational education activities reduce youth unemployment but the training programmes have little effect in the EU (Carreras et al,

2015:3). Generally active labour market policies have relatively small effects in the short run (less than a year after the end of the programme), but larger positive effects in the medium run (1-2 years post programme) and longer run (more than 2 years). Job search, assistance and sanction programmes are more successful for disadvantaged groups. Training and private sector employment subsidies give positive results for the long term unemployed. Active labour market policies give better results in times of slow economic growth and higher unemployment (Card et al., 2015:1-2).

Turkish active labour market policies particularly training activities have positive effects on the unemployed. A World Bank Study between the dates of December 2010 and June 2011 put forward that training activities had less but significant effect in decreasing unemployment among the unemployed. The study put forward that ISKUR training programmes increased the possibility of employability by 3% in registered industries. It also increased the earnings by 13% in the registered industries and developed the vocational quality in employment (www.worldbank.org, Türkiye’de İş Arayanlar..., Access Date: March 28, 2016).

Conclusion

Comparative analysis of both economies indicates that EU and Turkey have persistent youth unemployment problem. Several policies and programmes have been implemented to overcome the issue. Vocational education activities are seen as the effective programmes in the literature for the European Union while, training activities are regarded as successful for Turkey. On site training activities also come forward in Turkey in recent years with the expansion of its duration and incentives. Turkish youth unemployment is more of a structural problem in nature compared to EU because of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the labour markets. Yet, the rate of young unemployed people is lower compared to EU. Demographic structure of the EU indicates that youth unemployment rates will decrease in the following decades with the gradual exit of elderly from the labour markets on condition that no other economic crisis occurs in the region. However, the policies with respect to eliminating youth unemployment are quite similar.

Both Turkey and EU attempt to take all necessary measures to tackle youth unemployment rates by implementing policies in different dimensions. However, statistical data indicate its persistence. Economic crises played a significant role in the high youth unemployment rates. According to Eurofound estimates high youth unemployment caused significant economic burden with 150 billion Euros which is about 1.2 percent of European GDP in 2011. Moreover, its social costs in terms of social exclusion have not been considered yet (Eichhorst, Hinte, Rinne, 2013:7).

The mentioned policies against youth unemployment problem in the EU is still seen a Europeanization process of the problem. EU is still seen in the process of integration (Dheret, 2013:3). Therefore differences in the implementation of policies of combating youth unemployment among the member states are seen normal. Cross-country differences of youth unemployment rates within EU region are another problem that the Union faces today. EU integration policy should be concentrated more on this problem and enforce the level of integration to policies against youth unemployment in member countries by taking necessary measures.

Effectiveness of policies can only be achieved if the implementation process of the policies is monitored well by the EU and Turkish authorities. Structural reforms are needed

to obtain considerable results to overcome youth unemployment issue. In addition to already existing policies, encouraging start-ups and entrepreneurship activities would help reduce the youth unemployment rates. Moreover, existing activities on entrepreneurship education and training should be supported by new methods and tools to meet the objectives of decreasing youth unemployment rates in the long run.

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