The Continued Collapse of the Nation's Teen Summer Job Market: Who Worked in the Summer of 2011?

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Introduction

Labor market conditions for most demographic groups of U.S. workers have been quite weak in recent years (2008-2010) due to the adverse employment impacts of the Great Recession of 2007-2009 and the anemic job recovery during the first 18 months following the trough of the recession in June 2009. Every age group of workers under 55 years old was less likely to be employed in 2010 than they were in 2000, with the nation's younger adults under 30 years of age faring the worst. Teenagers (16-19) experienced the greatest percentage point decline in their employment/population ratio over the decade. The nation's teens have encountered severe problems in finding employment during the summer as well as during the year as a whole.

This paper is focused on an assessment of developments in the teen summer labor market during the June-August period of 2011. Recently released data from the monthly Current Population Survey¹ for those three months will be used to examine the employment rates of teens in these three months and compare them to findings over the past two decades to put these results into proper comparative perspective. <u>The findings will reveal that this summer tied last year's terrible performance in producing the lowest teen summer employment rate since the end of World War Two.</u>

The findings on the employment rates for all teens will be supplemented by similar data for gender, race-ethnic, and family income groups of teens across the nation with some breakouts for gender/race/family income subgroups. Estimates of summer 2011 teen employment rates for key states across the country with the highest and lowest teen employment rates also will be presented. The degree of geographic variability in teen employment rates is quite substantial, exceeding that for all other age groups.

During the months of June and July of this year, the teen employment rate (not seasonally adjusted) averaged only <u>30.1%</u>, implying that <u>only 30 of every 100 teens</u> (16-19) in the civilian non-institutional population held any type of paid job, either part-time or full-time.² This morning, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics released its estimate of the employment rate for

¹ The Current Population Survey is a national household survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau for the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. It is the source of data on the monthly number of employed and unemployed persons and the monthly unemployment rate.

² The civilian non-institutional population excludes those persons serving in a branch of the nation's armed forces, the homeless, and those residing in institutional settings, such as juvenile homes, jails, prisons, and mental hospitals.

teens in August.³ This estimated not seasonally adjusted employment rate was only 28.6%. The average summer employment rate for the nation's teens was only 29.5%. This employment rate basically ties last summer for the lowest teen employment rate in our nation since the end of World War II.



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, <u>www.bls.gov</u>.

The summer teen employment rate has been on a near steady downward course since the end of the national labor market boom in 2000. The summer 2000 teen employment rate was just under 52% falling five percentage points short of its all time high of 57% in the summer of 1989. During the recessionary year of 2001 and the largely jobless recovery of 2002-2003, the teen employment rate declined sharply, falling to just 41.6% in the summer of 2004. This 2004 teen E/P ratio was 10 percentage points below where it was in 2000. During the national economic recovery from 2004-2007, the teen summer employment rate barely budged, rising only to 42.6% in the summer of 2006 before declining steeply over the next four summers to a <u>new all time low of just 29.6% in the summer of 2010</u>. This summer's teen employment rate was 22 percentage points below its value in 2000 and 27 percentage points below its all time high of 57.0% in the

³ <u>See:</u> U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, <u>The Employment Situation: August 2011</u>, Washington, D.C., September 2, 2011.

summer of 1989. <u>This summer's teen employment rate for the entire June-August period came in</u> at only 29.5%, barely half its rate in the summer of 1989, an extraordinary decline in teen employment.

To place the size of these teen summer job losses in perspective, we conducted a relatively simple set of simulations. Our two scenarios involve comparing the actual June-July 2011 teen employment level with the number of teens that would have been employed this summer if (i) the June-July teen E/P rate for 2000 had prevailed, (ii) the June-July teen E/P rate for 1989 had prevailed. Results of our simulations are displayed in Table 1.

<u>Table 1:</u> <u>Comparing Actual Teen Employment in June-July 2011 with the</u> <u>Number of Teens that Would Have Been Employed this Summer if the Summer 2000 and</u> <u>Summer 1989 Teen Employment Rates Had Been Achieved</u>

	(A)	(B)	(C)
Scenario	Actual Teen Employment	Hypothetical Teen Employment	Hypothetical Minus Actual
Summer 2000 E/P Rate Achieved	5.148 million	8.669 million	3.521 million
Summer 1989 E/P Rate Achieved	5.148 million	9.558 million	4.410 million

During this summer, only 5.148 million teens were employed on average during the June-July period. If the summer 2000 teen E/P rate had existed this summer, then 8.669 million teens or <u>3.521 million more teens would have gained some work experience</u>. Under Scenario Two, the summer 1989 teen employment rate would have prevailed. If this scenario had held true, <u>then</u> <u>9.558 million teens would have been at work this summer, a gain of 4.41 million more working</u> <u>teens</u>, many of whom would have been minority teens from low to low middle income families (incomes under \$40,000 per year).

Who Worked During the Summer of 2011?

The CPS survey data on the demographic characteristics of respondents and their family's annual incomes can be combined with the information on the employment status of teens to generate estimate of employment rates across gender, race-ethnic, and family income groups. During the June-July period, female teens were modestly more likely to be employed than their male peers (31.3% vs. 30.0%). Since the summer of 2002, female teens have been

more likely to work than males for 8 of these 10 summers with one tie. This gender reversal in teen employment rates is a major new development in teen labor markets. Male teens have been adversely affected by both the deterioration in blue collar employment opportunities and by increased competition for jobs from older males (60+) and young immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants.



Chart 2: Employment/Population Ratios of U.S. Teens 16-19 Years Old in

Teen employment rates continue to vary widely across race-ethnic groups. During the current summer, teen E/P ratios have ranged from lows of 18 to 19 per cent for Blacks and Asians to 21% for Hispanics and to a high of over 38% for White, non-Hispanics. Both Blacks and Asians were only one half as likely to work as White, non-Hispanics. Black males (17%) were characterized by the lowest teen employment rate for any gender/race-ethnic group.

Similar to findings for many previous years teen employment rates also varied widely by their family income. The higher the family income (up to \$150,000), the greater the likelihood that a teen worked (Chart 3). Only 21 out of every 100 teens in low income families (under \$20,000) worked this past summer. The demise of the federally-funded summer youth employment program (resurrected for 1 summer in 2009 by the Obama Administration's ARRA

stimulus plan) has taken a toll on low income minority youth who were often a major target group for the summer jobs program. Teen employment rates rose steadily with family incomes rising to 24% for those with family incomes of \$20-40,000 to just about 33% for those with incomes between \$40 and \$75,000, and to a high of just under 42% for those teens living in families with incomes between \$100,000 and \$150,000. Teen employment rates fell slightly to 36% for the most affluent teens, but they still remained well above those of their low to low middle income peers.



The links between family income and teen employment rates were quite strong for both men and women and for Blacks, Hispanics and White, non-Hispanics (See Tables 2 and 3). Among male teens, employment rates rose very sharply from a low of 20% for those in the lowest income group to 32% for those with family incomes between \$40 and \$75,000 to a high of 44% for those in families with incomes between \$100,000 and 150,000. These more affluent male teens were more than twice as likely to work as their peers from low income families. Very similar patterns prevailed among women. Female teens in families with incomes above \$75,000 were about twice as likely to work as their low income peers (38% versus 22%). Low income teens have been far more dependent on subsidized employment and job placement services from

labor market intermediaries (WIA youth programs, career specialists in high school) to find summer employment.

	(A)	(B)
Family Income		
(in 1000s)	Men	Women
<20	20.3	22.1
20 - 40	23.0	26.1
40 - 60	32.2	32.3
60 -75	31.7	34.3
75 - 100	35.7	38.8
101 - 150	44.1	39.1
150+	33.4	38.4
All	30.1	31.3

<u>I able 2.</u>
Employment/Population Ratios of U.S. Teens 16-19 Years Old by
Gender and Family Income in June-July 2011 (in%)

Table 2.

Among Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites, summer employment rates tended to rise fairly sharply with family income through the \$100 to \$150,000 category (Table 3). Among Black youth, the summer teen employment rate rose from a low of only 14% for those living in families with incomes below \$40,000 to a high of nearly 41%, or three times higher for those Black teens living in families with incomes between \$100 and \$150,000. Links between family income and employment rates were positive but not quite as strong for Hispanic and White teens. Only among Asian youth do we find no positive relationship between family income and summer employment. In fact, the relationship is an inverse one for those in families up to \$100,000.

The factors influencing the strong positive links between teen employment behavior and family income need to be better understood by policymakers. Past research suggests several factors at work. Parents of more affluent teens frequently value work among their teenage children as both a socialization strategy and as an opportunity for them to take on adult responsibilities. Families where both parents work expect their children to work.⁴ Parents in such families often serve as brokers into the labor market for their children. Family networks are a key

⁴ In a number of multivariate models designed to predict a teen's employment status, we find that living in a family where both parents work has a significant positive impact on their employment rate.

source of job placement information for teens. Low income teens frequently have fewer employed parents, and many live with only one parent, most often the mother.⁵

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			June-July 201	
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Family Income (in 1000s)	Asian	Black	Hispanic	White, not Hispanic
Under 40	21.9	14.4	18.9	30.4
40 - 75	20.5	20.3	23.5	39.5
75 – 100	14.5	30.5	22.8	42.7
100 - 150	17.1	40.6	30.0	45.2
150+	12.2	16.3	25.1	40.3

<u>Table 5.</u>
Employment/Population Ratios of U.S. Teens 16-19 Years Old by
Race/Ethnic Group and Family Income in June-July 2011 (in %)

Teens were classified into 40 cells capturing information on their gender, race-ethnic group, and family income. Employment rates were estimated for each of these cells. The results reveal an extraordinarily high degree of variability in their employment rates this summer. At the bottom of the distribution are Black males living in families with an income under \$40,000. Their employment rate was only 12.3%. Black and Hispanic, low income female teens did only modestly better with employment rates of 16 to 17 percent. In the middle with an employment rate of 30.5% was middle income, Black male and female teens. At the top of the distribution are White males living in families with incomes between \$100,000 and \$150,000. Their employment rate was slightly below 48%, four times as high as that of Black male teens from low to low middle income families. These huge race/income disparities in teen employment opportunities should be viewed as completely unacceptable by members of both political parties.

⁵ Teens who live in a single mother family are significantly more likely to work if their mother is employed.



<u>Chart 4:</u> <u>Employment/Population Ratios of U.S. Teens 16-19 Years Old in Selected</u> Family Income/Gender, and Race-Ethnic Groups, June-July 2011 (in %)

Teen Employment Rates Across States

For many years, teen employment has been found to vary quite considerably across geographic areas, reflecting the influence of local labor market conditions, differences in job structures, community norms with respect to youth work, and the degree of presence of immigrants/older workers in the labor force.⁶ Over the past decade, both year round and summer teen employment rates have differed considerably across states. For the recent June-July period, we estimated teen employment rates for each of the 50 states and ranked them from highest to lowest. The ten states with the highest teen employment rates and the ten with the lowest teen employment rates are displayed in Table 4 in descending order.

⁶ Strong local labor market conditions favor the employment of teens as does the presence of smaller labor markets where informal networks in hiring are the norm. High inflows of young immigrants depress teen employment.

	(A)
Top Ten States	E/P Ratio
South Dakota	63.2
North Dakota	58.5
Iowa	53.8
Maine	52.4
Nebraska	51.1
Montana	50.5
Kansas	48.3
Wyoming	47.6
Minnesota	44.0
Wisconsin	42.4
Unweighted Average,	51.4
Top 10	
Bottom Ten States	
Louisiana	25.9
South Carolina	25.6
New York	25.2
Texas	25.1
New Mexico	24.9
North Carolina	24.7
Tennessee	21.6
California	20.8
Arizona	20.3
Florida	19.6
Unweighted Average,	23.4
Top 10	

<u>Table 4:</u> <u>Teen Employment Rates in the Ten States with the Highest and</u> <u>Lowest Teen Employment Rates in June-July 2011</u> (in %)

The top ten states had teen employment rates ranging from 42 to 44 per cent in Wisconsin and Minnesota to highs of 59 to 63 per cent in North and South Dakota. Seven of these ten states were located in the Midwest region. The unweighted mean employment rate for these ten states was 51.2 per cent. The bottom ten states had teen employment rates ranging from 20 to 26 per cent. Six of these 10 states were located in the South and two (Arizona, New Mexico) in the Southwest. Their unweighted mean employment rate was only 23.4%, less than half as high as that of the top ten states. The two top ranked states (North and South Dakota) had an average teen employment rate of close to 61%, three times as high as the 20% rate for the two lowest

states (Arizona, Florida). It should be noted that not one of the top ten states were in the top ten most populous teen states. The only large state that came close to making the top ten list was Pennsylvania which ranked 11th highest. The bottom ten ranked states, however, included the nation's four most heavily populated teen states: California, Florida, New York, and Texas. Low income, minority youth in these states typically fare the worst in obtaining any type of employment, creating difficulties for them in making the transition to the labor market upon graduation from high school or in their late teens.

Variations in Teen Employment Rates Across Family Income and Race-Ethnic Groups Within the Ten Highest and Ten Lowest States

Do summer teen employment rates vary much by family income or race-ethnic/family income groups within the top ten and bottom ten states? Findings in Table 5 reveal that there are strong positive links between teen employment rates and family incomes in both sets of states and that there are very large gaps between the employment rates of teens at each income level. In the ten states with the lowest teen employment rates, the employment rates of teens increased steadily with their family's income from a low of 17 per cent for those residing in the lowest income families (income under \$20,000) to a high of just under 29% for those living in families with incomes between \$100,000 and \$150,000, approximately a 70% difference between the employment rates of these two groups.

	(A)	(B)	(C)
	Ten Lowest	Ten Highest	Ten Highest –
	Teen Employment	Teen Employment	Ten Lowest
Family Income	Rates	Rates	(Col. B - Col. A)
Less than \$20,000	17.3	34.7	+17.4
\$20-40,000	19.4	33.9	+14.5
\$40-75,000	25.2	48.5	+23.3
\$75-100,000	25.5	52.9	+27.4
\$100-150,000	28.8	56.9	+28.1
\$150,000+	25.7	49.2	+23.5

<u>Table 5:</u> <u>Employment/Population Ratios in the Ten States with the Highest and</u> <u>Lowest Teen Employment Rates in June/July 2011 by Family Income</u> (in %)

Within the ten states with the highest teen employment rates, the per cent of teens working in June-July 2011 ranged from lows of 34% in the two lowest family income groups to a high of 57% for those in the \$100-150,000 income group, a relative difference again of about 70% from top to bottom. In each of the six income groups, those teens living in the ten states with the highest teen employment rates were twice as likely to be working as their peers in the ten lowest states. Low income teens (family income under \$20,000) in the ten highest states were more likely to have worked in the summer than teens in all six income groups in the bottom ten states. States with high rates of overall teen employment improve employment prospects for youth in all income groups, but they clearly do not eliminate continued large differences in employment across income groups.

Do higher overall teen job prospects improve employment opportunities for teens in all major race-ethnic groups? To answer this question, we compared the summer 2011 June-July employment rates of teens in each major race-ethnic group in the ten lowest and ten highest states (see Table 6). In the ten lowest states, teen employment rates ranged from lows of 14 to 16 per cent among Black and Asian youth to a high of just under 29% among White, non-Hispanics. In contrast, in the ten states with the highest teen employment rates, teens in each race-ethnic group were much more likely to work than their peers in the low employment states, with the gaps being 10 to 11 percentage points higher for Asians, Blacks, and Hispanics and nearly 22 percentage points higher for White, non-Hispanics. Higher teen employment improves job prospects for all race-ethnic groups, but still leaves large race-ethnic gaps prevailing. White teens were about twice as likely to be employed as Asians and Blacks.

<u>Ten Lo</u>	owest States by	Race-Ethnic G	<u>iroup</u> (in %)
	(A)	(B)	(C)
Race/Ethnic Group	Ten Lowest States	Ten Highest States	Highest Minus Lowest (in Percentage Points)
Asian Black, not Hispanic Hispanic White, not Hispanic	16.2 14.4 20.0 28.8	26.9 24.4 29.6 50.3	$^{+10.7}_{+10.0}_{+9.6}_{+21.5}$

<u>Table 6:</u>
Summer 2010 Teen Employment Rates in the Ten Highest and
Ten Lowest States by Race-Ethnic Group (in %)

The information on teens' race-ethnic group and family income backgrounds was combined with their employment status to calculate employment rates for race-ethnic/family income subgroups of youth in the ten states with the lowest and highest teen employment rates. We then ranked these groups of teens from lowest to highest teen employment rates. Chart Five illustrates the extraordinarily high degree of diversity in their summer 2011 teen employment rates. At the very bottom of the distribution were Black teens in families with low to low middle incomes who lived in one of the ten states with the lowest teen employment rates. Only 11 of every 100 such Black teens were employed in the summer of this year. Low income, Hispanic teens living in these same ten low employment states did not fare considerably better with an employment rate of just 17%. White, low income teens in these same ten states had an employment rate of 23%.

<u>Chart 5:</u> June-July 2011 Employment Rates of Teens in Selected Race/Family Income/and State Teen Employment Rates (in %)



When we shift to the 10 states with the highest teen employment rates, the situation improves markedly. Lower income, White teens in these states had an employment rate of just under 41%. If their family incomes improved to the \$60-100,000 range, then 54% were employed. At the very top of the distribution were White teens living in relatively affluent families with incomes between \$100,000 and \$150,000. Slightly over 58% of all such teens were employed this past summer. The employment rate of these White affluent teens was more than five times as high as the employment rate of Black teens from low income families residing in the ten states with the lowest employment rates. The magnitude of these disparities in teen employment rates should be viewed as shocking.

Teen employment in the U.S. and in individual states tends to be highly path dependent, i.e., the more a teen works this year, the more likely he is to work next year and in following years. Cumulative years of work experience during the teen years tend to raise both employability and weekly wages in their early 20s, and cumulative work experience in the teens and early 20s increases the likelihood that workers will receive formal training, including apprenticeship training, from their employers as they move through their 20s. Work experience in the teen years is a valuable form of human capital investment. Teens need much more of it.