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Transition systems and non-standard employment in early career: comparing Japan and Switzerland

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insecurities may not endanger labour market integration of highly skilled university graduates holding good career prospects in Switzerland, they may go hand in hand with social exclusion processes for the low-educated young entrants lacking bargaining power in the segmented Japanese labour market.

Keywords: [Transition system](#) [non-standard employment](#) [early career](#) [Japan](#) [Switzerland](#)

Introduction

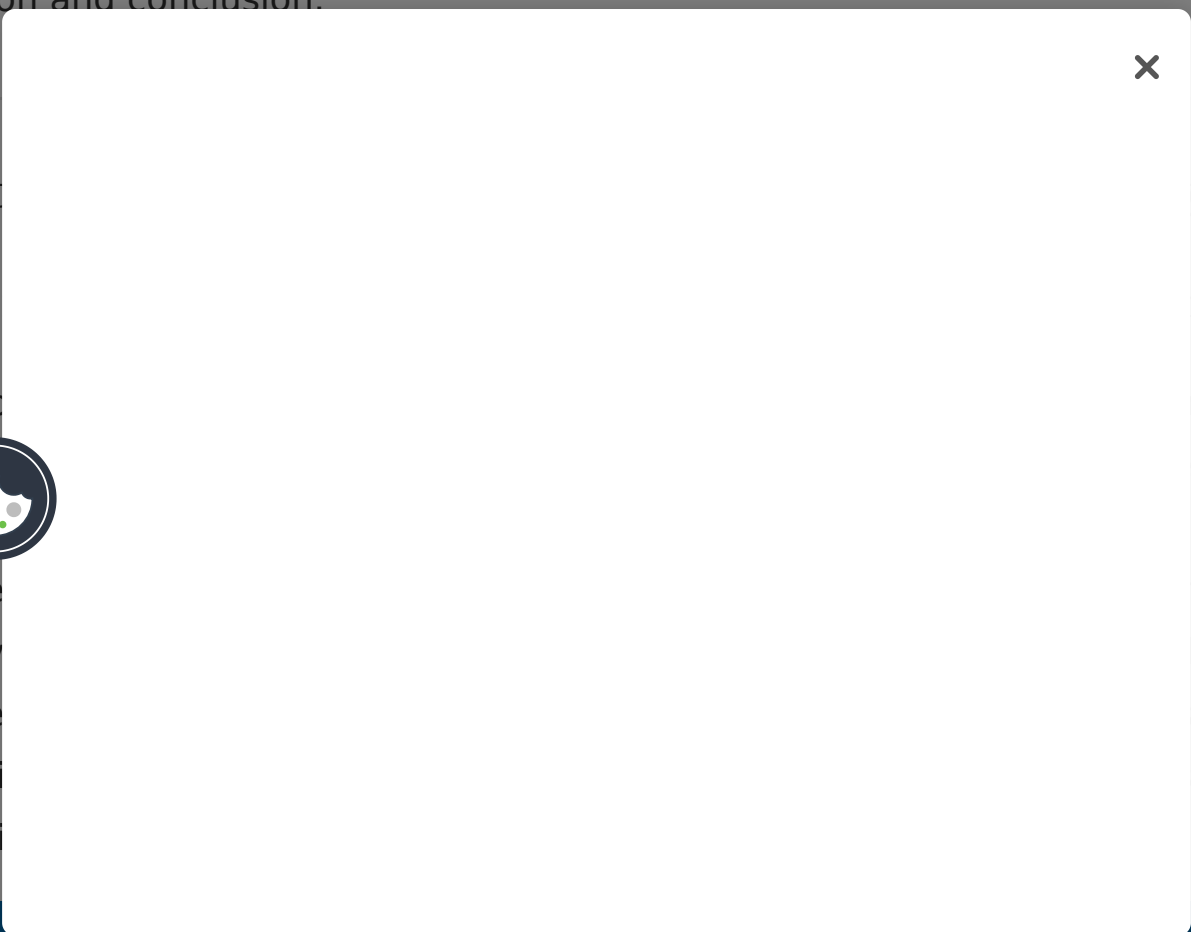
This paper investigates how educational trajectories stratify the risk of non-standard employment for youth at labour market entry in Japan and Switzerland, two countries with distinctive education-to-work transition systems. Even though both countries have relatively low youth unemployment rates of 7-9%, school graduates face increasingly risky labour markets. In addition to increases in (youth) unemployment (Weber [2001](#); Genda [2003](#); Sacchi and Salvisberg [2011](#); Goodman [2012](#); Bolli et al. [2015](#)), jobs deviating from the traditional 'male breadwinner model' (Meier [2014](#)) of continuous, full-time employment have become an integral part of both economies (Inui [2009](#); Ecoplan [2010](#); OECD [2010, 2014](#); Yu [2012](#); Toivonen and Imoto [2012](#), 4).

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To help close this research gap, the aim of this paper is to gain an initial understanding and encourage further thinking about how different education-to-work transition systems may relate to recent labour market insecurities surrounding the establishment of newcomers. More specifically, we ask how non-standard employment relates to vocational vs. university education in the different transition systems of Switzerland and Japan. We use comparable youth panel data in our analysis in order to compare early labour market destinations of young school graduates. Our findings point to remarkably different patterns of non-standard employment among vocational and university graduates in the two countries. These findings are interpreted against the background of different transition systems, suggesting differential operational logics of non-standard forms of entry-employment.

Investigating the stratifying impact of educational pathways on the risk of non-standard entry employment during one's early career in Japan and Switzerland, we briefly define non-standard employment and outline, in a first step, competing perspectives on the operational logics and consequences of non-standard entry work for youth as either 'stepping-stones' or 'dead-ends'. In a second step, we embed the operational logics of non-standard entry employment in the context of differential transition systems that structure the allocation of school graduates to their first jobs. Following this, the method and data used are introduced. Finally, the results are presented, followed by a discussion and conclusion.



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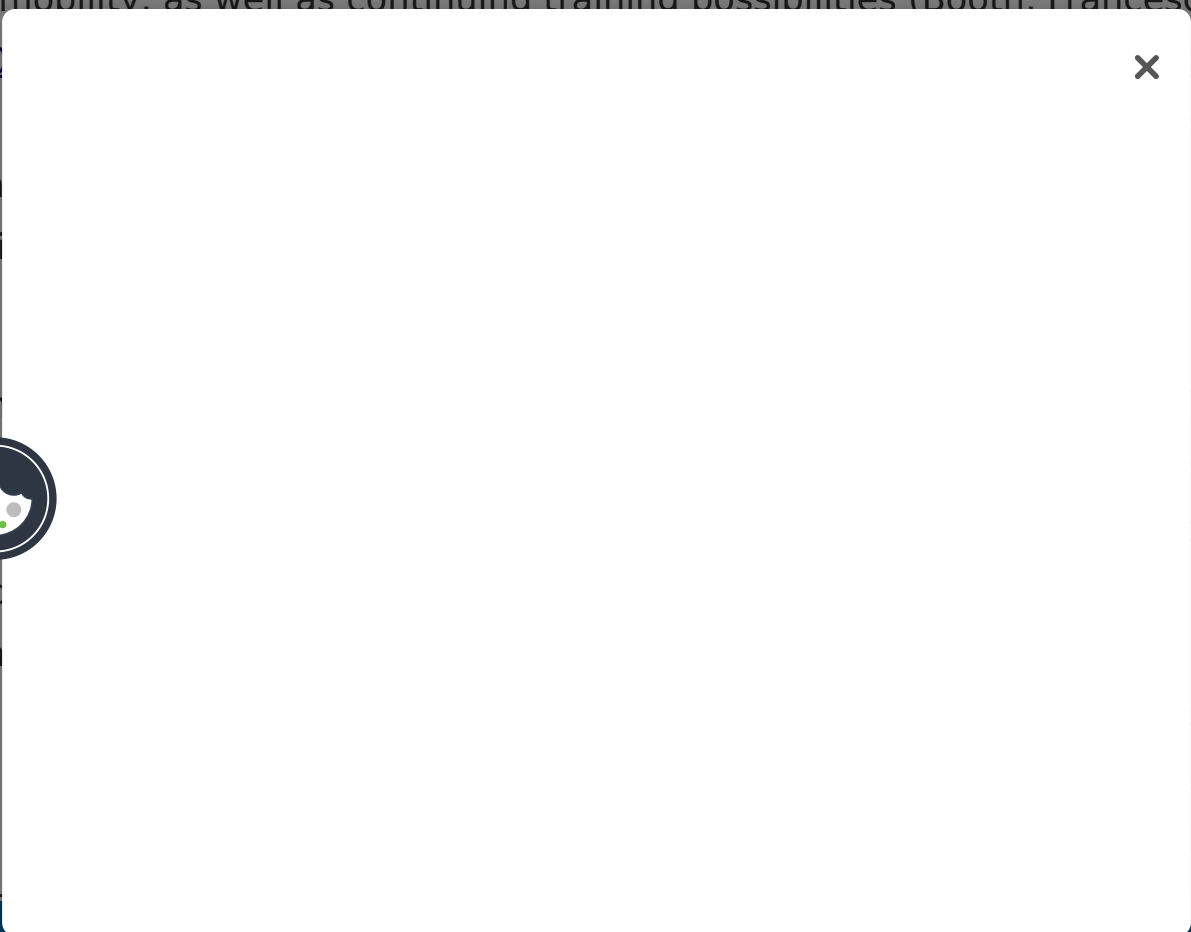
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Overall, different definitions of standard employment exist. Most definitions are based on aspects such as dependent employment, the contractual status (permanent) and regular working hours (full-time), which are in accordance with the definition applied in this study. Non-standard employment (also referred to as atypical work) is defined negatively against the standard employment relationship. Thus non-standard employment includes a heterogeneous conglomerate of different forms of work that deviate in one or several respects from standard employment, including part-time work, fixed-term employment, temporary agency work, or work on call (Ecoplan [2007](#); Meier [2014](#); ILO [2015](#)).

Despite increased educational attainment, labour market entrants in particular are encountering increasing difficulties in finding stable employment across the OECD countries. In addition to increased unemployment risks, youth are disproportionately affected by non-standard forms of work, such as fixed-term work, part-time employment and temporary agency work (ILO [2012](#); Eurofound [2013](#); OECD [2014](#)). This extends to labour markets that are otherwise characterised by low youth unemployment rates in international comparison, such as those in Switzerland or Japan (Ecoplan [2007](#); Inui, Masahiko, and Hiratsuka [2007](#); Standing [2011](#)). As non-standard forms of employment have been found to be inferior compared to standard employment in terms of job security, wage level, promotion aspects, and occupational upward mobility, as well as continuing training possibilities (Booth, Francesconi, and

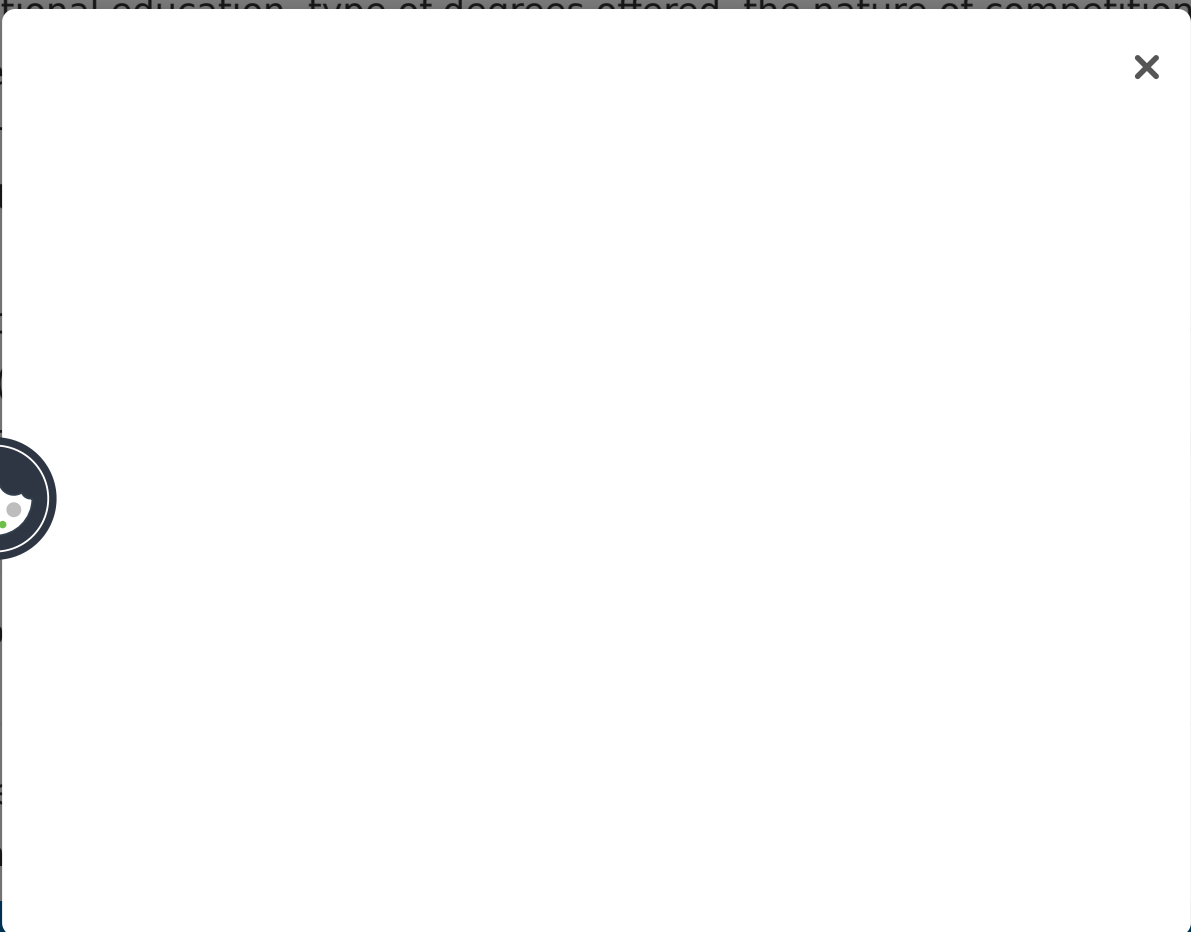


a buffer stock of workers, which can be more easily adjusted to changes in demand. This clearly undermines the job security for those employed in such (more peripheral) work arrangements. From this perspective, atypical employment needs to be viewed as a trap, hindering stable labour market integration and professional development of youth who bounce back and forth between insecure work and unemployment (see, e.g. Scherer [2004](#); OECD [2014](#), 179 ff.).

School-to-work transition systems and non-standard employment

Rather than considering these two different perspectives on the operational logics and linked consequences of non-standard employment on the labour market integration of youth as competing, we argue that they need be assessed in the light of country-specific systems of school-to-work transitions. In short, such transition systems may be described as the relatively enduring features of a country's institutional and structural arrangements, which shape the transition from education to early employment (Raffe [2008](#)).

The societal analysis approach (Maurice, Sellier, and Silvestre [1979](#); Maurice [2008](#)) – distinguishing between 'qualification space' (OLM) and 'organisational space' (ILM) – has strongly influenced international transition systems research (Raffe [2008](#)). It proposes country-specific relationships between the organisation of education (general vs. vocational education, type of degree offered, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes) and the labour market (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes) (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes). It also suggests that these relationships have to be understood in the context of the broader institutional and structural arrangements of the labour market system (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes). Along with other forms of non-standard employment, the school-to-work transition system (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes) might be seen as a key element in the early career path (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes) that relate to the broader institutional and structural arrangements of the labour market system (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes). Thus far, the research on school-to-work transition systems (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes) might be seen as a key element in the early career path (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes) that relate to the broader institutional and structural arrangements of the labour market system (job hierarchies, the branches of industry, the duration of unemployment spells, the nature of competition, tracking and selection processes). (2000) and



(2015), with a special focus on initial vocational education and training (IVET) systems, demonstrated that skill formation regimes matter with regard to youth unemployment and low-pay employment. The authors distinguished four different skill formation systems – statist, collectivist, liberal, and segmentalist – by taking into consideration the degree of public commitment to vocational training and the involvement of firms in IVET (Thelen 2004; Busemeyer 2009). In liberal skill formation regimes (e.g. the United Kingdom), both public commitment to and firm involvement in IVET are low, and the education system promotes academic skills. Whereas the involvement of employers is similarly limited in statist skill formation regimes (e.g. France, Denmark), the latter show higher public commitment to IVET. Within systems with a high firm involvement, collectivist systems (e.g. Germany and Switzerland), where a wider range of firms, including small and medium-sized enterprises, typically train ‘above need’, can be distinguished from segmentalist systems (e.g. Japan), where on-the-job-training is primarily offered by firms for their own recruitment and retention purposes. Busemeyer and Thelen. (2015) found that even though firm-based IVET in collectivist systems is more effective in reducing youth unemployment, school based IVET of statist systems seems to be more effective in mitigating labour market stratification through wage inequality. Liberal skill formation regimes, in turn, perform better than average with regard to the inclusion of young people in the labour market, but they seem to produce a higher risk of low pay. In the following, we ask how collectivist and segmentalist systems

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enrolment is considerably higher in Japan compared to Switzerland. While Japan has a tertiary graduation rate of 69%, the respective figure for Switzerland amounts to 47%.¹

The coherence of education and employment in 'collectivist' Switzerland

The traditional coherence of the education and employment systems in Switzerland is similar to that of Germany. In both countries, the way employees acquire labour market qualifications is centred on the concept of Beruf (professionalism or vocation), which has several dimensions: a formal knowledge base, mastery of practical skills, membership in an association, and formal recognition of IVET qualifications within the labour market. The Swiss apprenticeship system is highly valued by the public and has a strong corporatist trait. The regulation of IVET is based on a complex collaboration between the state, industrial and professional associations (e.g. local chambers of industry and commerce, or handicraft guilds), and trade unions. The adjustment of supply and demand is made through joint initiatives of the industry and the IVET system. The IVET system leads to recognised qualifications (Federal VET Diploma) that closely match the needs of an occupationally segmented labour market, both in terms of occupational skills and the number of jobs that are available. As a consequence, access to qualified employment is highly regulated by recognised occupational certificates within specific industries. Therefore, Switzerland represents a collectivist skill formation regime embedded in a liberal, but occupationally segmented, labour market ('qualification space').

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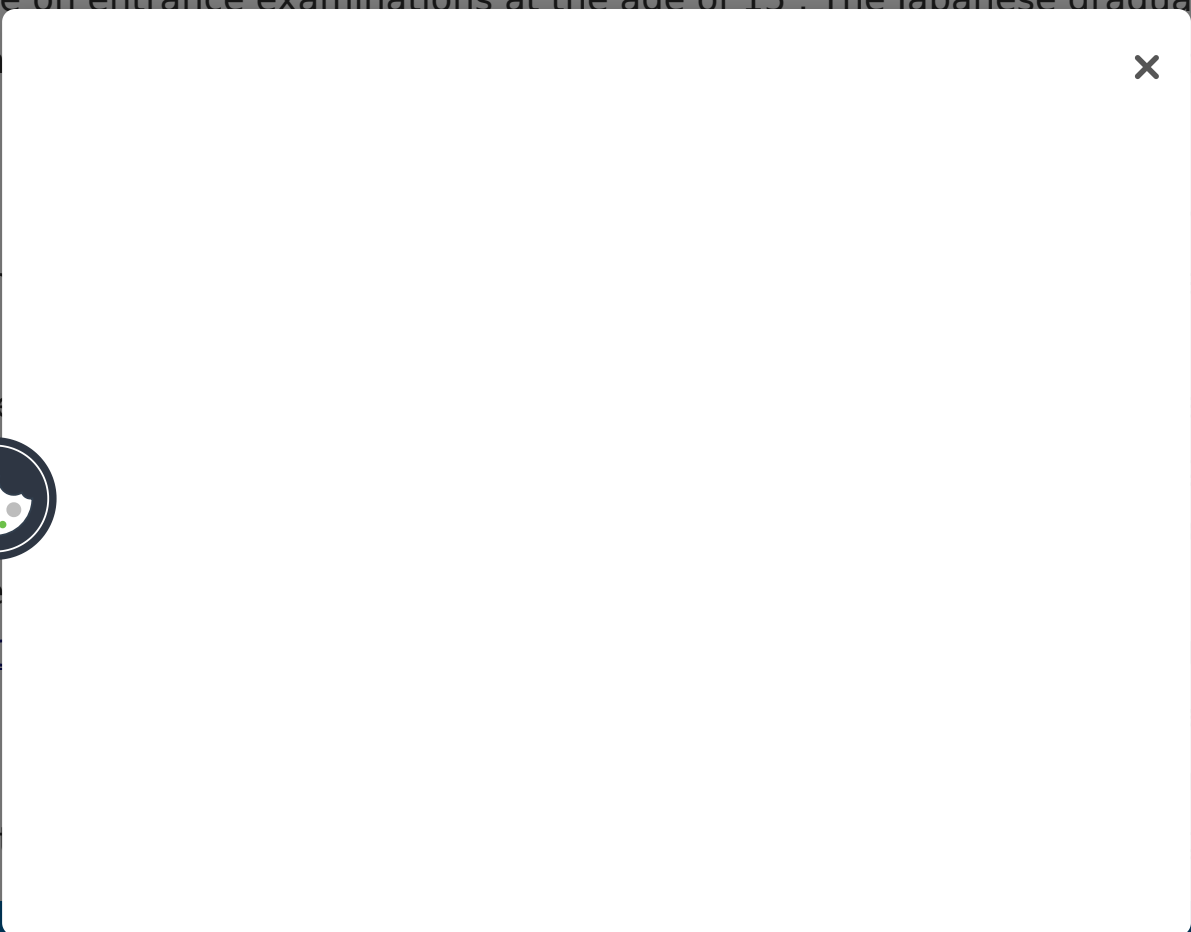


From the perspective of societal analysis, Japan's highly examination-centred, intensely competitive education system is linked to the distinct organisation of the Japanese employment system (Maurice [2008](#)). The recruitment of young – especially male – workers was traditionally done through the high school graduate recruitment system, a quasi institution of the employment system for Japanese high school graduates. Conceptually, the graduate recruitment system is part of a lifetime employment model (with permanent full-time employment as one of its central features) that offers social security and includes additional subsystems, such as a training system within the firm, a seniority promotion system and a retirement system (Inui [1993](#)).

In this segmentalist school-to-work transition system, schools, colleges and universities allocate their students directly to employers who sign informal job contracts with fresh graduates months before their graduation, based on academic criteria (Toivonen and Imoto [2012](#)). Schools traditionally recommend a selection of their best students to some companies that they have been in contact with for several years. The more academically successful the high school and university graduates, the better the chance to get hired by a company in the Japanese employment system, which offers stable forms of employment in the ILM. As Goodman ([2012](#), 164) stated, 'top employers drew their new workers from the top universities, which in turn took their students from the top secondary schools, which admitted their students on the basis of how well they had done on entrance examinations at the age of 15'. The Japanese graduate

recruitment system was dominant from the 1960s to the end of the 1990s (Maurice [2003](#)).

One should not be surprised that the Japanese employment system has experienced significant changes in the last few decades. The Japanese labour market, which was traditionally characterised by a high degree of stability, since the late 1990s has been undergoing a process of transformation. This process has been driven by a number of factors, including the increase in the number of non-regular workers, the decline of the lifetime employment pool, and the impact of the global financial crisis in 2008 and 2009. Inui ([2003](#)) argued that the Japanese employment system has not benefited from an increase in the number of non-regular workers, but rather from a higher risk of non-regular workers. The Japanese employment system has been undergoing a process of transformation since the late 1990s.



Against this backdrop of two differing – segmentalist vs. collectivist – school-to-work transition systems, we empirically investigate how vocational training and academic education promote entry into non-standard employment to different degrees for youth who enter the labour market in Japan and Switzerland.

Data and methods

Data

Our analysis draws upon data from two comparable longitudinal surveys: the Swiss youth panel survey Transition from Education to Employment (TREE) and the Youth Cohort Study of Japan (YCSJ). TREE surveys the post-compulsory educational and labour market pathways of a school graduates' cohort in Switzerland, based on a sample of approximately 6000 young people who participated in the PISA survey for the year 2000 and left compulsory school the same year, at the age of 15 or 16. This sample was followed up by TREE by means of seven waves in an annual rhythm between 2001 and 2007 and an eighth one in 2010. The Swiss findings are based on the eighth survey wave in 2010, when the respondents were about 26 years old. At that time, 54% (N = 3424) of the 2001 sample were still covered by the survey (TREE [2013](#)). Panel weights were used to compensate for sample bias and to maintain the representative nature of

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highest level of educational attainment. This amounts to a sample of $N = 1979$ young workers in Switzerland, of which 1122 are female and 857 are male. For Japan, the final sample consists of $N = 687$ young employees, of whom 384 are female and 303 are male. In the case of Japan, non-standard employment, our dependent variable, is defined with regard to an individual's main job (self-reported, according to the most hours worked) and captures self-reported part-time work, fixed-term employment, jobs through employment agencies, self-employment, work in family businesses, and artisanry in private households. In the Swiss case, non-standard employment is defined with regard to the main job (which is the job encompassing the most hours worked per week) and includes part-time work (<30 h per week, which is less than 70%), fixed-term employment, self-employment, work on call, work in family businesses and private households. Based on these measurements, we found that 31% of Japanese respondents were employed in non-standard jobs compared to 24% of Swiss respondents (weighted).

Independent variables

The attained type of education is categorised into general education, vocational education, short higher education, and long higher education. General education refers to workers with completed general studies at the upper-secondary level (Japan: senior high school level), holding neither a vocational nor a tertiary degree. Vocational education refers to workers with completed vocational studies at the upper-secondary level (Japan: junior high school level), holding a vocational degree. Short higher education refers to workers with completed short higher education studies at the tertiary level (Japan: university studies), holding a tertiary degree. Long higher education refers to workers with completed long higher education studies at the tertiary level (Japan: university studies), holding a tertiary degree. In the Swiss case, we compared general education, vocational education, short higher education, and professional education to long higher education. In the Japanese case, we compared general education, vocational education, short higher education, and professional education to long higher education.

Table 1. Educational attainment of respondents in the Swiss and Japanese samples. In all cases, the number of respondents is given in parentheses. In the Swiss case, general education refers to workers with completed general studies at the upper-secondary level (Japan: senior high school level), holding neither a vocational nor a tertiary degree. Vocational education refers to workers with completed vocational studies at the upper-secondary level (Japan: junior high school level), holding a vocational degree. Short higher education refers to workers with completed short higher education studies at the tertiary level (Japan: university studies), holding a tertiary degree. Long higher education refers to workers with completed long higher education studies at the tertiary level (Japan: university studies), holding a tertiary degree. In the Swiss case, we compared general education, vocational education, short higher education, and professional education to long higher education. In the Japanese case, we compared general education, vocational education, short higher education, and professional education to long higher education. (12%). We also included a control variable for special education (see the supplemental data).³





In our analysis, we controlled for the duration of time that a respondent has been out of school (duration), which is measured in months and captures the time span between the date of the survey and the completion of a case's highest educational degree. Parental higher education is a dichotomous variable that is coded 1 if at least one parent completed a (short or long) higher educational degree and is coded 0 if no parent graduated from higher education. Gender is a binary variable that is coded 0 for female and 1 for male workers. We further included a variable capturing the firm size, which is classified as small (headcount: 0–99), medium (headcount: 100–499), and/or large (headcount: 500+). In addition, we included industrial sectors, classified as manufacturing, construction, sales, finance and real estate, transportation and electricity, restaurant and hotel, information and communication, education and research, medical and welfare, government, primary and others, and various services. Region of living is a dichotomous variable that is coded 1 if the young workers' geographical origin is a rural area and is coded 0 if they lived in an urban area when they enrolled in upper-secondary school.

Method

The comparison of groups in non-linear regression models is complicated as regression coefficients are not directly comparable across groups (Long 1997). Thus, when applying non-standard employment comparisons across countries, the marginal effects of the different exposure to labour market risk of non-standard employment ratios, (Long 2009)



adjust for disproportionality due to the sampling design of the PISA/TREE survey and panel attrition (Sacchi [2011](#)) were applied in order to allow for a generalisation of the results regarding the target population of young employees in Switzerland.

Results

Our multivariate results reveal significant differences in the effects of educational attainment on the risk of non-standard employment within both countries, even if gender, duration since leaving school, parental educational background, type of industry, firm size, and region of living were controlled (Table 2). Furthermore, our findings suggest that educational tracks differ in their effect on future labour market insecurities across institutional settings. In Switzerland, those who pursued a vocational education or a short higher education are, on average, 22–25% less likely to be exposed to non-standard work compared to those who pursued a long higher education (reference group). In contrast, in Japan, young adults who pursued a short higher, vocational or general educational track are, on average, between 13 and 39% more likely to attain non-standard work when controlling for further covariates that were included in the model. Therefore, while long higher education protects youth from non-standard work in Japan, the reverse seems to be true for Switzerland.

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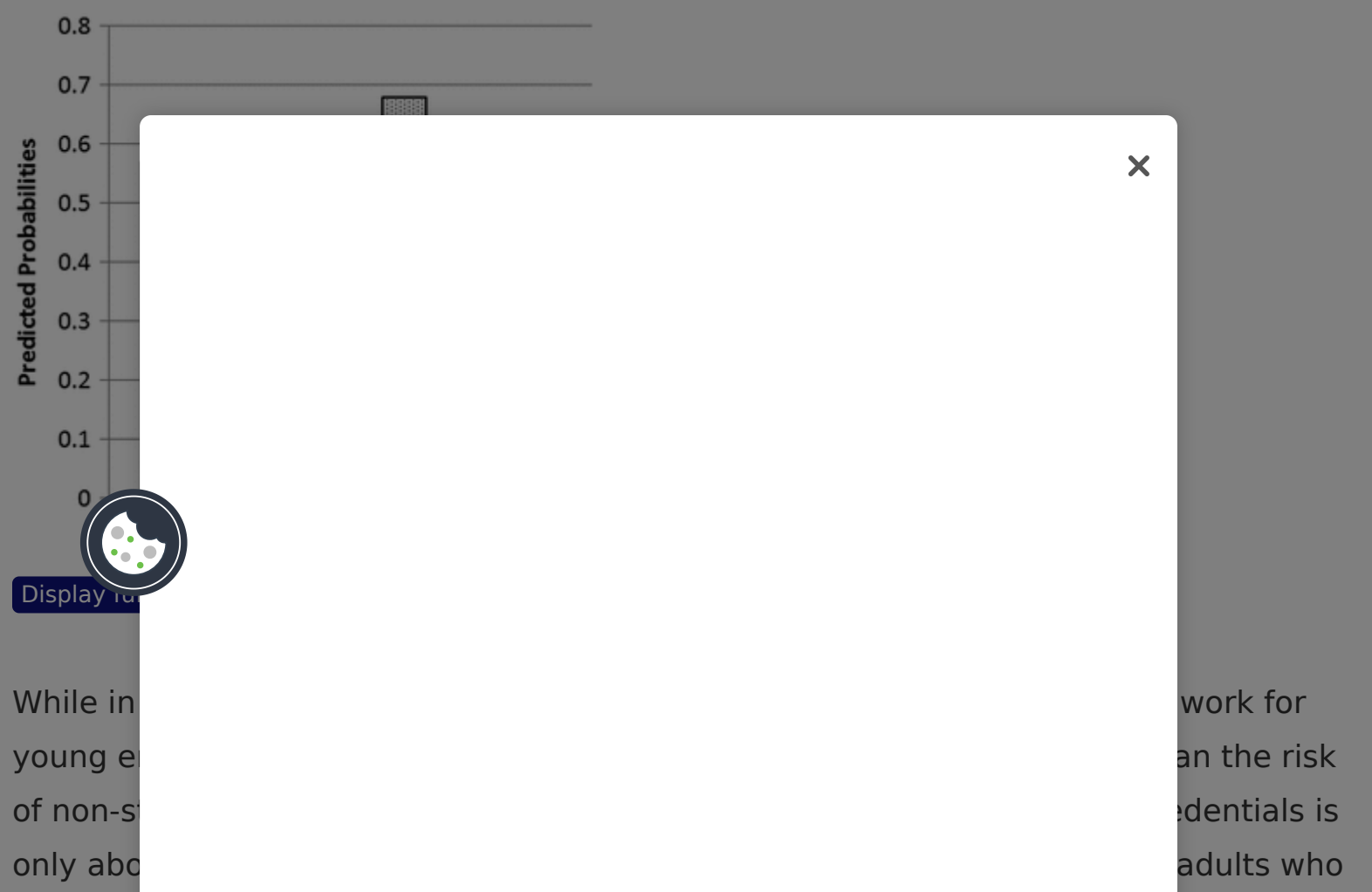
Industries matter considerably. In Switzerland, young workers in the manufacturing (reference group), finance and information/communication sectors show the lowest risks of attaining non-standard work, whereas the risk for those in the transport/electricity, restaurant/hotel, medical/welfare, government, primary/others, and various services sectors is considerably higher. In Japan, the sectors where workers face the highest risk of non-standard work are sales, transport/electricity, education/research, government, and primary/others. In contrast, the finance sector offers a high degree of regular employment, followed by the medical/welfare, information/communication sectors, and the reference sector manufacturing.

Institutional discrepancies

Comparing differences in predicted probabilities of non-standard employment across educational groups and countries reveals distinct patterns regarding the impact of educational tracks on the probability of non-standard employment (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities comparing Switzerland and Japan.

Note: Probability of non-standard employment for young employees by educational attainment across countries.



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exposure to non-standard work for young employees with vocational or short higher education is about 0.42 and 0.33, respectively, in Switzerland, these educational groups are least at risk of non-standard work, with an estimated probability of 0.18 and 0.13, respectively. In both countries, the risk of non-standard work is highest for young employees who completed upper-secondary general education without labour market orientation (CH: 0.57; JP: 0.68).

Significance testing of differences in predicted probabilities that compares young adults with similar educational credentials across countries suggests that in Switzerland, young adults that hold higher educational credentials have a significantly higher probability of being exposed to non-standard employment compared to young adults with comparable credentials in Japan (Figure 2). In contrast, young adults that hold vocational and short tertiary degrees in Switzerland are less likely to be in non-standard work compared to young workers with similar credentials in Japan. These results hold true when controlling for gender, parental educational background, industry sector, firm size, and region of living at their means (see Appendix 1).

Figure 2. Differences in predicted probabilities.

Note: Differences in the probability of non-standard work by educational attainment, across countries. Tick marks indicate 95% confidence intervals: significant differences in predicted probabilities ($p < 0.05$) at the levels of vocational, short higher and long higher e



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Conclusion

In this paper, we asked how educational trajectories mediate the risk of non-standard employment for young people in Japan and Switzerland, two countries that have different institutionalised modes of allocating school graduates to jobs. While in the wider international context, both countries show low youth unemployment rates, and from this point of view, can be seen as good places in which to be progressing through the respective transition system, the labour market entrants are nevertheless increasingly facing non-standard entry jobs. Against the background of the increasing risk for school graduates of not being able to find stable employment, we were interested in finding out whether different types of (general, vocational, higher) education have a differential impact on non-standard employment of young workers in countries with differing transition systems.

Based on comparable youth panel data, our results suggest there are remarkably different patterns of non-standard employment among vocational and university graduates across both countries. In Switzerland, those who pursued a vocational education or a short higher education are much less likely to be exposed to non-standard employment compared to those who pursued a long higher (academic) education or other forms of general education. In contrast, in Japan, young adults who pursued a short higher, vocational (or a general) educational track are more likely to

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constitute a major sorting criterion upon labour market entry, with occupation-specific credentials (primarily gained in IVET) qualifying individuals to take up work in the respective occupational segments of the Swiss labour market. In this context, the operational logic behind non-standard forms of employment, which mainly affects academically-educated entrants, seems to be one of 'initial screening' and an opportunity for the latter to gain some initial work experience. While IVET graduates have already proven their occupation-specific skills and motivation in standardised 'on-the-job' training schemes, university graduates first need to prove themselves as suitable for specific occupations by entering less secure and less standard forms of employment as a transitional phase. Hence, in the Swiss case, non-standard jobs of young academics may be viewed as stepping-stones rather than as dead-ends (Greppi et al. [2010](#)) and may be combined with further training. Indeed, findings from the Swiss graduate survey highlight a considerable decrease in fixed-term employment within five years after graduation, whereas part-time employment remains unchanged (BFS [2015](#)). Furthermore, Switzerland has a relatively low proportion of graduates who do not find a suitable job compared with other countries. In all, 1 out of 11 people with a university degree are unable to find a job in their field of education in the medium term and face a job-education mismatch (overeducation), which is associated with a wage penalty (Diem and Wolter [2014](#)).

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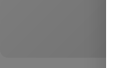
an increased allocation of labour market entrants holding little bargaining power in the Japanese labour market to non-standard jobs in the secondary labour market segment, the operational logic of non-standard entry level employment does not coincide with an 'integration' logic. Non-standard entry-level employment in Japan, rather, seems to mirror 'exclusion' processes of those who lack an institutionally paved way to work in the ILM segment. With non-standard work mainly present in secondary segments, where a logic of numerical flexibilisation prevails, non-standard entry level employment for youth in Japan goes hand in hand with employment insecurities, manifesting itself in a 'precariousness' that infects the future course of their lives (Yu [2012](#); Inui, Higuchi, and Hiratsuka [2015](#)).

To conclude, contrasting the skill-related composition of youth in non-standard employment in early career in Japan and Switzerland suggests country-specific relationships between educational trajectories and non-standard entry-level employment, which relate to different (collectivist vs. segmentalist) transition systems governing the allocation of youth to jobs. With regard to the differing levels of bargaining power of youth that are allocated to non-standard jobs in the respective labour markets of Japan and Switzerland and the distinctive sorting criteria of a 'general learning potential' compared to 'professionalism', different operational logics of non-standard entry level employment seem to prevail in the two countries. Viewing non-standard entry work against the background of differential skill formation regimes allows for a more nuanced understanding of the transition system as either stepping stones or dead ends. The different operational logics of non-standard entry level employment in the two countries are also reflected in different school-to-work transitions.

Disclosure of potential conflicts of interest and author contributions are found in the supplementary material, available at [www.tandfonline.com](#). No potential conflicts of interest were declared.

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Appendix 1

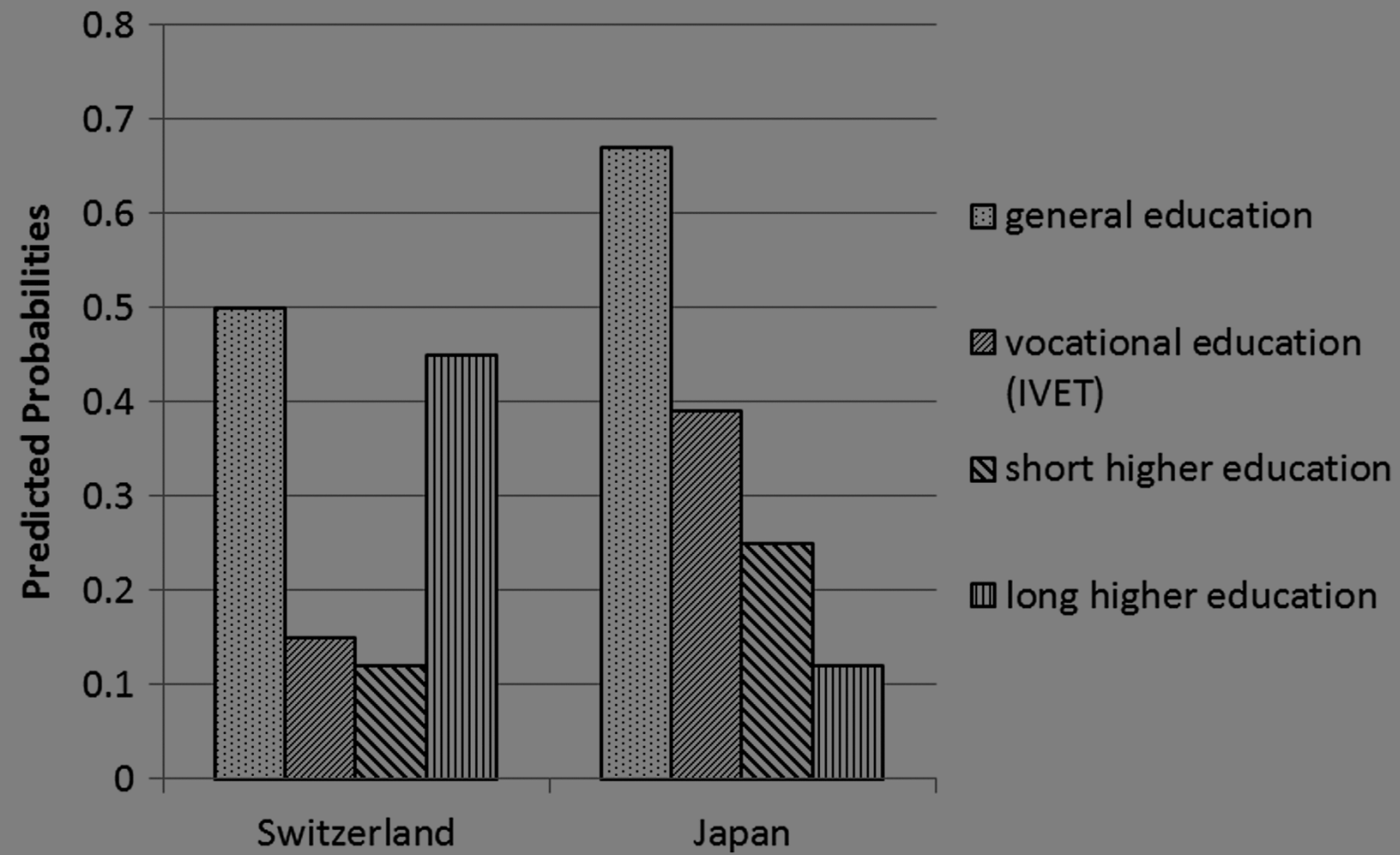


Figure A1. Predicted probabilities comparing Switzerland and Japan/controls.

Note: Predicted probabilities are based on a control group of individuals with no vocational education, no short higher education, and no long higher education. The predicted probabilities are based on the mean of the control group.



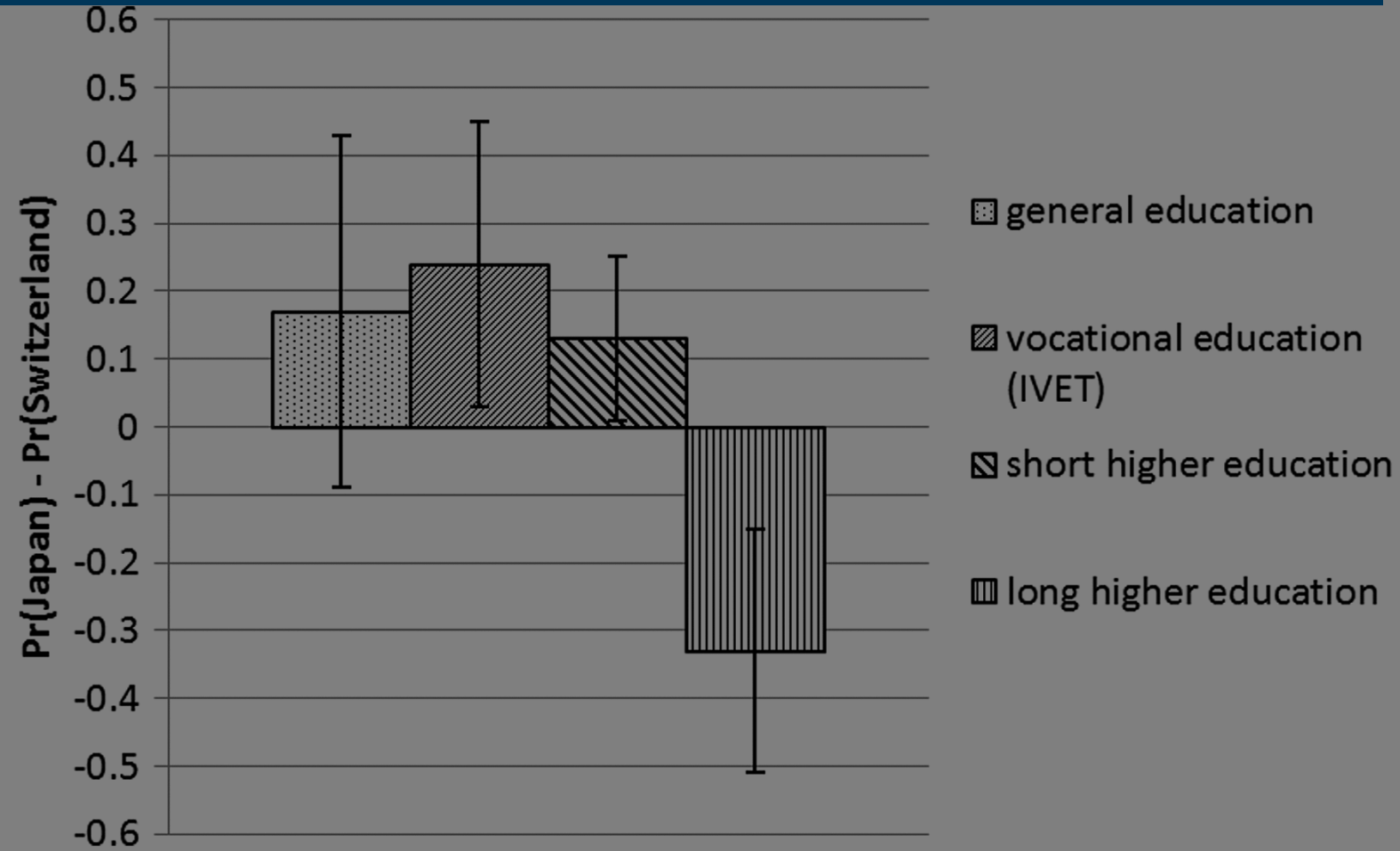


Figure A2. Differences in predicted probabilities/controls.

Note: Differences in the probability of non-standard work by educational attainment across both countries, holding gender, duration since leaving school, parental education, industry, firm size, and region of living constant at their means. Tick marks indicate probabilities of non-standard work for each educational attainment level. The probabilities of non-standard work for short and long higher education are significantly lower in Japan than in Switzerland.



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